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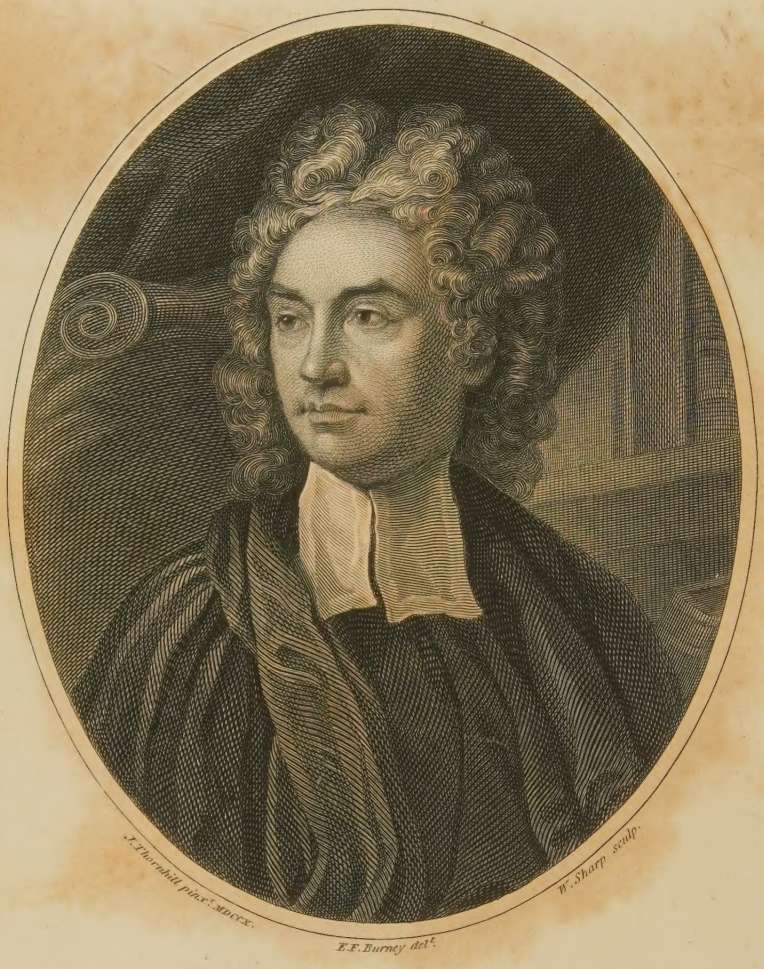
THE

LIFE

OF

RICHARD BENTLEY, D.D.



RICARDUS BENTLEIUS.

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THE

LIFE

OF

RICHARD BENTLEY, D.D.

MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE,

AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS,

AND

ANECDOTES OF MANY DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS

DURING THE PERIOD IN WHICH HE FLOURISHED.

BY

JAMES HENRY MONK, D.D.

DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND

CHARLES-JAMES,

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

MY LORD,

There are several reasons which induce me to take the liberty of prefixing your name to this publication. In the first place, there is no one to whom an account of the life and writings of a distinguished scholar can be inscribed with more propriety than to your Lordship, who have obtained the same rank in literature at the present day as was enjoyed during his life-time by Dr. Bentley. And if, in the perusal of the following Memoirs, any reader should remark, that great learning is not always accompanied by the graces of personal character, the mention of your Lordship's name will remind him that the defect cannot be attributed to the nature of such studies, and that similar excellence in classical pursuits may be made subservient to religious knowledge and the cultivation of all moral and Christian virtues. Again, it is natural that every scholar

should express joy at seeing your Lordship's well-merited elevation to the high station which your learning adorns; and still more, that a churchman should declare his satisfaction at so important a diocese being filled by a Prelate, whose zeal, piety, and virtues peculiarly qualify him for its important functions; while they, who have had the happiness of observing all the steps of your progress from a curacy to the See of London, and witnessing your exemplary discharge of the duties of each successive station, must feel uncommon delight at seeing their anticipations of your future distinction fulfilled in your Lordship's exaltation to a post in which you possess such extensive means of encouraging similar conduct in others, by the influence of your precept and example. Lastly, I cannot forbear seizing the opportunity now afforded me of publicly mentioning the great and constant friendship with which your Lordship has honoured me for more than twenty years, and which I shall always consider as one of the most gratifying distinctions of my life.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect and attachment,

MY LORD,

Your very faithful and affectionate servant,

J. H. MONK.

PREFACE.

In submitting to the public the following Memoirs of Dr. Bentley's life, I wish to explain, as briefly as possible, my views in undertaking this work, and the materials which I have possessed for its execution.

My desire to see a distinct account of this illustrious scholar originated a long time ago, several years, indeed, before the idea occurred to me of becoming his biographer myself. In the course of my classical reading, I had frequently remarked how much the writings of Dr. Bentley were influenced by the circumstances of his personal history. And while resident at Cambridge, in the society of which he had been the Head, I was continually struck with the manner in which the history of both College and University was connected, and sometimes identified, with the singular particulars of his life for above forty years. But all the narratives of his story, which are to be found in print, were taken from the account given in the *Biographia Britannica*: although that article appeared in 1748, within six years after Dr. Bentley's death, the writer, who is stated to have been the Rev. Mr. Hinton, had little knowledge of the principal facts of his life, and took no opportunities of consulting those who were better informed respecting them:

his stock of materials consisted of a few of the numerous pamphlets written on the occasions of his quarrel with the University and the dispute in Trinity College; but the information which he collected from them was not sufficient to give him a distinct idea of those transactions, and his narrative is of course confused and unsatisfactory: all the events of the last twenty years of Dr. Bentley's life are despatched in a few lines, and those few very erroneous.

A second edition of the *Biographia* was published by Kippis about thirty years after the first; but the article upon Bentley was reprinted with almost all its mistakes: certain additions, indeed, were appended to it, the greater part of which, coming from a very partial quarter, were not calculated to give a more correct view of the life or character of this distinguished personage. Several attempts have been subsequently made, in different periodical works and compilations, to digest that confused heap of materials into a regular shape; some of those articles, having been written by scholars, exhibit a much more correct view of Bentley's publications and literary merits; but for his personal history, they have done little more than retail the narrative of Mr. Hinton, with all its errors and misconceptions: in the meantime, it has been generally remarked, that a satisfactory memoir of Bentley's life was a *desideratum* in English literature.

Perceiving that it was impracticable for any one to give a faithful or distinct account of his career, without a full examination of the records, registers, and correspondence found in the archives of the University, and of Trinity College, I long wished that some person who had leisure for such a work, and whose station gave him access to those depositaries, would elucidate this curious period of academical history: and it was only from despair of seeing the task accomplished by other hands, that I resolved to undertake it myself.

My object in this work may be considered three-fold: first, to give a full and impartial view of Bentley's life and character; secondly, a sketch of literary history during the period in which he flourished; and, thirdly, an account of what is worthy of notice in the annals of the College and University, for the first forty years of the eighteenth century. It happens that these three subjects naturally combine and blend themselves into the same narrative.

In the detail of events, it has been my constant study to represent every transaction in its true colours, and to give a candid and unbiassed view of the conduct of every person concerned. Having spared no pains in investigating the truth, by reference to authentic documents, and by comparison of opposite accounts from different parties, I am in hopes that I have generally succeeded in giving a faithful representation of the facts; but while I endeavour to do justice to Dr. Bentley, it is frequently necessary to exhibit his conduct in an unfavourable light, and such as reflects no credit upon his character, station, or profession. In so doing I shall of course expose myself to the censures of persons, who condemn all attempts to record the errors and frailties of illustrious characters, and would wish biography to be employed upon those subjects only which can be proposed as models for imitation. Anticipating objections of this nature, I may as well make my reply to them at once. In the first place, I cannot acknowledge the justice or expediency of confining biography within the limits just mentioned; since I deem the discovery of truth paramount to other considerations, and think that an important and useful moral may be drawn from the failings of persons gifted with high intellectual endowments. But waiving this question, it is right to state, that my publication is not the means of first bringing to light the defects in Dr. Bentley's character. The numerous pamphlets which treat of his behaviour at different periods of life, are in greater request than any other tracts that I am acquainted with:

shall say nothing; since this can only be appreciated by such readers as may have ever employed themselves in similar undertakings: from them I shall probably have credit for an endeavour to give a faithful representation of incidents long past; and they, perhaps, will be most disposed to treat with indulgence the faults and imperfections of the book.

My special acknowledgments are due to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, for their kindness and confidence shown by the unreserved communication of all the documents in their possession; to Mr. William Hustler, the Registrary, for greatly facilitating my researches in the Archives of the University; to the Rev. Dr. Bliss, and the gentlemen who have the care of the Bodleian Library, for their kind assistance in furthering my inquiries in that noble repository; and to the Rev. Dr. D'Oyly, Librarian of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for similar aid in the Manuscript Library of Lambeth Palace.

To many gentlemen I am indebted for memoranda, original letters, and other documents which have contributed to this narrative; of whom I would particularly mention Mr. John Blayds, of Oulton, for information respecting Bentley's family and early years; the Very Rev. Dr. Wood, Dean of Ely, for the particulars of him while a member of St. John's College; to the Rev Dr. Tournay, Warden of Wadham College, for notices respecting his residence at Oxford; to Mr. Upcott, Librarian of the London Institution, for copies of a valuable correspondence of Bentley with his distinguished friend Evelyn; to the Rev. Dr. Burney, for the communication of many detached papers respecting Bentley, collected by his learned father; to Mr. James Rimington, for a large mass of papers belonging to Dr. Colbatch; and to the late Mr. Bentley Warren, for the communication of many interesting particulars, which he had learned from his uncle, Dr. Richard Bentley, of Nailstone in Leicestershire, the nephew

and executor of our hero. There are many other persons, who have kindly supplied me with detached materials, to whom my obligations are expressed in the notes. If I have in any instance neglected to make this acknowledgment, I trust that the omission will be attributed to oversight and accident.

One more remark is necessary, before this volume leaves my hands. As I have been obliged to relate the particulars of several sharp controversies and stormy disputes, it has happened occasionally that the conduct of some personages concerned is represented in unfavourable colours. In so doing I have had no object in view except the establishment of truth; as more than a century has now passed away since the transactions alluded to, I trust that the parties may be considered as being fairly the subjects of history. Should there, however, be any part of my book which occasions pain or displeasure to the descendants of persons who figure in the narrative, I can only say that I shall be sincerely concerned at such a result, as entirely contrary both to my feelings and intentions.

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THE HOUSE IN WHICH BENTLEY WAS BORN.

LIFE

OF

RICHARD BENTLEY, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

Bentley's origin—Family—Grandfather, Richard Willie—Education in childhood—Wakefield School—His instructors—His father's death—His grandfather's bequest—Sent to St. John's College, Cambridge—College studies—Bentley's verses—Mathematical pursuits—Newton's lectures—Bentley's contemporaries—Richard Johnson—William Wotton, a juvenile prodigy—Degree of B.A.—Fellowship at St. John's College—Bentley master of Spalding School—Tutor to the son of Dr. Stillingfleet—His Hebrew studies—Classical pursuits.

Bentley's origin.

RICHARD BENTLEY was a native of Oulton in the parish of Rothwell, a village not far from Wakefield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, In certain biographical narratives which appeared a few years after his death we find him described as a person of very low extraction, 'the son either of a tanner or a blacksmith[1].' On the other hand, the late Mr. Richard Cumberland, his grandson, not only contradicts this statement, but intimates that he was sprung from a family of rank and consideration, and shows great anxiety to establish this point; as if he deemed it more honourable to his ancestor to have been born of gentle blood, than to have raised himself from obscurity by the force of genius and merit[2]. But the fact is, that Bentley's progenitors were of that respectable class which has supplied every profession with many of its

[1] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 734, *first* edition, 1748.

[2] In Kippis's edition of the Biographia Britannica, the article upon Bentley received many additions and alterations, which were avowedly from the hand of Cumberland.

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brightest ornaments, the higher description of English yeomen: they had been settled for some generations at Heptonstall, a village about eight miles from Halifax, where they possessed property, which appears to have suffered in the civil wars between the King and the Parliament[3]. His grandfather, James Bentley, a captain in the Royal army, was taken by the enemy, and died a prisoner in Pontefract Castle; Cumberland adds, that 'his house was plundered, and his estate confiscated.' His father, Thomas Bentley, possessed a small estate, probably by inheritance, at Woodlesford, one of the five townships of which the parish of Rothwell consists: indeed from the occurrence of the name of Bentley in the parish registers in the reign of Elizabeth, I am led to suppose that this had been the original residence of the family. In the year 1661 he married Sarah, daughter of Richard Willie, a stone-mason at Oulton; and the first offspring of their union was the illustrious subject of these memoirs. Bentley was born on the 27th of January, 1661-62, in a house belonging to his grandfather, in compliment to whom he received the name of Richard. Mr. Willie appears to have been a person of more consideration than his trade of 'mason' might imply; according to the authority just cited, he too had been a cavalier, and had held a major's commission in the Royal army[4]. This however is certain, that in the education and welfare of his grandson he took a great and effectual interest.

Family.

Grandfather, Richard Willie.

Education in childhood.

It is a circumstance not unworthy of record, that the most celebrated scholar of modern times received the first rudiments of his classical education from a female: it was his mother, who is represented to have been a woman of exceedingly good understanding, by whom Bentley

[3] The family was very numerous, and spread with several branches. In the registry of baptisms in the chapelry of Heptonstall, which consists of four townships, no less than forty-two persons of the name of Bentley are found between the years 1599 and 1660. The Christian names of most frequent occurrence are, Michael, James, and Thomas. For particulars respecting the family at Heptonstall, I am indebted to the obliging enquiries of the Rev. Joseph Charnock, who occupies a house belonging to the family, and some closes adjoining, which in the records of the parish are called 'Bentley's land.'

[4] *Biographia Britannica.* It is necessary to observe, that Cumberland is inaccurate in several of the particulars which he gives of Bentley: he is even mistaken in the name of his grandfather, whom he repeatedly calls *Willis*.

was taught the Latin Accidence[5]. He was first sent to a day-school in the neighbouring hamlet of Methley[6]; afterwards to the Grammar School of Wakefield, a seminary of considerable reputation. Of Bentley's school studies and school friendships no particulars have been recorded: by Cumberland we are only told, that 'he went through the school with singular reputation, for his proficiency, as well as for his regularity.' Even the name of the master who had the honour of so illustrious a pupil, has been hitherto unknown. I find that Mr. Jeremiah Boulton was master of Wakefield School until April, 1672, when he obtained the living of Ackworth, and was succeeded by Mr. John Baskervile. Of the latter gentleman, to whom, of course, the principal credit of Bentley's education must belong, I know no more than that he was of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and presided in the school till his death in 1681. Not to name the school, or the masters of men illustrious for literature, has been justly called 'a kind of historical fraud, by which honest fame is injuriously diminished[7].' This remark is peculiarly applicable to cases like the present, where the eminence of the party rests so materially upon classical scholarship, and where the bias of his taste and genius probably received its direction from his early instructors. For the place of his education Bentley testified throughout life the greatest attachment, and extended to persons coming from that seminary his encouragement and patronage. It may here be mentioned, that to this school belongs the singular distinction of having produced two scholars who held the office of Regius Professor of Divinity in their respective Universities at the same time. John Potter, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who filled the theological chair at Oxford, when Bentley was chosen to the same post at Cambridge, was sent from Wakefield to University College.

Wakefield school.

His instructors.

At the time of Bentley's birth, his father was considerably advanced in life, while his mother's age was only nineteen. They had four children younger than himself, of whom only two, Ann and Joseph,

[5] *Biographia Britannica.*

[6] This and some other particulars I learnt from Mrs. Hopkins, a lady related to the Bentley family, who died a few years ago at a very advanced age.

[7] Dr. Sam. Johnson's Life of Addison.

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His father's death, April 1673.

survived their infancy. When he was thirteen years old, his father died, leaving his property at Woodlesford to his eldest son James, the offspring, as it appears, of a former marriage. Richard was committed to the care of his grandfather Willie, who determined upon sending him to the University. This design he put in execution the following year, choosing that early period either on account of the youth's uncommon proficiency, or for the better chance of witnessing himself the completion of his education. His partiality for this grandson appears in a bequest of some property, consisting of seven acres of land, the house in which Bentley was born, and other buildings; one-third to his daughter, and the remaining two-thirds, with the reversion of the whole, to her eldest son Richard [8].

His grandfather's bequest.

May 24, 1676. Bentley sent to St. John's College, Cambridge.

Our young scholar was admitted at Cambridge a subsizar of St. John's College, at that time the largest in the University, under the tuition of the Rev. Joseph Johnston; and in the entry of his admission he is stated, either by design or accident, to be a year older than he actually was [9]. The master of the College was Dr. Francis Turner, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and one of the seven prelates who signalized themselves by their resistance to the attempts of James II. against the Church. The University was at this time crowded with students to a degree, of which there has since been hardly any example: at his matriculation, Bentley's name appears the last of twenty-six sizars of St. John's College, who all commenced their residence in the same term.

July 6, 1676.

College studies.

Of Bentley's studies at the University, I am able to communicate little more than what may be inferred from the attainments which

[8] For particulars relative to the Oulton property, Bentley's family, and other matters connected with the place of his nativity, I am indebted to my friend, John Blayds, esq. jun. whose father is possessed of the property in question, and who has kindly examined and transcribed the different deeds alluded to, as well as the parish registers.

[9] Extract from the Admission Book of St. John's College: "Richardus Bentley de Oulton, filius Thomæ B. defuncti, annos natus 15 et quod excurrit, literis institutus infra Wakefield, admissus est subsizator pro M'ro Johnston tutore et fidejussore ejus, Maii 24, ann. 1676." Bentley's tutor, when he took his degree of B.A. in 1664, spelled his name *Johnson*. The reader of these memoirs will perhaps be struck with the coincidence, which associates so many persons of the name of *Johnson* with Bentley's history.

he subsequently exhibited. He here, doubtless, laid the foundation of his accurate and extensive knowledge of the classics, and attained that nice perception of their poetical measures, for which he stands unrivalled. Upon the latter point, indeed, where he had scarcely any example to follow, and where he claims the merit of a discoverer, we are told by himself, in his Dissertation on the Metres of Terence, that he had adopted some of his metrical opinions at this early age[10]. The academical prizes which now serve as a stimulus to the genius and exertions of students, and are the means of recording their early merits, had at that time no existence. Indeed the value of this powerful engine of emulation seems not to have been understood until long after the period of which we are writing. But the collision of talent, inevitable in so large a society, could not have failed to operate with full force upon the youthful ardour of such a mind as Bentley's.

Bentley's verses.

I am not aware that any of his Latin verses, written at this period, have been preserved: but we have little cause to regret their loss, as he was not endowed with a poetical vein, and it is evident, from his subsequent productions of that kind, that he never acquired facility or elegance in their composition; an accomplishment, indeed, hardly to be expected from a boy who quits school at the age of fourteen. The only specimen which I possess of his college exercises, is an English ode "On the Papist's Conspiracy by Gunpowder," written in stanzas of ten lines: it is principally curious, as shewing that the taste still prevailed for the forced conceits and far-fetched quibbles which mark the poetical school of Cowley. The following is a specimen of the style, in which he combines his wit and learning:

> "Such *devilish* deeds to *Angli* done!
> Such *black* designs on *Albion!*
> Transmarine fruit: sure 't could not grow
> From soil quite contrary, and people too.
> He that its history doth tell,
> Must not have goose but Harpy's quill;

[10] "Quare ego jam ab adolescentia in omnibus Iambicis præter Tetrametrum Catalecticum, de quo postea dicam, aliam mihi scansionis rationem institui, per διποδίαν scilicet τροχαϊκὴν," &c. *De Metris Terentianis*, p. iv.

No Heliconian aid must wish,
But th' iron whip of Nemesis;
'Tis that must now make Pegasus to go,
And scorn St. Peter's church at Rome below."

The Roman Pontiff he calls,

" For mathematics much renown'd;
That fame's his due; for he hath found
The point of Archimede, he 'th hurl'd
Religion upside down, and mov'd the world."

And he thus compares the operations of the Papists with the persecutions of the Christians under Nero:

" 'Tis true, the Christians they did tear,
Sewed in the skins of wolf and bear;
But now ye butcher all the rest,
Like wolves in shape of Christians drest.
We do not wish that you should bear
Our kings in splendid triumph here,
Elijah-like, the skies to pass:
No Phaëthon in Britain was.
Our sins are not so foul as to require
The Roman purgatory fire,
To make the senate-house a pile,
And senate a burnt off'ring for the isle."

The studies of the schools consisted of logic, ethics, natural philosophy, and the mathematics: the latter branch of knowledge, which was destined subsequently to take the lead, and almost to swallow up the rest, had then but recently become an object of much attention. That Bentley cultivated mathematical science with effect, may be inferred from the close and logical character of his style, as well as from his constantly recommending and patronizing such studies in others. The true system of the universe, and the proper methods of philosophical investigation, had not yet become public by the writings of Newton: but the light of the Newtonian discoveries was partially revealed to Cambridge before the rest of the world, by the lectures of the philosopher himself, delivered in the character of Lucasian Professor. These Bentley had an opportunity of attending; and that he did not neglect

Mathematical pursuits.

Newton's lectures.

it, I am induced to believe by his selection of the Newtonian discoveries as a prominent subject of his Boyle's Lectures, and his familiarity with the train of reasoning by which they are established.

Bentley's contemporaries.

Among the students of the same year with Bentley, I find some names of no small celebrity: Samuel Garth of St. Peter's College, well known as a physician, a poet, and a philanthropist; John Dennis of Caius, a name familiar in the literary history of his time, whose acuteness as a critic made him formidable to Addison and Pope. Richard Johnson, of the same college as Bentley, was also his contemporary; and I conjecture him to be the person afterwards master of Nottingham School, and author of *Grammatical Commentaries*, *Noctes Nottinghamicæ*, and *Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus*. This identity, which there seems little reason to doubt, may help to account for the personal rancour displayed against Bentley in the latter production; which is inexplicable but upon the supposition of some previous intercourse. Johnson's spleen might have been the offspring of a feud begun at the University, or of mortification at the neglect of old acquaintance by his more fortunate fellow-collegian [11]. Of his contemporaries I am aware of only one with whom Bentley maintained a friendship in after life: this was William Wotton, the able antagonist of Sir W. Temple, in the controversy 'On ancient and modern Learning.' As their combined efforts on that occasion have associated together the names of Wotton and Bentley, it is right to take some notice of the former, who, when he entered the University, was a child, and presents the best authenticated instance of a juvenile prodigy that I have ever found upon record [12]. It is certified by the testimony not of

Richard Johnson.

William Wotton, a juvenile prodigy.

[11] Johnson, in his 'Grammatical Commentaries,' styles himself M.A. and Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, who gives some account of him in the Memoirs of his own life, says, that 'he could not find out which University had the honour of his education.' Bentley's contemporary, Richard Johnson, is the only graduate of the name, either at Oxford or Cambridge, who could be the Nottingham schoolmaster. He indeed proceeded no farther than his degree of B.A. But there have been many instances of persons who, having only taken that first degree, afterwards intimated their academical education by assuming the title of M.A. to which they had no claim; probably from a dislike of the juvenile notion connected with the term 'Bachelor of Arts.'

[12] I am aware of the prodigies recorded of John Philip Barretier, whose life is given by Dr. Sam. Johnson. See *Johnson's Works*, vol. xii. p. 149. But the wonderful parts of that narrative rest upon the sole authority of the youth's father.

CHAP. I.

one but many persons of sense and learning, that at six years of age he was able to read and translate Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; to which, at seven, he added some knowledge of the Arabic and Syriac. On his admission at Catherine Hall in his tenth year, the Master, Dr. Eachard, the antagonist of Hobbes, recorded, '*Gulielmus Wotton, infra decem annos, nec Hammondo nec Grotio secundus.*' His surprising proficiency during his academical career is testified by some of the best scholars of that day, Dr. Paman the Public Orator, Dr. Duport the Dean of Peterborough, and Dr. Lynnet of Trinity College. When he proceeded Bachelor of Arts, he was acquainted with twelve languages; and as there was no precedent for granting that degree to a boy of thirteen, Dr. Humphrey Gower, one of the Caput, thought fit to put upon record a notice of his proficiency in every species of literature, as a justification of the University. These testimonies, after making every abatement for the language of admiration, leave the fact little less than miraculous: and it is right to add, that Wotton maintained in after life a reputation much higher than is generally the case with persons famed for precocious intellect in childhood [13].

Nov. 4, 1678.

As Bentley did not enjoy an exhibition from his school, his finances were probably slender; but when he had been above two years at college, he was made scholar on the foundation of Dr. Dowman, there being perhaps no claimant from Pocklington School, for which that endowment is destined: at the expiration of the year he succeeded to one of the Yorkshire scholarships founded by Sir Marmaduke Constable. After the regular period of residence and study, Bentley commenced Bachelor of Arts, in company with a greater number of students than have ever since taken their degree at the same time, till the last two or three years. On this occasion, so important in an academical life, his name appears sixth in the First Tripos, or list of honours. But a custom existed for the Vice-chancellor and two Proctors severally to nominate one student to a place among the honours, as a compliment; and the names of these honorary 'Senior Optimes' were registered

Jan. 23, 1679-80. Degree of B.A.

[13] The numerous and incontrovertible testimonies for the amazing proficiency of Wotton's childhood may be seen in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 253—259.

immediately after that of the first man in the year. This practice, though invidious as a distinction, and ineffectual as an honour, was suffered to continue, until the Senate-house examination had assumed its present form and importance; nor was it totally abolished till within the last forty years. Bentley's place, therefore, corresponded with that of third Wrangler at the present period. It is right, however, to notice, that the disposition of these honours in former days, considered as a criterion of merit, hardly admits of a comparison with that of later times. The care taken in ascertaining the proficiency of the young men was inadequate; and consequently little value seems to have been attached to such distinctions, which we scarcely ever find mentioned before the middle of the last century. The very year in which Bentley graduated, witnessed the first of the improvements that have progressively raised the philosophical system of Cambridge to its present eminence—I mean, the annual appointment of two persons accomplished in scientific knowledge, to preside as Moderators in the Sophs' Schools; a duty previously performed by the Proctors, who from the accidental mode of their nomination, must sometimes have been deficient in the requisite qualifications. Four years afterwards a further improvement was made, by associating these persons with the examiners for degrees[14].

1680.

1684.

Bentley had now completed his education with such a share of credit as never fails to secure employment and maintenance for a scholar: he was, however, excluded from a fellowship in his college, by that unfortunate provision in the statutes of St. John's, which confined the number of fellows born in each county to two; a restriction not removed till the reign of his present Majesty: there being at that time two fellowships held by Yorkshiremen, it followed that he was not admissible. For the two years succeeding his Bachelor's degree, I am unable to trace any notice or biographical anecdote respecting him: he probably continued to reside at Cambridge, in the further prosecution of his studies. A fellowship, founded by Sir Marmaduke Constable, then becoming vacant, Bentley was a candidate[15]: but as persons in priest's orders

Fellowships at St. John's College.

March, 1681-82.

[14] From the Registers of the University. [15] Cumberland, *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 242.

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are alone eligible to this foundation, and as he wanted four years of the canonical age, his motive in coming forward on this occasion must have been a desire to distinguish himself by his performance in the examination. St. John's College has been at all times laudably noted for attention to the interests of its deserving members: a spirit which was now exhibited in favour of Bentley. The head-mastership of the Grammar School of Spalding in Lincolnshire being vacant, and the nomination having lapsed to the college, he was appointed to that office. The commission of so important a trust to a youth who had just completed his twentieth year, is not only a testimony of his scholarship, but implies an opinion of the steadiness and discretion of his character. As soon as he was of age he disposed of his interest in the Oulton property to his brother James; and we are told that he devoted the money arising from the sale, to the purchase of a collection of books, an article indispensable for his present situation [16].

Bentley Master of Spalding School.

The office of a country schoolmaster generally fixes the destiny of its possessor for life, and forces him to be contented with the humble but honourable fame to be acquired in the discharge of its duties. Bentley's lot designed him for a different sphere: he did not preside over the school more than a twelvemonth; too short a period to afford means of estimating his merits as an instructor, and scarcely sufficient to place his name upon record in that capacity. Not only were his early biographers ignorant of the fact of his having been master of Spalding School, but during his life-time it was not generally known: many of his antagonists accuse him of writing in the style of a pedagogue, without seeming to be aware, that he had once actually sustained that character [17].

In the accounts of the school I observe, that before the year 1722 the master had no proper dwelling-house [18]. This deficiency of accommodation at Spalding might have been one reason which induced Bentley to accept the office of domestic tutor to the son of Dr. Edward

[16] Cumberland, *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 242.

[17] See a letter upon the subject from Mr. J. Rowning to Mr. Wm. Greaves of Fulbourne, given in Nichols' Account of the Spalding Society.—*Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi. p. 10.

[18] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi. p. 55.

Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's. Accordingly he bade adieu to Spalding, (where he was succeeded by Mr. Walter Johnson), and became an inmate in the family of that illustrious divine. For this appointment likewise he was indebted to St. John's College, of which the Dean had been a fellow. To a young man of talents and merit, hardly any situation could have been more beneficial: he here enjoyed the use of one of the best private libraries in the world; was in the habit of conversing with many leading characters in the Church and State, who visited his patron; and, above all, had the opportunity of profiting by the daily society of the Dean, who was a person of unbounded learning, and who had great insight into the characters and capacities of others; while his amiable disposition, and the recollection of having himself in early life filled a similar situation in two gentlemen's families, insured his liberal and considerate treatment of the tutor of his son [19].

CHAP. I.

1682-83. Tutor to the son of Dr. Stillingfleet.

Bentley took his degree of Master of Arts at the regular period, after which his connection with the University of Cambridge ceased for some years; the Dean, in whose family he lived, being Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, resided principally in London. Here he prosecuted his studies with all the advantages of books and literary society, and amassed and digested that prodigious fund of knowledge, which displays itself in his earliest publications. We know that he made theology a primary object, and judged that an acquaintance with the oriental languages was the best foundation for a thorough understanding of the Scriptures. In a tract, written when nearly threescore, he records with visible satisfaction his laborious method of acquiring the Hebrew. "He wrote," he tells us, "before he was twenty-four years of age, a sort of *Hexapla;* a thick volume in quarto, in the first column of which he inserted every word of the Hebrew Bible alphabetically; and in five other columns, all the various interpretations of those words in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate Latin, Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, that occur in the whole Bible. This he made for his own use, to know the Hebrew, not from the late rabbins, but from the ancient versions; when, bating Arabic, Persic, and Ethiopic, he read

July, 1683.

His Hebrew studies.

[19] *Life of Stillingfleet*, p. 3.

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over the whole Polyglot." At the same time he mentions having written another volume in quarto of various lections and emendations of the Hebrew Text, drawn out of the ancient versions; 'which, though done in these green years, would make a second part to the famous Capellus's *Critica Sacra*'[20].

Bentley, while under the protection of his patron, paid much attention to the criticism of the New Testament; a subject which he resumed with so much energy at a more advanced age. But his favourite objects of pursuit then, as well as at every other period of life, were the classical authors; and those he studied in a manner at once so accurate and so comprehensive, as to lay a foundation for the most solid fame which has ever yet been built upon this department of literature. It may be remarked, that a scholar at that time possessed neither the aids nor the encouragements which are now presented to smooth the paths of literature. The grammars of the Latin and Greek languages were imperfectly and erroneously taught; and the critical scholar must have felt severely the absence of sufficient indexes, particularly of the voluminous scholiasts, grammarians, and later writers of Greece, in the examination of which no inconsiderable portion of a life might be consumed. Bentley, relying upon his own exertions, and the resources of his own mind, pursued an original path of criticism, in which the intuitive and subtle quickness of his genius calculated him to excel. In the faculty of memory, so important for such pursuits, he has himself candidly declared, that he was not particularly gifted[21]. Consequently he practised throughout life the precaution of noting in the margin of his books the suggestions and conjectures which rushed into his mind during their perusal. To this habit of laying up materials in store, we may partly attribute the surprising rapidity with which some of his most important works were completed. He was also at the trouble of constructing for his own use indexes of authors quoted by the principal

Classical pursuits.

[20] *Dr. Bentley's Proposals for printing a new Edition of the Greek Testament, and St. Hierom's Latin Version*, 1721, p. 35. I am not aware what has become of these two manuscript volumes, or whether they have been preserved.

[21] *Dissertation on Phalaris*, p. 421. "I will freely own therefore to Mr. B. that my memory, which is none of the best, deceived me here."

scholiasts, by Eustathius, and other ancient commentators, of a nature similar to those afterwards published by Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca;* which latter are the produce of the joint labour of various hands. CHAP. I.

There is no doubt that Bentley from the first looked forward to the clerical profession as his designation; yet he did not enter holy orders till some years after the usual age. For this delay we shall be at no loss to account, if we recollect that he completed his twenty-third year at the very period of the accession of James the Second to the throne; and that this Prince's whole reign consisted of unceasing attempts to introduce Popery, and to overthrow the Church of England, by measures which amounted to a persecution of its members. Dr. Stillingfleet was at that time Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, and took a great share in the councils of those illustrious fathers of the Church, to whose spirit and firmness its preservation at that alarming crisis is, under Divine Providence, mainly attributable. It was during the same period that some of his most important controversies were carried on; and in them Bentley was believed to have been employed as a transcriber: that, however, was a mistake; though it is not unlikely that he assisted his patron's researches. Subsequently, in the controversy upon Phalaris, the Boylean party had endeavoured to affront him with saying, 'How unnatural a step it is for an amanuensis to start up Professor of Divinity:' when, in reply, after exposing the folly and rudeness of such an attack, he adds, that 'he should never account it any disgrace to have served Bishop Stillingfleet in any capacity of a scholar; but that he was never amanuensis to his lordship, nor to any one else; neither did his lordship ever make use of any amanuensis: so little regard had Mr. Boyle either to decency or truth'[22]. 1685.

[22] Preface to *Dissertation on Phalaris*, p. lxxviii.

CHAPTER II.

Dean Stillingfleet made Bishop of Worcester—Bentley goes with his pupil to Wadham College, Oxford—His acquaintance at Oxford; Mill, Bernard, Hody—His literary employments—Hephæstion—Lucretius—Bentley ordained deacon—Made chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester—Employed to purchase the Vossian library—Designs to collect the fragments of all the Greek poets—Bishop Lloyd—Suggestion of publishing the Greek lexicographers—Bentley's corrections of Hesychius—Verwey's edition—Chronicle of Malela—Gregory—Chilmead—Publication of Malela—Prolegomena by Hody—Bentley undertakes to write an Appendix—Account of the Chronicle—Epistola ad Millium—Correspondence with Bernard—Controversy with Hody—Reception of Bentley's first publication—Its contents—Its style—Bentley occupied in theology—Resumes classical studies—Undertakes Manilius.

CHAP. II. 1689.

When the deliverance of the Nation and the Church had been effected by the Revolution, it was the first care of King William's government to fill the vacant bishopricks with divines most distinguished for ability and piety. In pursuance of this determination, Dean Stillingfleet, who was considered the ablest champion of the Establishment, was shortly after consecrated Bishop of Worcester.

It was about the same time that Bentley's pupil, James Stillingfleet, being of a proper age for the University, his father determined that he should be accompanied by his private tutor to Wadham College, Oxford. Cumberland asserts, that on this occasion the Bishop gave to Bentley the absolute choice between Oxford and Cambridge; and that he was induced to prefer the former by his desire to consult the manuscripts of the Bodleian Library [1]. There can be no doubt, that an aspiring scholar would rejoice in the opportunity of examining the stores of learning deposited in that noble collection: but that the Bishop, who had sent his eldest son to his own college at Cambridge, should have been determined in the choice of an university for his second son, by the private wish of his tutor, is, to say the least, highly improbable, and not to be credited upon an authority so frequently mistaken. What might be the real motives, is perfectly immaterial:

[1] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 242.

CHAP. II. 1689. July 4.

it is sufficient to state, that at the beginning of 1689 Bentley attended his pupil to Wadham College, of which he became himself a member, and in the course of that year was incorporated Master of Arts, as holding the same degree in the sister University.

His acquaintance at Oxford.

Bentley resided at Oxford under very auspicious circumstances: from his connection with the Bishop of Worcester, he obtained the acquaintance of several persons most distinguished in the University for station and ability; with whom his own merits presently placed him on a footing of intimacy. Among these we must particularly notice Dr. John Mill, Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, the well-known editor of the New Testament; Dr. Edward Bernard, celebrated for his researches in science, as well as in the antiquities and chronology of the ancient world; and Mr. Humphrey Hody, tutor of Wadham, afterwards Professor of Greek, whose Dissertation against Aristeas's account of the Septuagint Translators, written while a young man, had procured him an eminent and deserved reputation.

His literary employments.

Bentley lost no time in availing himself of the manuscript treasures of the Bodleian Library, to which his own character, or the interest of his friends, procured him an unreserved access: these were to be the materials for publications, which he meditated in widely different departments of literature. We find him with the ardour of a young and sanguine scholar, at the same time designing to give the world new editions of Greek grammarians and of Latin poets. He collated three manuscripts of Hephæstion, found in the Baroccian collection, writing in the margin of his copy some notes of his own on that author, naturally the favourite of a metrical scholar [2]. He was also in correspondence with his friend William Wotton, then resident at St. John's College, Cambridge, (of which he was become a fellow) who transmitted to him collations and extracts from the libraries of his own University, as contributions to his various designs. One of Wotton's letters, which is preserved, begins with accurate specimens of the celebrated Beza

[2] This volume, Turnebus's edition, (which contains also Bentley's Collations of the MS. of Hephæstion in Bishop Moore's library, and of that belonging to Caius College) is now deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Its contents have been published by Professor Gaisford, in his excellent edition of Hephæstion.

CHAP. II. 1689.

manuscript of the Gospels, probably intended for the use of Dr. Mill, and then gives a careful collation from a copy of Macrobius in Bene't College, of all the passages of Lucretius quoted by that writer: from which we may infer, that Bentley was at this time meditating an edition of the Epicurean poet. Wotton's letter concludes with an anticipation of what the public might expect from the labours of his friend. "I should now," says he, "congratulate myself and the world upon the happy prospect of all those new discoveries we are like to have from you, when once you are well settled at Oxford. You know I write what I think; and therefore I hope you will make use of me, as often as you think I can be in the least serviceable to you. I am your's affectionately, W. W[3]."

Lucretius.

March 16, 1689-90. Ordained Deacon. Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester.

In the following year Bentley was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton[4]; and shortly afterwards received the appointment of chaplain to his patron, the Bishop of Worcester, who had already bestowed the same distinction upon Hody, the College tutor of his son.

Employed to purchase the Vossian library.

About this time Bentley was employed by certain leading Heads at Oxford to negotiate the purchase of the books of Dr. Isaac Voss, canon of Windsor, (better known by his classical name of Vossius), who was then lately dead. This library, the joint collection of himself and his learned father, Gerard John Vossius, abounded in scarce volumes, both printed and manuscript, and was believed to be the best belonging to any private individual. Bentley, who was going to town, had a private commission to propose to Adrian Beverland, the executor, a sum of money for this valuable library on behalf of the University; but with a caution to obtain it as much below the maximum as possible. During the progress of the negotiation, his brother, Matthew Voss, declared that the books could not be sold without his concurrence, and that Oxford should have them 500*l.* cheaper than the booksellers. Either in consequence of this hint, or from finding that a larger sum had been mentioned than the University could afford, or was likely to

[3] This letter is the earliest of a collection found in Trinity Lodge, July 1820.

[4] From Baker's MSS. in the British Museum, extracted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1779.

approve, the proposed terms were lowered; whereupon the treaty was broken off, and the precious collection disposed of to the University of Leyden. Three letters from Bentley to Bernard relating to this affair have been preserved, and testify his zeal to secure a treasure, the loss of which the scholars of this country have never ceased to deplore. There appears to have been some deception or collusion practised by Matthew Voss or by Beverland. Bentley's adversaries in the Phalaris Controversy just glance at this affair, for the purpose of hinting that the failure was owing to his mismanagement; an unfounded and ungrateful insinuation, which the letters just mentioned sufficiently contradict [5].

Designs to collect all the Fragments of Greek poets.

The work which Bentley had designed to be the foundation of his fame, was a complete collection of the Fragments of the Greek Poets [6]: an undertaking, the magnitude and difficulty of which those only can appreciate, who have ever endeavoured to collect the quotations of any one poet, scattered through the whole range of classical authors, as well as of grammarians, scholiasts, and lexicographers. Some idea may be formed of the extent of such a task, as well as of Bentley's qualifications for it, from the collection which he has actually made of the fragments of the single author, Callimachus. That his design was abandoned has always been a subject of regret among scholars: nevertheless he had reasons for relinquishing it, the validity of which it is impossible to deny. Such a work, however desirable, would not have been attended with advantages commensurate with the necessary labour and research: and since no degree of diligence could have ensured the same attention to all the poets in this multifarious assemblage, some inequality must have been observable in the performance: and the object itself would be better answered by several editors, each peculiarly versed in his own author, annexing to the entire works of the poets the broken and scattered fragments of those which have perished.

Of the many distinguished friends to whose intimacy Bentley was

[5] The three letters from Bentley to Dr. Bernard in relation to the Vossian library (without date) are among the papers of the latter in the Bodleian. They were printed by Dr. Charles Burney, but not in their right order. They will be found properly arranged in the *Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. p. 535.

[6] *Epistola ad Millium*, p. 20.

CHAP. II. 1690.

Bishop Lloyd.

introduced, no one took more interest in his literary career than Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, the most learned of those seven prelates who had signalized themselves in the late reign, under the persecution of their infatuated monarch. His intercourse with Stillingfleet had given him opportunities of discovering the genius and acquirements of his chaplain, and he could also discern the line in which they might be made peculiarly beneficial to literature. It appears to have been by his advice that Bentley undertook the gigantic task of publishing the Greek lexicographers. The plan proposed was, to print the three principal, Hesychius, Suidas, and the Etymologicon Magnum, in three columns on the same page, after the manner of Walton's Polyglot. It was calculated that they would fill three volumes in folio, and that Julius Pollux, (who could not be reduced to alphabetical order,) along with Erotianus, Phrynichus, &c. and an appendix from manuscripts, would make a fourth[7]. This project met with great encouragement; but upon his mentioning it in a letter to Dr. Bernard, that friend intimated some doubt of its propriety. As Bentley's design of publishing Hesychius was long and fondly cherished, and as we hear no farther mention of the triumvirate, we may conclude that he speedily abandoned a plan which was attended with so much inconvenience. The method pursued in the three principal lexicons is so dissimilar, that they could not be printed in the same page without awkwardness; nor could the notes upon them be combined in the same series, without a degree of embarrassment not compensated by any advantage to the reader.

Suggests to Bentley to publish all the Greek Lexicographers.

Bentley's corrections of Hesychius.

The Lexicon of Hesychius was that which had principally employed the sagacity and learning of our critic. He it was who first discovered the two principal sources of error, which had so corrupted the text of this most important glossary of the Greek language, as to render it comparatively useless: first, that transcribers had been in the habit of taking up words found in the margin of their copy, and jumbling them into the explanation given of other words; and, secondly, a neglect of alphabetical order. By attention to these and other particulars,

[7] Bentley's letter to Bernard. *Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. p. 538.

he had been enabled to effect above five thousand corrections in Hesychius[8]. An edition of that lexicon had been above ten years in preparation at the Hague, by John Verwey, a schoolmaster, who disguised his cacophonous name by the classical title of 'Phorbœus;' and for his use the remarks of the learned were put in requisition from all quarters; Joseph Hill, a nonconformist minister of an English congregation at the Hague, better known as the publisher of Schrevelius's Lexicon, supplied him with materials, and came to England to procure assistance for the work. Bentley's learning being already matter of conversation, he was applied to by this person for contributions to Hesychius; but he naturally preferred to publish himself the fruit of his labours. Besides, a printed specimen of Verwey's work had shewn that he was destitute of every qualification, except diligence, for his undertaking[9]. The projected work was rendered abortive in the following year by the death of the editor.

CHAP. II. 1690.

Verwey's edition.

While Bentley was employed upon this and other works of magnitude, his attention was by mere accident drawn to the subject which actually established his unrivalled fame as a Greek critic. Among the manuscripts of Francis Barocci, which enrich the Bodleian library, was found the copy of a Greek historical work, compiled in the beginning of the ninth century, by *Joannes Malela Antiochenus*[10]. This is one of the numerous chronicles drawn up by Christian writers, of events from Adam to their own time; the real value of which consists in their being taken from older writings, that have perished, and from their being the sources whence Suidas and other lexicographers drew their information on chronology and history[11]. Accordingly, references had been made to this author by Usher, Selden, Pearson, Lloyd, and other learned men, who had access to this the sole existing copy of the work;

Chronicle of Malela.

[8] *Epist. ad Mill.* p. 39.

[9] See Bentley's and Bernard's letters, *Mus. Crit.* vol. ii. p. 538. Also Alberti's notice of this undertaking, in his *Præfatio ad Hesychium*, sect. ii. p. xxiv.

[10] The beginning and the end of this manuscript being torn out, the author of the work would not have been known, had not Gregory discovered a passage in it, which is quoted in another old work as from *Joannes Malela*. See Hody, *Prolegom.* § xliii.

[11] Full accounts may be found of these *Chronica* in Cave's *Historia Literaria*, and in Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. vii.

CHAP. II. 1690.

while notes had been written upon it and an edition undertaken by John Gregory, a man of prodigious learning, in the time of Charles I., before the civil troubles interrupted such pursuits, and involved all the king's friends in common ruin. After him the manuscript was taken up by Edmund Chilmead, of Christ Church, the compiler of the catalogue of manuscripts in the Bodleian; he translated the book into Latin, and wrote a commentary upon it; but when it was just ready for the press, he also was expelled the University in 1648 by the prevailing Parliamentary party. Chilmead, happening to be an excellent musician, was enabled to procure bread by performing at a weekly concert in London, till his death. But the Chronicler of Antioch remained unprinted till the time of which we are speaking, when the curators of the Sheldon press complied with the wishes of the learned, among whom the study of ancient chronology had become fashionable, and committed him to the press, along with Chilmead's notes and translation, under the superintendence of Dr. Mill. When it was partly printed, they applied to Hody to write the *Prolegomena*: a task which he performed in an able and satisfactory style. He first establishes that the author is not the person generally quoted as *Joannes Antiochenus*, but is distinguished from the other by the surname of *Malela;* the confusion having arisen from their being both of Antioch, and both writers of chronicles from Adam to their own time. He next investigates the age of this writer, who from the manuscript ending with the thirty-fifth year of Justinian, A.D. 560, had been supposed by Bishop Lloyd and others to have lived in the reign of that Emperor. But Hody proves, by an ingenious argument from internal evidence, that he must have belonged to a later period, when the Greek language was still more degenerate than in the time of Justinian.

Gregory.

Chilmead.

Publication of Malela.

Prolegomena by Hody.

Before the *Prolegomena* were printed, Bentley happening to express to Dr. Mill some curiosity about the yet unpublished Malela, he was indulged with a sight of the sheets from the press, upon condition of writing down his remarks to be printed as an appendix to the book. Finding, however, that the author was unspeakably dull, and his information continually erroneous, he repented, and wished to give up the undertaking; but Mill was too anxious for the credit of the

Bentley undertakes to write an appendix.

publication, and the fame which he foresaw it would procure to his young friend, to release him from his promise[12]. It was, besides, the desire of Bishop Lloyd, who took a constant interest in whatever concerned the advancement of knowledge, that Bentley should publish his remarks on Malela[13]. This happened in the latter part of 1690, when our critic was upon the point of quitting Oxford, and resuming his residence with the Bishop's family in Park-street, Westminster: he accordingly transcribed and carried with him such parts of the work as supplied suitable topics for a dissertation.

Account of the Chronicle.

The first pages of the Chronicle being lost, it commences in the midst of the fabulous line of Ægyptian kings; the death of Vulcan, and the succession of his son Sol. The early part consists of a laboured attempt to reconcile mythology with history; to accomplish which the narratives of the poets are reduced to the plainest and dullest annals: it then passes rapidly over the authentic part of history, till it reaches the Christian Emperors, when it becomes diffuse, without the recommendation of accuracy.

Such was the author who was destined to be the vehicle of first establishing Bentley's unrivalled reputation. The passages selected to be the subjects of his remarks consisted either of verses reduced by the compiler to his own prose, which Bentley restores with equal learning and cleverness; or of allusions to the poets, particularly the Attic dramatists. In his commentary upon these extracts, he displays a very wide extent of reading, not only in the classical authors, but in the literature of later ages; and shows that he had well examined and sifted the various writers whom he makes subservient to his criticism.

Epistola ad Millium.

Having thrown his remarks into the appropriate form of an Epistle to Dr. Mill, he transmitted them to the Oxford press, and requested his friend Dr. Bernard to read the proof sheets, and communicate to him his remarks and strictures. The correspondence upon this subject has been preserved by Bernard, and is on every account curious and characteristic. Bernard, who had a sincere regard for Bentley, picks out a few points in the Essay, upon which he animadverts with the

Correspondence with Bernard.

[12] *Epistola ad Millium*, p. 1.

[13] *Dissertation on Phalaris*, Pref. p. lxxxviii.

CHAP. II. 1690. spirit of a friend, and the authority of a veteran scholar: Bentley defends and justifies his opinions with the confidence of a person thoroughly master of his subject, who feels himself in a condition rather to impart than to ask instruction. The doctor, far from being offended at this freedom of dissent, shews increased admiration of his friend's erudition and sagacity, particularly upon questions of orthography and metre; and before the close of the discussions, declares his conviction that he is the only person living competent to restore the remains of the Greek poets from the depredations of time; a compliment which Bentley, though he affects to consider it spoken in jest, evidently resolves to merit[14].

1691. The Epistle was shown, at the author's request, to the celebrated Henry Dodwell, one of the greatest living authorities upon questions of ancient chronology, with whom he appears to have lived, while at Oxford, on terms of intimacy and friendship[15]. In April 1691 it was ready for publication[16]; but its appearance was delayed till June by a whimsical occurrence, which gave to Bentley's first public exhibition a controversial character. Happening to pass through Oxford about this time, with the Bishop's family on their way to Worcester, he was

Controversy with Hody.

taken to task by Hody, his brother chaplain, for terming their author *Malelas*, whereas all the learned had hitherto designated him by the name of *Malela*. Bentley, considering this censure as a challenge, adds to his Epistle a full and satisfactory examination of the whole question of the proper orthography of Greek words when latinized; and fairly shows, that though the names of slaves and others adopted by the vulgar, received the Latin termination, as, *Marsya, Sosia, Demea* &c.; yet the practice of the best authors of Rome was to retain the Greek orthography in words of similar ending, as *Pythagoras, Leonidas, Anaxagoras, Perdiccas*; and, consequently, that all analogy was in favour of *Malelas*[17]. Hereupon Hody shifted his ground, and declared that all this learning was expended in vain, since the nomi-

[14] *Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. p. 540, 541.

[15] Ibid. p. 542, 543.

[16] Correspondence of Bentley and Bernard. Also a manuscript letter of Dr. Mill.

[17] The real doubt respecting the orthography of the name is of a different kind. It is in one place called *Melelas*, in another, *Malalas*. See *Epist. ad Mill.* p. 77—84.

native was not ὁ Μαλέλας, but ὁ Μαλέλα, which, like other barbarous names, was retained in the Greek undeclined. Bentley immediately wrote a refutation of this new position, which is, in fact, the least tenable of the two, and which he shows to be contrary both to analogy and authority; and his disquisitions upon such dry philological questions are expressed in a sprightly and amusing style. Hody, much nettled at this state of the contest, before the publication of the book, was in time to prefix four closely-printed pages in favour of *Malela;* which, however, tend only to establish the opposite opinion, by showing the insufficiency of the best arguments that could be produced against it. This piece of learning concludes with a singular prayer against arrogance, or bitterness of style; evidently designed to fix these charges upon his antagonist [18]. This being the first occasion on which we find Bentley accused of presumption, it is my duty to declare his vindication. That he chose to maintain his point, instead of deferring to the practice of others, when convinced that the truth was on his side, resembles neither pedantry nor presumption; and in his manner of doing this, I observe nothing which ought to have given offence to his friend, whom he mentions in another part of the Epistle in terms of handsome commendation. The fact was, that Hody felt piqued at his brother chaplain interfering at all with a matter which he conceived to belong to himself; and was severely mortified when he found that he had drawn upon himself an antagonist, whose powers he had so greatly underrated. There is too much reason to believe, that the offence given by this trivial cause was never afterwards healed.

CHAP. II. 1691.

Malelas had been long and anxiously expected by the learned; and his appearance interested them, not from his own merits, which were slender, but from those of the Appendix. The various and accurate learning, and the astonishing sagacity displayed in the Epistle to Mill, attracted the attention of every person capable of judging upon such subjects. The originality of Bentley's style, the boldness of his opinions, and his secure reliance upon unfailing stores of learning, all marked him

Reception of Bentley's first publication.

[18] This effusion, the solemnity of which was not well suited to the occasion, was afterwards copied in ' Boyle's Examination,' p. 288.

CHAP. II. 1691.

out as a scholar to be ranked with Scaliger, Casaubon, and Gataker. Notwithstanding the reluctance with which the pretensions of a new author are usually admitted, and the small number of persons to whom such writings were likely to recommend themselves, we find that the fame of our critic was at once established: among foreign scholars in particular, the sensation produced by this essay of a young and unknown writer, seems to have been unexampled; and Grævius and Spanheim, the chiefs of the learned world, pronounced him 'the rising constellation' of literature, and anticipated the brilliancy of his course[19].

Its contents.

The learning of this essay seems like the overflowing of an inexhaustible stream: of the many topics which claim attention, we may particularly notice that the true nature of the compilation of Hesychius, and the mode by which its errors might be corrected, was here first made known: and that, by following the path pointed out by Bentley, the main improvements in this Lexicon from that day to the present must be attributed[20].

Among other incidental remarks upon ancient metre, there is found the rule relative to the connection of verses in an anapæstic system, commonly called the *Synaphea:* this law, though preserved by all the Greek dramatic writers, as well as by the old Latin tragedians, had been disregarded, or rather was not known by Scaliger, Grotius, Buchanan, and other modern writers of anapæsts; who fancied that a short syllable might be made long by its position at the end of any line, and assumed this privilege with as little hesitation as if they had been writing hexameters. For our more correct notions of this measure we are unquestionably indebted to Bentley[21]. There is also displayed

[19] "Richardus Bentleius, novum sed splendidissimum Britanniæ lumen," *Grævius Præf. ad Callimachum.* "Novum idemque jam lucidum litteratæ Britanniæ sidus Richardus Bentleius." *Spanheim in Julian,* (p. 19), "Et novissime etiam in eruditissima ad Jo. Millium Epistola post Jo. Malelam edita, luculenter adductis plurimis eam in rem exemplis adseruit oriens novum litteratæ Britanniæ sidus Richardus Bentleius." *Spanheim in Callim.* p. 455. "Quod statuit in Epistola Malelæ addita Vir eruditissimus, et a quo magnum præclaris doctrinarum studiis incrementum licet augurari." *Ibid.* p. 605.

[20] *Epist. ad Mill.* p. 33.

[21] *Epist. ad Mill.* p. 26. The rule of the *Synaphea* had been hinted by Terentianus Maurus, p. 58, l. 10; but Bentley's remarks were clearly drawn from his own reading and observation. Dawes very unjustly accuses him of plagiarism in this respect. *Miscellanea Critica,* p. 29, 30.

an accurate and intimate acquaintance with the characters and plots of the lost dramas, the periods of their performance, and whatever else can be gathered respecting the history of the Greek stage, from the scattered fragments of the ancient *Didascaliæ* still in existence; a curious as well as intricate topic, which Bentley treats with a masterly hand. After this specimen it is perfectly astonishing to find his adversaries in the Phalaris controversy attacking him on a ground with which he had shewn himself so peculiarly acquainted. CHAP. II. 1691.

The style of the Epistle is animated and lively, and implies the gratification felt by a writer engaged in a field where his resources are abundant, and where he is sure to instruct and interest his reader. A person who opens it with the expectation of a dry disquisition upon certain abstruse topics, is agreeably surprised by meeting with information not less entertaining than profound; and is irresistibly carried on by the spirited character of the remarks. The diction, though clear and luminous, is not free from the redundancy and flippancy of a young writer, and the expressions are now and then somewhat boastful; a fault which would be readily pardoned, did it not too frequently occur in his subsequent productions. In addressing his learned correspondent, he is not satisfied with marking their intimacy by the terms *φίλη κεφαλὴ*, *Milli jucundissime*, *suavissime*, &c.; but in one place he accosts him, *ὦ Ἰωαννιδίον*—an indecorum which neither the familiarity of friendship, nor the licence of a dead language can justify towards the dignified Head of a House. But in the conclusion Bentley takes occasion to notice the critical edition of the New Testament, the great work on which Dr. Mill had been many years labouring, and on which he was destined to labour many more; giving at the same time a remarkable specimen of his own acuteness in sacred criticism[22]. His opinion of what might be expected from the projected edition, proved exceedingly gratifying to Mill, who, in a letter which is preserved, shows that he valued this praise not as the compliment of a partial friend, but as the testimony of one to whose judgment the world was sure to pay attention[23]. Its style.

[22] *Epist. ad Mill.* p. 96.

[23] This letter, dated March 31, 1691, is in the collection belonging to Trinity College. It

CHAP. II. 1691.

Such was the production which established the fame of Bentley, at the age of twenty-nine, in the highest rank of literary eminence; and from that moment the eyes of every scholar in Europe were fixed upon his operations. Great as is the number of persons who have since appeared with success in this department, it would not be easy to name a critical essay, which for accuracy, ingenuity, and original learning, can take place of the 'Appendix to Malelas.'

June, 1691. Bentley occupied in theology.

At the time of his introduction to the world as an author, Bentley was at Worcester, engaged in the study of theology. He had resolved, as soon as he had finished his Epistle to Mill, to devote himself exclusively to such pursuits as became the chaplain of a learned prelate, and to abandon classical books for a season: such at least was the purpose which he avowed to Dr. Bernard, and it drew from his correspondent an expostulation, and advice to combine with theology those critical pursuits in which he was so peculiarly qualified to excel[24]. Whether Bentley was serious in his design of relinquishing his favourite authors, may fairly be doubted. At all events, he was speedily summoned back to them by the general voice of the learned world, which, while it applauded this first specimen of his talents, called for their fresh exertion. Accordingly we find him preparing for the press new editions of Philostratus, of Hesychius, and of Manilius: to undertake at the same time three authors of such different descriptions, and requiring in the editor such different qualifications, is a proof of the fertility of his learning, and the energy of his mind. Manilius, a poet for whom he had always felt a partiality, was to have appeared the foremost[25]. A readiness was shewn in all quarters to further and assist

Resumes classical studies. Undertakes to publish Manilius.

begins thus: "Dear Sir,—I received your last papers, wherein you are infinitely too kind in your character of our present work, and that which we design. I promise you to alter nothing; but I shall have much ado to be as good as my word; this discourse of yours will raise the expectation of the world so much, that I shall not be able, I doubt, in any tolerable degree to answer it. But I submit, and am highly sensible of the great honour you do me herein: I will endeavour to alter nothing."

[24] See Bentley's and Bernard's Correspondence.—*Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. Epist. x. p. 546.

[25] He had expressed somewhere in company a very strong opinion in favour of Manilius; saying, that Ovid and Manilius were the only poets that had *wit* among the ancients. His antagonists in the Phalaris controversy had heard of this conversation, and thus sneer at the

his schemes. Sir Edward Sherburn, an old cavalier who had formerly translated the first book of Manilius, and written a commentary upon it, lent him some scarce editions, as well as a box containing collections relative to this poet, formerly belonging to Gaspar Gevartius, which he had some time before purchased at Antwerp[26]. He obtained the collation of a Leipsic manuscript, made by John Feller. His friend, Dr. Bernard, lent him a manuscript of his own, and applied to Spanheim to procure a collation of one which had belonged to Isaac Vossius, and which with the rest of his library, had gone to Leyden[27]. But Bentley was diverted from these occupations to establish a reputation in a different field.

comparison: "He forgets, I believe, when and where a certain critic of our times maintained, that Ovid and Manilius were the only two poets that had wit among the ancients. 'Tis just as if I should say, that Sir W. Temple and Dr. Bentley are the two best bred writers living; or, to put it in the doctor's more learned and polite way, that Nireus and Thersites were the two most *formose men that repaired to the siege of Ilium*." *Boyle's Examination*, p. 28. Bentley says in his Reply, "I am not at all concerned to justify this criticism, for I know not that ever I said so. But, however, not to desert Manilius, for whom I have an esteem, I see no reason at all, why he that said this should be ashamed of it. When the Examiner reads Manilius (for by his censure one would guess he yet had not) he will find in the best editions what Scaliger says of him: 'A most ingenious poet, a most elegant writer, that could manage an obscure and knotty subject with that clearness and smoothness of style; equal to Ovid in sweetness, and superior in majesty.' Thus we see one of the greatest scholars among all the moderns, and a very great poet himself, thought Manilius a very witty one; and just as that 'certain critic' did, has joined him with Ovid." *Dissert. on Phal.* p. 8.

[26] *Epist. ad Grævium*, p. 2. Letter to Bernard, *Mus. Crit.* vol. ii. p. 556. Pref. to *Dissert. on Phal.* p. xliv. Before Bentley received Sir Edward's collection, he had collated an old Italian edition, without date of place or year, which is in the Arundel library, given to the Royal Society. This collation, as far as the middle of the second book, he entered in the margin of his copy of the Aldine Manilius; a book which was obligingly sent for my inspection by its possessor, the late Joseph Cradock, Esq. of Gumley Hall, Leicestershire. Bentley says at the beginning, "Collatus cum editione vetusta, et (ut opinor) omnium principe, in 4to. ex Bibliotheca Arundeliana:" but he adds, in a later hand, "Sed postea habui duas vetustiores."

[27] Letter to Bernard, *Mus. Crit.* vol. ii. p. 555. "I cannot express my thankfulness to you, that you will so much engage yourself for me, as to ask that favour of Mr. Spanheim. I could have wished you would have made use of Gronovius, who is used to such things; the other, they say, is a very high and proud sort of a blade." This extract is rather curious: Bentley, we shall find, had reason to alter his opinion both of Gronovius and of Spanheim.

CHAPTER III.

Hon. Robert Boyle—His lectureship—Bentley appointed first lecturer—Confutation of Atheism—Mr. Evelyn—The principles of Hobbes—Newton's discoveries—Bentley first makes them generally known—Consults Newton himself—Bentley's style—Merits of the lectures—Bentley's first opponent—Bishop Kidder succeeds—Bentley made Prebendary of Worcester—Excites envy—His haughtiness of manner—Correspondence with Grævius—A tract of Rubenius—Grævius's edition of Callimachus—Bentley undertakes the Fragments—Joshua Barnes—Epistles of Euripides—Bentley's opinion of them—Barnes's behaviour.

CHAP. III. 1692.

Hon. Robert Boyle.

THE Honourable Robert Boyle, youngest son of Richard, first Earl of Cork, died on the 30th of December 1691. This personage, belonging to a family remarkably prolific in talent, though his four brothers enjoyed separate peerages, has himself ennobled his name by honours still more splendid and durable. His works on natural and experimental philosophy, particularly on hydrostatics and pneumatics, and his own improvements of the air pump, have placed his name in a rank second only to that of Newton; as a chemist, he takes the lead of all his contemporaries; and in his theological writings, he has so blended philosophy with religion as to exhibit to the world the true value of scientific pursuits. The merits of this extraordinary character, and the extent of his researches in most departments of human knowledge, are detailed by Bishop Burnet in a funeral sermon: from this eulogy it appears, that Mr. Boyle had been in the habit of expending no less than a thousand pounds every year in works of charity and beneficence; particularly in the propagation of Christianity. Wishing that in his death he might promote the same cause to which he had devoted his life, he bequeathed by his will a salary of fifty pounds a year, to found a lectureship for the defence of religion against infidels. The lecturer was to be annually chosen, and to deliver eight discourses in the year, in one of the churches of the metropolis[1].

His lectureship.

The care of this trust was bequeathed by Mr. Boyle to four of his

[1] See the bequest in the Dedication prefixed to Bentley's *Boyle's Lectures.*

particular friends, Dr. Thomas Tenison, then newly advanced to the bishoprick of Lincoln, Sir Henry Ashurst, Sir John Rotheram, and Mr. John Evelyn, the accomplished author of the *Sylva*. The trustees forthwith nominated Mr. Bentley as lecturer for the first year; an appointment which he owed principally to the high opinion entertained of him by Bishop Tenison[2]. We can hardly conceive a greater compliment to the merits of a young man, only in deacon's orders, than the selection of him from the whole clerical profession, to be the first champion in such a cause, and that too upon an institution to which the celebrity of the founder was in itself sufficient to draw the eyes of the public. He mentions this distinction, at different periods of his life, in such terms as show that he considered it the greatest of the honours with which he was ever invested[3].

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Feb. 13. Bentley appointed first lecturer.

The manner in which the lecturer discharged his office must have surpassed even the expectations of his patrons. The subject of his discourses was, 'a Confutation of Atheism.' It may be observed, that the doctrines of Spinoza and Hobbes had made considerable progress in that age among the higher classes of society, and were particularly dangerous from the insidious way in which they undermined all belief in natural and revealed religion. Both these writers professed indeed to acknowledge the existence of a God; but by denying the Divine providence in the government of the world, and by representing the existence of the universe as the result of necessity, they conducted their disciples to the very depths of atheism. The metaphysical subtilty of their reasonings, the assumption of a calm and philosophical tone of enquiry, and the apparent novelty of their dogmas, combined to mislead the unwary. The positions of Hobbes had been ably combated by Cudworth in his 'Intellectual System,' and by Cumberland in his book '*De Legibus Naturæ:*' but these works were not sufficiently popular to resist an evil, which had spread so far as to become seriously alarming.

Confutation of Atheism.

[2] *Evelyn's Mem.* ii. p. 31. "We made choice of one Mr. Bentley, chaplain to the Bp. of Worc[r]."

[3] In his letter to Grævius, May 15, 1694. Pref. to *Dissert. on Phalaris*, 1699, p. lxxxiv. *Proposals for an Edition of the New Testament*, in 1720. Reply to the Articles of Accusation brought against him before the Bishop of Ely, in 1733.

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In his first lecture, delivered at St. Martin's Church, Bentley exposes 'the folly of atheism, even with respect to the present life:' and in those which follow, he successively confutes the atheists from 'the faculties of the soul,' 'the structure of human bodies,' and 'the origin and frame of the world.'

March 7.

The reader of these discourses is informed and delighted by the variety of knowledge which they contain, and their close and convincing train of reasoning. The success with which Bentley unmasks the tenets of the atheist, grapples with his arguments, and exposes his fallacies, has never been surpassed, and scarcely equalled, in the wars of controversy. He steadily follows up his antagonist, and never fails to dislodge him from his positions. Various as are the topics which come under discussion, he appears at home in all, and displays a familiarity with metaphysics, natural history, and philosophy, altogether wonderful in a person coming fresh from the field of classical criticism. His ancient learning is introduced in a happy and agreeable manner, when he compares the theories of modern sceptics with those of the heathen philosophers. The followers of Hobbes having had recourse to metaphysical refinements, in order to deprive the Divine nature of its essential attributes, as well as to establish theories of materialism, Bentley encounters them on their own ground; and by examining the question upon the system recently promulgated by Locke, in his 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' exposes the inconsistencies of which they are guilty, when they represent an infinite and eternal Godhead as a corporeal essence, and give to mere matter the faculty of thinking. He agrees with that philosopher in holding, that the notion of a Deity is not innate, but seeks the proofs of his existence and attributes from the operations of the human mind, from the organization of animal nature, and from the structure of the inanimate creation; and while he continually reduces his opponents to an absurdity, he establishes his own positions with the closeness and severity of mathematical demonstration.

April 4.

Mr. Evelyn being present at the delivery of the second of these sermons, formed a most exalted opinion of the powers of the lecturer, whose acquaintance he forthwith cultivated, and continued his intimate

correspondent for several years [4]. At his motion, Bentley was desired by the trustees to print his lectures. When the three first had appeared, his friend, Dr. Bernard, suggested the expediency of replying to the particular objections brought against the Christian revelation, and especially those of the Jews: to which Bentley replied, "I cannot think I should do well to balk the proofs of a Deity, to attack either Theists or Jews. The Jews do us little hurt; and perhaps to bring their objections into the pulpit and the vulgar language, out of their present obscurity, would not do well; and few would care to read or hear such discourses:" adding, that 'of all the parts of his task,' (then probably expected to continue for three years) 'this should be the last that he would meddle with.' So much was he impressed with the necessity of overturning the system of Hobbes, of which 'the taverns and coffee-houses, nay, Westminster Hall, and the very churches, were full.' He was convinced, from personal observation, that 'not one English infidel in a hundred was other than a Hobbist;' and that they all well knew that his theory of a corporeal God was a pretence to elude the penalties of the law, or, to use Bentley's own expression, 'a mere sham to get his book printed [5];' for in those days, it seems, religion could not be made the object of open attacks and insults with impunity. Bentley was in fact meditating that most important discussion, which concludes his course of lectures, the demonstration of a Divine providence, from the physical constitution of the universe, as demonstrated by Newton. The *Principia* had now been published about six years; but the sublime discoveries of that work were yet little known, owing not merely to the obstacles which oppose the reception of novelty, but to the difficulty of comprehending the proofs whereby they are established. There has been preserved among Bentley's papers a manuscript in Newton's own hand, containing directions respecting the books to be read as a preparation for the perusal of his *Principia*. Bentley, for whose use they appear to have been drawn up, having a mind well adapted for mathematical reasoning, not only made himself

The principles of Hobbes.

Newton's discoveries.

[4] *Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 32. The second lecture was preached at Bow Church.

[5] Letter to Dr. Bernard, of May 28. *Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. p. 557.

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master of the system, but was able to discern the purpose which it might serve, in demonstrating the providence and benevolence of the Creator. Atheistical writers had propounded theories, whereby the creation of the world out of chaos, and the subsequent maintenance of our System, were explained by what they termed 'natural causes.' Such schemes, which excluded all immediate agency of the Divine will, had been numerous; but the fact was, that they all contradicted the laws of nature, upon which they pretended to be founded, as completely as was done by the Epicurean hypothesis of atoms descending down an infinite space by an inherent principle of gravitation tending not towards other matter, but towards a *vacuum*, and verging *from* the perpendicular. The erroneous but prevalent system of Des Cartes, which supposed the planets to be carried round the sun by the force of vortices, afforded too great a handle for atheistical reasoners, not to be pressed into their service. But our incomparable philosopher had now demonstrated the falsehood of the Cartesian notions, and established the general law of gravity, and whatever relates to the motions, bulks, and densities of the planets, by proofs never to be shaken. To Bentley belongs the undoubted merit of having been the first to lay open these discoveries in a popular form, and to explain their irresistible force in the proof of a Deity. This constitutes the subject of his seventh and eighth sermons; pieces admirable for the clearness with which it is developed, as well as for the logical precision of their arguments. Among other topics, he shews how contradictory to the principles of philosophy is the notion of the matter contained in the Solar System having once been diffused over a chaotic space, and afterwards combined into the large bodies of the sun, planets, and secondaries, by the force of mutual gravitation; and he explains, that the planets could never have obtained their transverse motion, which causes them to revolve round the sun in orbits nearly circular, from the agency of any cause but the arm of an almighty Creator. From these and other subjects of physical astronomy, as well as from the discoveries of Boyle, the founder of the lecture, respecting the nature and properties of the atmosphere, a conviction is irresistibly impressed upon the mind of the wisdom and benevolence of the Deity: and we are assured that the effect of these discourses was such, that

Bentley first makes them generally known.

atheism was deserted as untenable ground; or, to use his own expression, the atheists were 'silent since that time, and sheltered themselves under deism[6].'

Consults Newton himself.

Before he committed to the press his essays upon topics of a nature so difficult and so novel, Bentley had the precaution to consult Mr. Newton himself respecting the use to which he had turned his discoveries. He addressed, accordingly, certain queries to the philosopher, then residing in Trinity College, Cambridge, which gave rise to a curious and important correspondence. Newton's four letters on this occasion have long been before the public[7]: they commence with two remarkable declarations, the object which he had in view while writing his immortal work, and a disavowal of that intuitive genius for which the world gave him credit: he says, "When I wrote my treatise about our System, I had an eye upon such principles as might work with considering men for the belief of a Deity, and nothing can rejoice me more than to find it useful for that purpose. But if I have done the public any service this way, it is due to nothing but industry and patient thought." The matter of Bentley's enquiries relative to the Solar System, he discusses repeatedly in a manner which speaks the candid as well as powerful character of his mind. Upon most points of consultation he confirms Bentley's views, and supplies him with additional arguments; some of his opinions he corrects and modifies[8];

[6] Preface to the '*Present State of Trinity College, in Cambridge*,' p. i. See also Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life, vol. i. p. 105.

[7] They were given by Dr. Richard Bentley, the nephew and executor, to Cumberland, while a student at Trinity College; and were printed by him, in a separate pamphlet, in 1756. This publication was reviewed by Dr. Samuel Johnson, in the *Literary Magazine*, vol. i. p. 89. See *Johnson's Works*, vol. ii. p. 328. The original letters are preserved in Trinity College, to which society they were given by Cumberland, a short time before his death.

[8] This is particularly the case respecting the idea of gravity being essential and inherent in matter; a position which the atheists maintained, and which Bentley had in the first instance conceded; but upon Newton's begging, in his second letter, that 'he would not ascribe that notion to him; for the cause of gravity was what he did not pretend to know, and therefore would take more time to consider of it;' Bentley was led, by reflection, to bring arguments *against* the theory of 'innate gravity;' and then shews, that even were this principle allowed to be essential to matter, yet the creation could neither have been originally formed, nor afterwards maintained, by its mere agency, without the providence of a Divine Being.—p. 246, 6th edit.

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and in one or two cases it appears that he had not himself considered the deductions to be drawn from his own discoveries, and that the questions proposed were new to him; whence Dr. Samuel Johnson, in a cursory review of these four letters, takes occasion to remark, 'how even the mind of Newton gains ground gradually upon darkness.' In the publication of his essays, Bentley of course availed himself of all the suggestions of his illustrious correspondent: his reasonings and conclusions therefore appear with the highest of all human sanctions; and this department of natural theology has perhaps never yet been so satisfactorily illustrated [9].

Bentley's style.

Some notice must be taken of the style of these compositions, which is remarkable not only for its force and nervousness, but for a certain epigrammatic and witty turn, which gives it a peculiar character and effect. We find it recorded as the opinion of Dr. Johnson, that Bentley, in the composition of his sermons, 'had his eye upon the writings of Dr. South [10].' I confess myself unable to discover marks of imitation, or indeed of resemblance, further than any two bold and strong writers may be termed similar. The style is original, and is the same as distinguished Bentley's writings at every period of his life; it drew its character from nothing but from his own mind, and like that was manly, bold, and uncompromising. It certainly wants the polish which it would have received had he begun to write about twenty years later, when the harmony of a period was more cultivated in English composition; but his words and phrases are so expressive and appropriate, that the reader would be unwilling to change them for any refinements of diction. He wrote as he thought, in a pointed and logical tone, and as one who studies only his matter, while he relies upon the clearness of his conceptions for appropriate expressions. The consequence is, that every sentence has its weight, and impresses itself upon the mind and memory of the reader. The pointed wit and

[9] The original of the first of these letters, dated Dec. 10, 1692, is indorsed with the following note, in Bentley's hand:—"Mr. Newton's answer to some queries sent by me, after I had preach't my two last sermons: all his answers are agreeable to what I had delivered before in the pulpit; but of some incidental things I do ἐπέχειν."—R. B.

[10] This is upon the authority of Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii.

sarcasm, and the occasional playfulness of his writings, is the same as that which pervaded his conversation. To this pleasantry it may be objected, that it was ill suited to sermons: it should, however, be recollected, that though delivered from the pulpit, they were not the instructions of the Sabbath, but popular lectures, of which the doctrines of revealed religion formed no part; while the arrogance and ignorance of which he convicts the atheistical pretenders, were legitimate objects of scorn and contempt.

Merits of the lectures.

Such was the auspicious commencement of *Boyle's Lecture*, an institution to which we owe some of the ablest theological pieces in our language; among them we may mention Clarke's 'Discourse on the Being and Attributes of God,' Newton's 'Dissertation on the Prophecies,' and Van Mildert's 'Historical Account of Infidelity:' but though Bentley has had these divines among his successors, as well as Gastrell, Bradford, Blackall, and Jortin, yet the reputation of the first essay has been eclipsed by none. The applause with which it was received was loud and universal. One solitary attempt was made to resist his reasoning on the immateriality of the soul, in a pamphlet by Mr. Henry Layton; a feeble piece, which attracted no attention, and deserves our notice only as being the first of the innumerable tracts published against Bentley in the course of his career[11].

Bentley's first opponent.

Bishop Kidder succeeds.

As Boyle's bequest allowed the same lecturer to be reappointed, it was natural to expect that Bentley would have preached for the following year; but the fact is, that Dr. Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells, succeeded; being appointed at the urgent instance of Sir John Rotheram, who prevailed upon the other trustees, though with much reluctance, to comply[12]. Evelyn appears to have been concerned at

[11] The title is, *Observations upon a Sermon intituled 'A Confutation of Atheism from the Faculties of the Soul,' alias, 'Matter and Motion cannot think;' preached April* 4, 1692: *by way of Refutation:* small 4to. A manuscript note, in the copy in the Bodleian library, says, "The author of these tracts, and some others, particularly one called 'Observations upon Dr. Nichol's Book, &c. is Henry Layton, of Rawdon in Yorkshire, Esq.' Bentley had little to fear from a writer who expresses himself thus: "That all were the works of God, I am ready to grant and maintain, as well as he; but in his design to prove God's providence and creation by the immateriality of human souls, I judge he hath taken the wrong sow by the ear."

[12] *Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 35. Dec. 14, 1692.

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this step, which he considered unjust towards the person who had so admirably fulfilled the views of the founder: Bentley himself, however, did not evince any chagrin or dissatisfaction.

October 8, Bentley Prebendary of Worcester.

Before his year's task was completed, he had received, as the solid reward of his labours, a prebend in Worcester cathedral. We learn from Burnet, that King William at this period left the church patronage to the disposal of Queen Mary [13]; and as she was in the habit of consulting Bishop Stillingfleet upon all ecclesiastical subjects, he probably had not much difficulty in procuring for his chaplain a stall in his own diocese. This preferment must have been highly gratifying to our young divine (who had just taken priest's orders) not only as securing a liberal independence, the first wish of a scholar, but because it retained him in the society of his patron: his time of residence was fixed for the months when the Bishop was at Worcester.

Excites envy.

The great reputation which he had now achieved, was not unattended with its usual consequences, envy and detraction. Of this we find an instance as early as the present period. He had, it seems, obtained some credit by decyphering a difficult Carthaginian Inscription. Adrian Beverland, who has been already mentioned as the executor of Isaac Vossius, and the friend of Bernard, suspected that he had copied it from some papers of his; and communicated this belief, among others, to the brother chaplain Hody. The subject is not worth investigating; for Beverland soon discovered that he had been doing injustice to Bentley, and that the suspicion was utterly unfounded: he desires therefore, in a letter to Dr. Charlett the Master of University College [14], that this may be explained to Hody and his friends; among whom he specifies Creech, the well known editor of Lucretius [15]. The envy produced by Bentley's endowments was increased by a certain haughtiness discoverable in his conversation and demeanour. There is a traditional anecdote, current during his life time, which, whatever be its foundation,

His haughtiness.

[13] Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.

[14] This letter, dated London, Sept. 1692, is in the Bodleian.

[15] Creech had been of Wadham College, and was then fellow of All Souls. He published an English translation of Manilius in 1696, and was prevented from giving an edition of that poet, by its having been undertaken by Bentley.

shows the opinion prevalent upon this subject. It is, that a nobleman dining at his patron's, and happening to sit next to Bentley, was so much struck with his information and powers of argument, that he remarked to the Bishop after dinner, 'my Lord, that chaplain of your's is certainly a very extraordinary man:' 'Yes,' said Stillingfleet, 'had he but the gift of humility, he would be the most extraordinary man in Europe[16].'

Correspondence with Grævius.

It was in the summer of 1692, that Bentley commenced a correspondence with John George Grævius of Utrecht, the most distinguished scholar of his time, which continued with little intermission until his death. All their letters are preserved, and are highly interesting from the characters of the writers, the pleasing style of their Latinity, and their free opinions upon the literary topics of the day. The correspondence originated thus: Bentley in examining Gevartius's packet of papers relative to Manilius, lent to him by Sir Edward Sherburn, discovered some matters which interested him considerably, a dissertation *de Vita Fl. Theodori Mallii Consulis*, from the pen of Albertus Rubenius, and two letters from Grævius to the same person. This Rubenius was a man of great learning, and no inconsiderable rank, being a member of the Council of Government in the Spanish Netherlands. Grævius when a young man had enjoyed his intimacy, and received from him on his death-bed the charge of giving to the world his treatise *de Re Vestiaria*, which he accordingly published from the scattered papers of his friend. The occasion of the other essay appears to have been this: Gevartius, one of his intimates, had projected an edition of Manilius, a poet whose age is in some uncertainty, owing to the total silence of all ancient writers respecting him: the prevailing opinion was that of Scaliger and Salmasius, which placed him in the time of Augustus; and this the internal evidence appears to

Albertus Rubenius.

[16] This anecdote is told by Mr. John Nichols, (*Gentleman's Magazine, Nov.* 1779,) on the authority of Dr. Owen. A rather different version of it is found in a pamphlet written against Bentley in 1721, by some bitter enemy: "Pray, Master, tell him of another great Bishop, who made this shrewd observation upon a certain forward young man, that he might in time become a great man, if God gave him the grace of humility." *Letter to the Reverend Master of Trinity College in Cambridge*, 1721, p. 13.

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confirm: others, among whom we may mention Faber and Vossius, brought him down as low as the reign of the Emperor Theodosius. Gevart fancied that he had identified the individual, and that Manilius the poet was no other than Fl. Mallius Theodorus, who was Consul 400 years after the Augustan period, and is the subject of a panegyrical poem of Claudian. This notion, being repugnant to all just criticism, and grounded upon the slender circumstance of Claudian recording the writings of his hero upon the stoical hypothesis of the creation, (while no mention occurs of the two characteristic features of Manilius, his poetry, and his astrology) made but few converts: it was maintained however with obstinacy by Gevart; who, having in vain recommended it in his publications, resumed the argument in his inedited papers, intended as notes to an edition of Manilius, which he did not live to publish. Rubenius, in order to divert his friend from an hypothesis which procured him no credit, wrote the treatise *de Mallio*, which remained unknown among Gevart's papers, till it was discovered by Bentley, who was accidently enabled to detect its author [17]. Grævius having been the editor of his other writings, Bentley suggested that this also should be offered to him for publication: accordingly, with the permission of Sir Edward Sherburn, he imparted the matter to him; at the same time enquiring whether an opinion expressed in his two letters just mentioned, which seemed favourable to Gevart's notion of the age of Manilius, was sincere; whether he still continued in the same mind; and, if so, by what arguments he could maintain such an hypothesis. I have been thus minute in explaining the commencement of this correspondence, from the necessity which there will shortly be of recalling the reader's attention to it, as being the ground of an unjust aspersion upon Bentley's character. Grævius in his reply explained that the opinion about Manilius was one expressed by him too hastily in his youth, upon hearing some arguments of Gevart's which pleased him at the moment; that he had since not only discarded that theory, but had lately condemned it in an academical

[17] This treatise had no name affixed to it: but Bentley found a letter in the same handwriting, signed A. R. the contents of which showed that the writer was Albertus Rubenius. Preface to *Dissert. on Phal.* p. xiv.

speech. The dissertation of Rubenius he gladly and thankfully undertook to publish. But the reader of his letters is most struck with the cordial joy felt by Grævius at opening an intercourse with a scholar, of whom he had conceived so exalted an opinion. He had just been perusing the Epistle to Mill with extreme admiration, and perceived at once that the author was destined to hold the very highest place among the learned of his age. This he always expressed as his deliberate judgment; and regarding the cause of classical learning with parental fondness, he was overjoyed to find one who promised to be such a powerful supporter. The intercourse, which began with topics of learning, in its progress ripened into the cordiality of friendship. Grævius's age was double that of Bentley: and the zealous, candid, and warm-hearted disposition of the veteran scholar, displayed in his correspondence, attracts as much regard as his learning.

Jan. 1692-93.

Bentley transmitted to Utrecht the essay of Rubenius, and along with it a copy of Stephens' edition of Cicero's Philosophical Works, containing in the margin various readings from an ancient manuscript. This belonged to Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, who had offered through Bentley, to send a copy of the various readings to Grævius, then employed on an edition of Cicero; and upon his embracing the offer, permitted him to have the volume itself; promising him, at the same time, some other *subsidia* for the work, which his noble library supplied. This prelate, who will hereafter engage much of our attention, had not only made that extensive and valuable collection of books, which now forms so considerable a part of the University Library at Cambridge, but with a truly liberal spirit, was always ready to give the use of them to scholars. He seems early to have patronized and encouraged the subject of these memoirs, and to have allowed him the free use of his library.

Grævius's edition of Callimachus.

An edition of Callimachus had been undertaken by Grævius's only son, a young man of great promise, who had begun to print it, when he was carried off by a consumption. This work his father determined to complete: a full commentary upon the poet had been promised for the edition by the Baron Spanheim: and Bentley was desired in Grævius's first letter to add his contributions: a request to which he acceded

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promptly and handsomely, sending at the same time two or three specimens of his corrections: he undertook also to give a new collection of the Fragments of Callimachus, arranged under proper heads, and comprising more than double the number discovered by all preceding editors; a bold promise, but one which was more than realized in the performance.

Bentley undertakes the Fragments.

Joshua Barnes.

He was engaged about this time in a correspondence with a scholar of a very opposite character, Mr. Joshua Barnes of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This personage, whose peculiarities have occasioned his name to be seldom mentioned without a smile, had been pursuing his course for many years in different walks of literature with great perseverance and incredible want of judgment: as a poet, historian, orator, and critic, he is equally unfortunate, and equally satisfied with his own performances. He was then employed upon his edition of Euripides, a work for which he certainly wanted most of the essential qualifications; but for the demerits of which he has received harsher treatment than he deserves from recent scholars, who have forgotten how little had been done before his time towards the correction and illustration of that tragedian. Hearing that Bentley considered as spurious the six Epistles attributed to Euripides, he wrote to ask him the grounds of that opinion. Bentley's answer, while it avowed his own belief that they were nothing but the fabrications of some sophist, expressed his despair of bringing any arguments to convince those who did not discover it themselves; and he begs therefore that Barnes, 'when he confutes the opinion of Meursius' against them, as he threatened, 'would not name him; for he did not pretend to *assert*, but only to *believe*, that they were fabrications.' And he mentions, in a lively and playful strain, a few particulars of the internal evidence, which will make most readers of his opinion: for instance, the poet's writing to Archelaus, refusing a large sum of money, and begging instead, the lives and liberty of some noble persons condemned to die: his letter to Sophocles, his rival, who was then serving as a general upon an expedition, condoling with him upon the loss of some plays by shipwreck! "Our sham author," says Bentley, "had forgot Sophocles's errand; that he was now the general, and not the poet; and that if he

Epistles of Euripides.

Bentley's opinion of them.

had had some plays beforehand, he would not have carried them to the war." Again, Sophocles is made to entrust the inspection of his domestic affairs, during his absence from Athens, to his rival; and Euripides, after his own emigration to Macedonia, writes to Cephisophon, the very person whose intimacy with his wife had produced the ridicule and vexations which drove him from his country; and the subject of the letter is to beg, that he will 'justify his leaving Athens' against the calumnies of his enemies; and he refuses the offer of some money, saying, that he could not desire riches now that his dear mother (Clito the herb-woman) was dead!! CHAP. III. 1693.

These arguments, irresistible as they may appear, produced no effect in shaking the opinion of Barnes in favour of the pretended epistles. But such was the discourtesy and even rudeness of his behaviour, that I feel almost ashamed to record it. Instead of expressing either publicly or privately his thanks for the information he had received, or taking any other notice of it, he published the epistles as an integral part of the tragedian's works; and having made a sort of reply to Bentley's objections, declared, that to doubt their being the genuine work of Euripides, was a proof of impudence or want of judgment, *perfrictæ frontis, aut judicii imminuti*[18]. Those who have adopted an idea that Bentley's style was usually arrogant or contemptuous, may suppose that his letter had contained some offence of this sort; but the original happens to be preserved, and has lately come to light[19]. Its character is the very reverse of offensive; it is courteous, good-humoured, and flattering to Barnes; for whose behaviour I should wish to discover some excuse; but am unable to give any better account of it than that his prejudices in favour of the exiled King, might possibly make him regard with contempt the opinions and scholarship of a person patronised by the Deliverer's government. Barnes's behaviour.

[18] See Barnes' *Vita Euripidis*, § 28, and his preliminary remarks on the Epistles, vol. ii. p. 523, ed. 1694. In Beck's reprint of Barnes, vol. ii. p. 498.

[19] This Epistle had come into the possession of —— Holmes, Esq. by whom it was presented to the British Museum in the year 1820. It is now printed in the *Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. p. 405.

CHAPTER IV.

Bentley made Keeper of the King's library—Second course of Boyle's Lectures—Commences printing an edition of Philostratus—Abandons it to Olearius—Grævius's dedication to Bentley—Controversy on ancient and modern learning—Sir William Temple—Wotton's Reflections—Temple's opinion of Æsop and Phalaris—Bentley promises to confute him—Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church—Hon. Charles Boyle—Undertakes to publish Phalaris—Bennett, the bookseller, applies to Bentley for a manuscript—Causes a quarrel—Boyle makes a reflection upon Bentley—Rejects his explanation—Archbishop Tenison—Lambeth degree—Evelyn—Pepys—Bentley chaplain to the King—Rector of Hartlebury—Apartments in St. James's palace—Earl of Marlborough—State of the Library—Cambridge University Press renovated by Bentley's agency—Takes the degree of D.D.—His Public Act—Commencement sermon.

CHAP. IV. 1692-93.

Bentley made keeper of the King's library.

UPON the death of Henry de Justel, Keeper of the Royal library at St. James's, it was the particular wish of Bishop Stillingfleet, and Bentley's other friends, that he should fill that situation, for which his knowledge of books eminently qualified him; and to effect this object, the greatest difficulties were overcome. Mr. Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, was a candidate, supported by the interest of Archbishop Sharpe: the place was actually given to Mr. Thynne; but with this gentleman a compromise was effected, Bentley engaging to pay him 130*l.* out of the salary, which was 200*l.* a year, during his life-time [1]. This transaction, which seems to have been no secret at the time, will account for a delay in filling the vacancy. Justel died in September 1693; Bentley had his appointment under the King's sign manual the 23d of December: his patent, constituting him for life Keeper of all the King's libraries in England, was dated on the 6th of April following: during this interval Queen Mary, who took the whole interest in such matters, directed a catalogue of the library to be made by Postlethwaite and Wright, the respective masters of St. Paul's and St. James's schools [2].

[1] These circumstances I discover from two manuscript letters in the Bodleian, one from Gibson, the other from Hopkins, prebendary of Worcester, both addressed to Dr. Charlett.

[2] These matters are detailed in the Preface to *Dissert. on Phal.* p. xiv—xix.

CHAP. IV. 1694.

His second course of Boyle's lecture.

In the meantime Bentley was summoned by the trustees of Boyle's lecture, to preach the course for the year 1694[3]. His subject was a defence of Christianity against the objections of infidels[4]. That the eight sermons delivered on this occasion have never been published, is a matter of serious regret: nor is it a little surprising that he should have failed to give them to the world, after the favourable reception and increasing reputation of his former series; particularly as we find their publication continually solicited more than three years, by Mr. Evelyn, as well as by Bishop Tenison. This prelate, who was shortly advanced to the primacy, and whose countenance and support was important to all Bentley's views in life, appears to have been displeased by the omission; for which we find no apology, except want of leisure to revise the discourses for the press[5]. As this was no formidable task, I can only account for the fact, by supposing that there were some additional topics which he wished to introduce, but was prevented from investigating, by a succession of other occupations, until the proper season for printing them had too long elapsed. In whose possession the copies now are I have never been able to discover.

[3] There is a mistake in the list of Boyle's Lecturers, given in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi. p. 453; and in Bishop Van Mildert's preface to his *Historical Account of Infidelity;* where the Lecturer for 1694 is stated to have been Bishop Kidder.

[4] Evelyn, *Mem.* vol. ii. p. 39, says, that he was to pursue his former subject upon atheism. But Bentley, in his letter to Grævius, of May 25, 1694, distinctly says, that his second course of lectures was against the enemies of Christianity. Evelyn's words deserve to be cited. "Dec. 3, 1693. Mr. Bentley preached at the Tabernacle, near Golden Square. I gave my voice for him to proceed in his former subject the following year in Mr. Boyle's lecture, in which he had been interrupted by the importunity of Sir J. Rotheram, that the Bishop of Chichester [*read* Bath and Wells] might be chosen, the year before, to the great dissatisfaction of the Bishop of Lincoln and myself. We chose Mr. Bentley again."

[5] He says to Evelyn, in a letter of Feb. 22, 1694—95: "I suppose nothing will reinstate me fully in his Grace of Canterbury's favour, but publishing my sermons; which I could not yet do, for the bustle and distraction that new housekeeping and furnishing brings along with it: but I hope in a week more to have a day or two of leisure to look on them; and if I once begin, 'twill be a short business." He tells Grævius, in Nov. 1695, that they are actually in the press. As late as Jan. 12, 1696—97, he renews his promise to Evelyn: "I am now upon a job for our friend Mr. Wotton [the Dissertation on Phalaris and Æsop]; then I proceed to pay my debts to you by printing my sermons." The copies of these sermons are said, in Kippis's Biographia Britannica, to be in existence: this was in 1778, in the life-time of Dr. R. Bentley, of Nailston, who inherited his uncle's papers.

CHAP. IV. 1694.

The projected editions of Philostratus and Manilius were now in a state of readiness for the printer; but the increased expence of paper and printing in England, the consequences of war and new taxes, deterred him from publishing books, which from their nature could only meet with a limited sale at home, and for the exportation of which the circumstances of the times were unfavourable [6]. Accordingly, he designed to print his Philostratus at Leipsic, and sent thither the early part of his text and notes for that purpose. But when he received the first sheet as a specimen, he was disgusted with the meanness of the printing, and resolved that his labours should not come forth to the world in so unseemly a dress [7]. Indeed, it may be remarked that Bentley always placed a high value upon typographical elegance, and was more fastidious upon this head, than might have been expected from one who so well understood the intrinsic merits of a book. After some time he abandoned altogether the view of this publication, as Professor Wolf remarks, 'to the joy of Olearius of Leipsic, and of nobody else.' To this German, who undertook to publish the two Philostrati, he sent part of his apparatus, the collation of a manuscript belonging to New College *De Vitis Sophistarum*, and that of a Baroccian manuscript, both which he had made during his residence at Oxford. The edition of Olearius, which appeared in 1709, contains Bentley's notes as for as p. 11, taken from the first sheet just mentioned, which had been circulated as a specimen [8].

Commences printing an edition of Philostratus.

Abandons it to Olearius.

In the early part of 1694 the tract of Rubenius, already mentioned, was published by Grævius, who prefixed to it an epistle of dedication to Bentley, as the person to whom the world was indebted for its discovery, accompanied with an account of the author and his work. In this epistle the literary patriarch pronounced publicly the same exalted opinion of his new friend's learning and genius, which he had before expressed in private; and speaking in the name of all scholars with whom he was acquainted, he declared the expectations raised by his first performance to be such as surpassed all example and belief.

Grævius's dedication to Bentley.

[6] Pref. to *Dissert. on Phal.* p. lxiii.

[7] Letter to Grævius, of May 15, 1694.

[8] See Olearius *Pref. ad Philostr.* p. x, xi. Also Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* tom. v. p. 555.

In the midst of these honours and encouragements, Bentley became accidentally involved in that dispute, which constitutes so peculiar a feature in his biography, the controversy on the letters of Phalaris. As this piece of literary story is connected with the question then agitated upon the comparative merits of ancient and modern learning, it may not be disagreeable to the reader to have a short account of a discussion, which for several years occupied so large a share of public attention.

Controversy on Ancient and Modern Learning.

This dispute concerning the rival pretensions of the ancients and moderns, had its origin in France, where about the year 1688, the lively and witty Fontenelle, the author of the 'Plurality of Worlds,' affixed to his Pastoral Poetry a dissertation, in which he claimed for the moderns a general superiority over the illustrious names of antiquity, making his principal stand upon the ground least favourable to his own clients, that of genius. The same hypothesis found other advocates among the French savans, particularly Perrault, who in his 'Parallel between the Ancients and Moderns,' bribed the assent and applause of his countrymen, by matching some individual Frenchman against each of the most illustrious ancients [9]. These extravagances were not likely to be long unresisted. Sir William Temple, illustrious as a statesman, and likewise the most popular writer of that age, who had long retired from public business to the enjoyment of literary ease, came forward as the indignant champion of the ancients. In his 'Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning,' which first appeared in 1692, he not only combats the positions of Fontenelle and Perrault, whom he charges with 'sufficiency, the worst composition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind,' but flies himself into the opposite extreme, and boldly maintains the intellectual superiority of former times in every department; not merely in the results of genius and taste, but in the state of philosophy and knowledge, whether physical, moral, or mechanical. Sir William's style of writing is elegant and polished, and his conceptions are neatly expressed; but at the present day, when the voice of fashion no longer influences our judgment, and

Sir William Temple.

[9] For instance Balsac was opposed to Cicero; Boileau to Horace; Voiture to Pliny; and Corneille to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides combined.

CHAP. IV. 1694.

his productions are made to rest upon their own merits, we cannot avoid remarking, that neither his reasoning is strict, nor his views profound; and that he is far too dogmatical and uncompromising, to be a safe guide for the opinions of others. Moreover, in the Essay of which we are speaking, he shows great credulity upon some obscure topics of history, his grounds are frequently insecure, and there appears a determination to regard only one side of the question, which savours more of a school declamation, than of a calm and philosophical enquiry. The piece, however, was read and admired, and being translated into French, it turned the tide of opinion in the Academy against the moderns; it was applauded by Boileau and Racine, and forced Perrault himself into a formal recantation of his heresy [10]. Notwithstanding this triumph, the manner in which Temple had disposed of the question by no means satisfied reflecting persons. He had displayed a disposition to undervalue the labours and discoveries of the moderns, particularly the philosophers, which outraged every principle of fair comparison; in some material departments of knowledge, his own information was too superficial to allow his judgment to have much weight; and in contrast to his French antagonists, he showed a disinclination to admit the merits of his own countrymen; some of the most illustrious of whom, as Shakspeare, Milton, and Newton, he did not condescend to name. Besides, the only point which his arguments, if sound, tended to establish, was the uncomfortable doctrine of the degeneracy of the human species. In this state of things, Bentley's early friend, Wotton, who was now chaplain to the Earl of Nottingham, wrote a book, entitled 'Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning,' which examines and weighs the arguments of the rival advocates, and undertakes to limit the departments, where superiority may respectively be claimed. Wotton executed his work ably and judiciously: wide as the range is, his enquiry proceeds with calmness and caution into every part; and evinces not only more candour but a more extensive acquaintance

Wotton's Reflections.

[10] Sir William refers to these circumstances with great satisfaction in the Appendix to his Essay, entitled, '*Some Thoughts upon reviewing the Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning.*' Temple's Works, Vol. III. p. 437.

with the topics under discussion, than had previously been exhibited in the controversy. This must have made his 'Reflections' very edifying, after the loose and declamatory tracts which preceded them, and even now renders their perusal interesting and useful. Though professing the character of an umpire, he more frequently resists the arguments of Sir W. Temple; and this he does in the most efficacious manner, by destroying the premises upon which they are built, by giving a just view of the authorities for the alleged vast acquisitions of the ancient sages, and showing how ill they will bear the test of investigation. Of Fontenelle his opinion is, that he injured his own cause by an injudicious mode of treating it. A material object kept in view by Wotton is, to uphold the honour of the Royal Society, of whom Sir William thought very slightingly, and contemptuously styled, from the original place of their meeting, the '*Men of Gresham*[11].'

Among other arguments for the decay of human wit and learning, the Baronet had ventured an assertion, 'that the oldest books extant were still the best in their kind;' and adduced as his instances, what he believed to be the most ancient prose books written by profane authors, the Fables of Æsop and the Epistles of Phalaris. This monstrous preference was, unhappily for his credit and his peace of mind, maintained in the following eloquent and elaborate passage:

Temple's opinion of Æsop and Phalaris.

"As the first (Æsop) has been agreed by all ages since, for the greatest master in his kind, and all others of that sort have been but imitations of his original; so I think the Epistles of Phalaris to have more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern. I know several learned men (or that usually pass for such, under the name of critics) have not esteemed them genuine, and Politian with some others have attributed them to Lucian: but I think he must have

[11] The following extract from a letter of Evelyn to his friend Pepys, dated July 7, 1694, shows his opinion of Wotton and his performance;—"if some kind genius had not in pity directed the most learned Mr. Wotton to give me a visit, and an inestimable present too, his *Reflections on the Ancient and Modern Learning;* which, in recognition of yours, I should have sent you, but that I was confident you must ere this have seen it, and been entertained with as much delight and satisfaction as an universally learned, and indeed extraordinary person, is able to give the most refined taste. This is he whom I have sometimes mentioned to you, for one of the miracles of this age, for his early and vast comprehension. Set him down, then, in your Albo, among the Gales and the Bentleys, as you will certainly do as soon as you know him." *Pepys's Correspondence*, p. 137.

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little skill in painting, that cannot find out this to be an original; such diversity of passions, upon such variety of actions and passages of life and government, such freedom of thought, such boldness of expression, such bounty to his friends, such scorn of his enemies, such honour of learned men, such esteem of good, such knowledge of life, such contempt of death, with such fierceness of nature and cruelty of revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them; and I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find the scholar or the sophist; and in all the other, the tyrant and the commander."—*Temple's Works*, Vol. III. p. 463.

Bentley undertakes to confute Temple.

While Wotton was employed upon his publication, Bentley happening to converse with him upon Temple's Essay, told him that the two works which this veteran had pronounced the oldest and the best in the world, were in truth neither old nor good; that he could prove the present collection of Æsopian fables not to be Æsop's; and that the Epistles upon which such extravagant praises were heaped, were not the production of Phalaris, but an impudent and clumsy forgery of later times. Wotton immediately engaged his friend in a promise to write the arguments for this opinion, to be published in his book then in the press. Bentley's sentiments about the Epistles of Phalaris had been deliberately formed; as appears from his having avowed them in his Appendix to Malelas, and in his correspondence with Joshua Barnes; but his promise to Wotton was not executed at that time: independently of a disposition to procrastinate, he was then occupied with his second course of Boyle's lectures, and his mind was given to other literary objects: he was besides under the necessity of leaving London and his books in the month of May, to keep his residence at Worcester: and thus Wotton's publication appeared without any notice of the Tyrant or the Fabulist. The circumstance which first drew our critic into this memorable controversy was purely accidental, and distinct from his friend's undertaking.

The glowing panegyric bestowed upon Phalaris by the most popular writer of the day, naturally excited in the public a wish to become better acquainted with his inimitable Epistles; for it happened that those compositions, now pronounced superior to every thing of the kind, either ancient or modern, were known but to very few even among the readers of the classics, and were confined to the small

circle of critical scholars. Dr. Aldrich, the Dean of Christ Church, a learned and excellent man, who in zeal for the honour of his college yields to none of the eminent characters who have presided over that society, made it a practice to employ some of his best scholars in editing new editions of classical works; and he used to present a copy of one of these publications as a new-year's gift to every young man in his college. This mode of encouraging youthful merit, however well intended, cannot be considered the most judicious; and it was soon afterwards discontinued. To fix the whole attention of students upon a single piece during a great part of that season in which they ought to be acquiring an enlarged knowledge of the ancient writers, was by no means beneficial to his young editors; and to expose to criticism the premature efforts of undergraduates, whose age made it hardly possible for them to possess knowledge or judgment adequate to their editorial task, was unfair both to themselves and to the society. Nevertheless, such a public distinction unavoidably became an object of ambition. The book selected at this time for the Christ Church publication was the highly praised Phalaris; and the Honourable Charles Boyle was fixed upon as its editor. This gentleman, brother to the Earl of Orrery, had carried with him to college a creditable share of classical knowledge, and much taste for those pursuits, for which he acknowledged himself indebted to his late tutor Dr. Gale, the Dean of York [12]. His attention to study and his pleasing behaviour rendered him a favourite with the society, and particularly with its Head, who had lately dedicated to him a system of logic drawn up for his particular use. On his first admission at Christ Church, he was

Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church.

Hon. Chas. Boyle.

[12] "I am glad of this opportunity of mentioning the worthy Dean of York, and of paying my public acknowledgments to him for the particular kindness and favours I received from him while I was under his care. The foundation of all the little knowledge I have in these matters was laid by him, which I gratefully own." *Boyle's Examination*, p. 59.

It may be considered among the curious anomalies which occur in Bentley's life, that in his great controversy with the distinguished wits of Oxford, his professed antagonist was one who had derived his instructions from the late Greek Professor of the sister University; and that Sir W. Temple, on whose behalf the Oxonian war against Bentley was avowedly carried on, was himself not only a Cambridge man, who had once been Representative in Parliament for that University, but the very work containing his sentiments respecting Phalaris and Æsop, the origin of the dispute, was dedicated by him '*Almæ Matri Cantabrigiensi*.'

CHAP. IV. 1694.

under the tuition of the celebrated Atterbury. The union of high birth and academical merit naturally made him considered an honour to his college, and interested all its members in his favour.

Undertakes to publish Phalaris.

It was about the middle of 1693, that Mr. Boyle turned his attention to the Epistles of Phalaris, assisted by Mr. John Freind, one of the junior students, afterwards the celebrated physician, who officiated as 'director of his studies,' or, in modern phrase, as his private tutor. For the service of the projected edition it was desirable to have the collation of such manuscript copies as were accessible: and one of these, of no great age or value, belonged to the library at St. James's. Accordingly Mr. Boyle wrote to his bookseller, Thomas Bennett, whose sign was the Half Moon in St. Paul's Church Yard, simply directing him 'to get this manuscript collated.' From his inexperience, he was not aware that in all libraries a nice and necessary caution is observed regarding their manuscript treasures; and that

Bennett the bookseller.

commissions of such a nature are not usually entrusted to a bookseller. The conduct of this Bennett produced such singular consequences, and involved in literary and personal discussions so many eminent characters, that we are under the necessity of examining it with minute accuracy. To Mr. Boyle's request he paid no attention for some time: and when renewed applications roused him to exertion, such was his ignorance, that he sent a collator with a printed Phalaris to Sion College, imagining, as it seems, that and the King's library to

Applies to Bentley for a manuscript.

be the same [13]. His next step was to ask the assistance of Mr. Bentley, who occasionally visited his shop, judging him likely to have interest to procure a loan of the manuscript; but so little zeal did he show to oblige his Christ Church customer, that he did not go to solicit the favour, but mentioned it when he casually saw him. To the first request, which seems to have been in the beginning of 1694, Bentley answered at once, that he should be happy in an opportunity of obliging Mr. Boyle, a young man related to the illustrious founder of his lecture, and 'that he would help him to the book.' This was some time before he had the custody of the library; but it was afterwards

[13] Account given by Gibson, the collator, copied in a letter from the Rev. Edm. Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, to Dr. Charlett, among the Ballard manuscripts in the Bodleian.

noticed, that he might have made interest with the persons employed upon the catalogue, whom he sometimes accompanied and assisted in their work. However it was not reasonable to expect any uncommon exertions to serve a gentleman who seemed himself to consider the matter too trifling for any application to him, either by letter or through a friend. But the real cause of the offence was a conversation between him and the bookseller, upon the latter asking confidentially his opinion of the work on which Mr. Boyle was employed: Bentley told him that 'he need not be afraid of undertaking it, since the great names of those that recommended it would ensure its sale; but that the book was a spurious one, and unworthy of a new edition.' Bennett receiving from Oxford fresh applications for the collation, in order to excuse himself, laid the blame upon the new librarian, whom he asserted that he had long solicited in vain, and who had besides spoken with disparagement and contempt both of the book and its editors. This representation, being implicitly believed by Boyle and his friends, convinced them that Bentley was behaving uncourteously from hostility to a work, which he was known to consider as not being the genuine production of the tyrant whose name it bore. What ensued, confirmed them in this opinion. After another and more urgent letter, the bookseller, though he still gave himself no trouble respecting the object, happening to meet Bentley in the street, renewed his request for the manuscript; and was answered that 'he should have it as soon as he sent for it to his lodgings:' it was, in fact, delivered to his messenger on the same day, along with an injunction that no time should be lost in making the collation, as he was shortly going out of town, and must replace the book in the library before his departure [14]. As he granted this favour the very first time that it was asked after he had the custody of the library, nothing but a misrepresentation of facts could have led people to charge him with uncourteous or disobliging conduct. The time of his leaving London to keep his residence at Worcester was approaching, and as he was to set off early on a Monday morning, he applied to Bennett the preceding Saturday, for

Occasions a quarrel.

May, 1694.

[14] This is positively denied by Bennett: but the fact is indisputably proved to be as Bentley stated it, by the letter of Gibson, the collator, mentioned in a preceding note.

CHAP. IV. 1694.

the restoration of the book; which had been put into his hand from five to nine days before. The shortest of these periods was more than sufficient for the completion of the task; but it was not until almost the last moment that this trust-worthy agent sent the book to Gibson, a person who obtained his livelihood as a corrector of the press, with orders to collate it with despatch. He had not advanced further than twenty pages, when a message arrived from the book-seller that it must be immediately returned, 'as the library-keeper waited for it in the shop:' his solicitation for longer time obtained only a permission to keep it till the evening; to a further delay Bentley refused to consent, not choosing to risk its safety during his absence from town. There still, however, remained sufficient time for a competent person to have finished the collation: but at nine o'clock that evening when the manuscript was returned, only forty of the 148 epistles were dispatched. It was the care of Bennett to give his employer such a representation of this matter, as should confirm his suspicion of some discourtesy personally directed against himself. Mr. Boyle had already expressed his belief of this being the fact; and to create such a quarrel as should preclude explanation between the parties, appeared the best mode of concealing his own neglect of the commission. Besides, the numerous enquiries made upon the subject soon discovered to this sagacious tradesman his interest in siding with a powerful literary party [15].

Such is the state of the facts, as it appears from a careful examination of the many tedious discussions respecting this much talked of but trivial affair, which has, by a strange accident, found a place in our literary history. To Bentley, had the transaction been fairly stated, not a shadow of blame could be attached; and Boyle was censurable only for giving implicit credit to the representations of his agent. To have gratuitously affronted a promising young scholar, of a name and family which he held in veneration, was inconsistent with Bentley's character: he would rather have rejoiced in an opportunity of obliging him, and, if properly applied to, would undoubtedly have made the

[15] This detail is drawn from the following publications, '*Boyle's Examination*,' p. 2—22. '*Bentley's Dissertation*,' Pref. p. i—xxxvii. '*Short account of Dr. Bentley's Justice and Humanity, &c.*,' and '*Answer to a late Book written against the very learned Dr. Bentley.*'

collation himself. But a notion prevailed at Christ Church, that an affront was intended both for Phalaris and his patrons, and this it was determined to resent. Possibly the tory politics prevalent in that society, might have had their share in hurrying on a quarrel with a scholar in the opposite interest.

Jan. 1, 1694—95. Boyle's reflection upon Bentley.

No more was said upon the subject till the appearance of Boyle's Phalaris, when in the preface there was found the following sentence: '*collatas etiam curavi usque ad Epist. XL. cum MSto. in Bibliotheca Regia, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius,* PRO SINGULARI SUA HUMANITATE, *negavit.*' Of this volume about a hundred copies were given to the young men of Christ Church, and many others were dispersed as presents: one of these Bentley saw for the first time on the 26th of January. Surprised by the reflection upon his character, he instantly wrote to Boyle, explaining the real state of the case, and assuring him that his suspicions of an intended discourtesy were unfounded, and the very reverse of the fact. He expected that upon this assurance, the offensive leaf would have been cancelled, apprehending that the copies were not yet in the hands of the booksellers: This it seems was a mistake; for the book, though not advertised, had really been published. There were, however, other modes, by which the offence might have been honourably retracted, and all further misunderstanding prevented. But after two days' consideration, it was determined to reject the pacific overture; and Boyle coolly replied, 'that what Mr. Bentley had said in his own behalf *might* be true, but that the bookseller had represented the matter quite otherwise, and to him he was advised to prefer his complaint. He added, that if this account had been received before, he should have considered of it; but that after the publication, it was too late to interpose; and Mr. Bentley might seek his redress in any method he pleased.' It is hardly possible to justify the conduct of Boyle and his advisers, in first resenting a supposed affront upon *ex parte* evidence, and in afterwards rejecting an explanation, offered in conciliatory terms, by a gentleman and a scholar. Bentley was now urged by his friends publicly to vindicate himself from the calumny; but good sense withheld him at the time. He knew how averse the world is to listen to complaints of a private description; and he was aware that Mr. Boyle's quarrel would be

Rejects his explanation.

CHAP. IV. 1695.

embraced by one of the most numerous and distinguished societies in the world, which it was neither his wish nor his interest to offend. He preferred, therefore, to wait till they should of their own accord make him amends, or till a suitable opportunity should occur of laying his justification before the public.

Bentley had returned to town, after four months' absence at Worcester, to complete his second course of Boyle's lectures. Shortly afterwards, on the death of Archbishop Tillotson, it was in contemplation to elevate his patron Stillingfleet to Lambeth: this appointment was greatly wished by Queen Mary, and would have been highly agreeable to the Church; but it was prevented by the Bishop's precarious health, which made him unequal to the duties of the primacy[16]. He had long been afflicted by the gout, which now attacked his stomach, and three months afterwards occasioned serious apprehensions for his life[17]. Accordingly Tenison, the Bishop of Lincoln, was translated to Canterbury.

Archbishop Tenison.

Evelyn, whose regard for Bentley shewed itself in constant and zealous endeavours to promote his interests, immediately applied to the new Archbishop, his particular friend, to confer on their Boyle's lecturer the degree of Doctor of Divinity. For some reason which is not explained, the primate was averse to grant this point, even in favour of a person of such claims, supported by solicitations from such a quarter. The request, indeed, did not meet with a refusal; yet Bentley perceiving, from letter and conversation, his disinclination, forbore to extort from him the reluctant concession of a title, which he could shortly obtain in the regular way from his own University[18]. He was at this time assisting Evelyn in the revision of his valuable work, the '*Numismata*, or a Discourse on Medals, ancient and modern;' to which many improvements and additions were made at his suggestion[19]. Among the distinguished persons to whose acquaintance this valuable friend had introduced him, was Mr. Pepys, formerly Secretary of the Admiralty, and President of the Royal Society, a name well known both to the history and literature of his country. Bentley, however,

Lambeth degree.

Evelyn.

Pepys.

[16] *Burnet's Hist. of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 136.

[17] Bentley's Letter to Evelyn, Feb. 1694—95.

[18] Ditto, Jan. 29, 1694—95.

[19] Bentley's Letter to Evelyn, Feb. 15, 1694—95.

seems not to have obtained a very high station in his good graces: Mr. Pepys, after reading the attack upon him in the preface to Phalaris, expresses himself thus in a letter to Dr. Charlett: "I suspect Mr. Boyle is in the right; for our friend's learning (which I have a great value for) wants a little filing; and I doubt not but a few such strokes as this will do it and him good[20]."

Jan. 10, 1694—95.

The Bishop of Worcester recovered from his alarming fit of the gout, but was subject during the remainder of his life to severe attacks of the same disorder. Meanwhile Bentley continued to experience proofs of his approbation and kindness; through his interest he was made chaplain in ordinary to the King; and the rectory of Hartlebury, in Worcestershire, the place of the episcopal residence, was given to him to hold until his old pupil James Stillingfleet should be in full orders: this preferment, to which he was instituted Sept. 4, 1695, he retained three years[21]. It was about this period also that he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

Bentley chaplain to the King. Rector of Hartlebury.

At the beginning of the following year Bentley transferred his abode from the Bishop's house in Park-street, Westminster, to the librarian's lodgings in St. James's palace, which he fitted up, and commenced housekeeping. His apartments, which were very agreeable to his taste, looked into the Park, and adjoined those of the Princess Anne of Denmark. Being desirous of adding to them some small rooms overhead, Lord Marlborough, who was his neighbour, undertook to intercede in his behalf; but the result of his negociation was, that he obtained them for himself. At this Bentley rejoiced, conceiving that the great captain, being now his debtor, would use his powerful interest to procure him a new ground room to be built in the Park[22]. His desire was to obtain such an addition to the librarian's apartments, as

1696.

Apartments in St. James's Palace.

Feb. 1695—96. Earl of Marlborough.

[20] Among the Ballard papers in the Bodleian. A letter from Edmund Gibson (afterwards Bishop of London) to Dr. Charlett, March 19, 1693—94, in the same collection, says: "Carrying your service to Mr. Pepys got me a very good dinner there, in company with Dr. Gale and Mr. Bentley."

[21] Communicated by the present Bishop of Worcester.

[22] On this subject he reasons thus, in a letter to Evelyn, Feb. 22, 1695, 96: "As for the closets, to be a little paradoxical, I will tell you the good news, that I have utterly lost them: because by the loss of them my Lord Marlborough thinks himself obliged (for he has them, and yet was our solicitor to the princess) to obtain for me a new ground room to be built into the Park contiguous to my lodgings. This will certainly be done, because at the same time he enlarges his closets, by raising a second story over this designed ground-room."

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would enable him to arrange and exhibit the curious part of the library in a becoming manner: for the room in which the books were then placed being inadequate, they were scattered about in extreme confusion, to the disgrace of the palace, and the mortification of the librarian. Indeed he confessed he was absolutely ashamed to show the library in its present state[23]. This appears to have been his motive for opposing the publication of the list of its manuscripts in the *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, the great work then printing at Oxford. Queen Mary was solicited by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others to suffer those of the royal library to be included in this national work; for so completely did she occupy the literary department of monarchy, that during her life-time it was generally called 'the Queen's library.' But Bentley having convinced her that the publication was not advisable at that time, she withheld her consent. The lamented death of this princess took away his best chance of compassing the different schemes which he meditated in favour of the library.

State of the library.

Dec. 26, 1694.

We find Bentley's intercourse with Cambridge renewed at this time in a mode peculiarly honourable to himself, and beneficial to the community. The renovation of the University Press, which had continued in decay since the Usurpation, was projected by him, and mainly accomplished through his agency. New buildings, new presses, and new types, were all requisite; and the University itself being destitute of funds, a subscription for these purposes was procured principally by his exertions; and the deficiency was made up by the Senate borrowing a thousand pounds. The task of ordering types of every description was absolutely committed to his discretion by a *grace* couched in very complimentary terms; and the power of attorney given him on this occasion is the most unlimited I recollect ever to have seen[24]. The commission was executed with promptitude and judgment: he procured to be cast in Holland those beautiful types which appear in Talbot's Horace, Kuster's Suidas, Taylor's Demosthenes, &c. That this estab-

Cambridge University press.

Renovated by Bentley's agency.

[23] Preface to *Dissert. on Phal.* p. lxv. This confusion in the library is the subject of a hit at Bentley, in Swift's *Battle of the Books*.

[24] From the original documents preserved in the Registrary's office; and the *Grace-Book* of the time.

lishment owed its renovation to his exertions, is one of the praises due to Bentley, from which envy has never ventured to derogate.

Takes the degree of D.D.

In July 1696 Bentley was created Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge. As his exercise for this degree, he was appointed to keep the 'Public Act' at the Commencement[25]; a theological disputation which formerly constituted the principal object of interest at that solemnity: the attention now engaged by the prize compositions of the students, used then to be directed to the skill and readiness with which the theologian overthrew the studied subtilties of his opponents. The three subjects defended by Bentley on this occasion were: 1. The Mosaic account of the creation and the deluge; 2. The proof of divine authority by the miracles recorded in Scripture; 3. The identity of the Christian and Platonic Trinity[26]. The respondent at this Public Act had the honour of entertaining the University and its visitors not only with his acuteness and learning, but also with a public breakfast of appropriate magnificence. It being found, however, that persons best qualified to do honour to this public solemnity were sometimes deterred by its costly accompaniment, a sumptuary law was passed about this time, prohibiting the entertainment for the future. Our new Doctor was likewise appointed to preach before the University on the Commencement Sunday. His discourse was a defence of revelation against the deists, and a proof that the Author of our Religion was the Messiah; a subject which he treated with his characteristic ability, perspicuity, and closeness of reasoning. It was printed at the time; and being added, many years afterwards, to an edition of his Boyle's Lectures, it continues to be read and valued as one of the most powerful vindications of Christianity from the cavils of infidels[27].

His public act.

Commencement Sermon.

[25] From the Grace Book.

[26] The questions were thus worded: 1. "*An historia Mosaica de creatione et diluvio contineat quidquam rationi contrarium? 2. An miracula in S. Scriptura memorata arguant divinam auctoritatem? 3. An Trinitas Christiana et Platonica sit eadem?*" This is mentioned as a piece of literary news, in a letter from Edmund Gibson to Dr. Charlett, preserved in the Bodleian.

[27] The title is, '*Of Revelation and the Messias;* a Sermon preached at the Public Commencement at Cambridge, July 5th, 1696.'

CHAPTER V.

Publication of Callimachus—Additions by Spanheim and Bentley—Boyle's Lectures—Bentley's first Dissertation on Phalaris—Reply to Sir W. Temple—Literary forgeries—Opinions respecting the Epistles—Bentley proves them spurious—from Chronology—from their language—from their matter—from their late discovery—Replies to Mr. Boyle—Censures his edition—Other spurious Epistles—Reply to Barnes—Æsop's Fables—Their history—Babrius—Maximus Planudes—Sensation produced by the Dissertation—The confederacy—Atterbury, Smalridge, R. Friend, J. Friend, Alsop—Atterbury the chief Author—Sir William Temple's mortification—His rejoinder—Swift's Tale of a Tub—Ridicules Wotton and Bentley.

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Publication of Callimachus.

Dr. Bentley's notes and emendations upon Callimachus, and his collection of the fragments of that poet, were drawn up, after repeated interruptions, and transmitted to Grævius for publication during the year 1696: the last batch of fragments he sent to Utrecht on his return to town from Worcester, where he had been passing two months with the Bishop. Grævius's Callimachus appeared in the August following, and presented two extraordinary specimens of Greek erudition; differing from one another, but each constituting a monument to the fame of its author: the collection of fragments by our critic, and the diffuse commentary by Ezechiel Spanheim. The inexhaustible stores of knowledge in mythology, antiquities, and philology, which the latter exhibits, are an object of admiration; and though he overlays the poet with his learning, yet his commentary will always be valued as a mine of information upon every subject of which it treats. The merits of Bentley's performance were different: above four hundred fragments raked together from the whole range of ancient literature, digested in order, amended and illustrated with a critical skill which had no example, presented a still greater novelty. There existed no collection of Greek fragments, which he could have taken for his model; and Valckenaer, one of the greatest scholars who have trodden

Additions by Spanheim and Bentley.

in his footsteps, speaking of this collection, says, '*qua nihil in hoc genere præstantius prodiit aut magis elaboratum*[1].' CHAP. V. 1696.

In the mean time the fame of Bentley's 'Refutation of Atheism' increased both in this country and abroad: a Latin version of the lectures by Dr. Ernest Jablonski was published at Berlin; and they were translated into Dutch at the instance of Grævius, who was no less delighted with them than with the critical works of his correspondent. It had been designed that Bentley should have continued Boyle's lecturer for the third time in the year 1695. But he declined it, having resolved to devote his time to the concerns of the Royal library: he recommended, however, his friend Wotton as his substitute: but this arrangement was altered in favour of Dr. John Williams[2]. The ever-active friendship of Evelyn made him take measures that Bentley should preach the following year the lecture which he had so auspiciously commenced; and he believed he had obtained the consent of Archbishop Tenison; but for some reason, his Grace's support was given to Mr. Francis Gastrell, the preacher of Lincoln's Inn, who became lecturer, to the great mortification of Evelyn. Bentley expresses to him his own feelings on the occasion in different terms: "The person," says he, "that has the lecture, is very well qualified for the performance, and has desired it a long time. Pray be not concerned therefore for me, as if this was a disappointment; for I speak seriously, I am glad to be excused: this year I shall find myself other work sufficient." Boyle's Lectures. Jan. 12, 1697.

The fact is, that a second edition of the 'Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning' being now called for, Wotton claimed his friend's promise that he would demonstrate Phalaris's Epistles and Æsop's Fables spurious productions. Bentley desired to excuse himself, alleging that circumstances were altered since the promise was made; as the treatment which he had received in the preface to the Oxford Phalaris, would make it impossible for him to write his dissertation without noticing the calumny propagated against him in that work. Bentley's First Dissertation on Phalaris.

[1] *Diatribe*, p. 4. A. He thinks that Bentley's model was the collection of Latin Fragments by Columna, Douza, Scaliger, Rutgersius, &c.

[2] See Evelyn's Letter to Pepys. *Pepys' Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 141.

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This excuse not appearing sufficient, his friend exacted the performance of the engagement[3]. This is his own account, which we find unequivocally corroborated by Wotton. It cannot however be supposed that Bentley's consent was very reluctant; or that he did not secretly rejoice in this fair opportunity of clearing himself from an unpleasant imputation. Far from seeing any disposition on the part of Boyle and his friends to retract the offence, he found that their story had been industriously circulated for two years, with all the additions and exaggerations with which rumour seldom fails to decorate such an anecdote; and it was becoming seriously prejudicial to his character. Accordingly, he undertook a dissertation, in the form of Letters to Mr. Wotton, of which the main object was to demonstrate that the author of 'Phalaris's Epistles' was not the Sicilian tyrant, but some sophist of a recent age; reserving to the conclusion his remarks on Boyle's edition and the personal reflection upon himself.

This essay, though afterwards eclipsed by the enlarged dissertation, is no less amusing than learned: it was, indeed, a somewhat hasty production: yet so clearly were the arguments digested in the writer's mind, and so abundant were his sources of proof, that it contains a fair and satisfactory view of the whole question in all its bearings.

Reply to Sir W. Temple.

Prefixed is the ill-fated paragraph of Sir William Temple, the great advocate of Phalaris and Æsop, which gave occasion to the discussion: but with the controversy wherein Wotton was engaged, he disclaims any interference; observing that 'it was a subject so nice and delicate, and of so mixed and diffused a nature, that he was content to make the best use he could of both ancients and moderns, without venturing with him upon the hazard of a wrong comparison, or the envy of a true one[4].' Respecting the Baronet's remark, 'that some of the oldest books are the best in their kinds,' he says, that the same had been 'observed even by some of the ancients; but then the authors that they gave this honour to, were Homer and Archilochus: but that the choice of Phalaris and Æsop, as they are now extant, for the two great

[3] Preface to *Dissertation on Phalaris*, p. xi. xii.

[4] *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, first edition, p. 6.

inimitable originals, is a piece of criticism of a peculiar complexion, and must proceed from a singularity of palate and judgment [5].' CHAP. V. 1697.

After giving some account of the fashion once prevalent, to publish compositions under the names of illustrious men of yore, which, having been encouraged by the kings of Pergamus and Alexandria offering large sums for writings bearing great names, was afterwards adopted without intention of fraud by the race of Sophists, 'the task of whose schools it was, to compose ἠθοποιΐας, to make speeches, or write letters in the name of some hero, or great commander or philosopher;' he proceeds to the Epistles of Phalaris. Of these no mention can be found in any writer earlier than the tenth century; and respecting the real author of them opinions have been various. That they were an imposture was early suspected; and Angelo Politian, one of the luminaries of the court of Lorenzo di Medici, pronounced the fabricator to be no other than Lucian: this notion, which is demonstrably erroneous, prevailed among the learned for some time. The great Erasmus had not only avowed his opinion that they were supposititious, but thought, like Bentley, that they were sorry specimens of declamation [6]. On the other hand, some very learned persons had believed them the genuine production of the tyrant of Agrigentum: Selden had drawn from them arguments in chronology, and Dodwell was at that very time applying them to the same purpose; which was a sufficient answer to those who contended that the discussion of their authenticity was trivial and useless. To unmask an imposture which was thus introducing material errors into our notions of ancient history, cannot be deemed an unimportant service to the cause of letters.

Literary forgeries.

Opinions respecting the Epistles.

Bentley begins his argument against the pretended Phalaris with proofs taken from chronology; he next considers the *language*, then

Bentley proves them spurious.

[5] *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, first edition, p. 7.

[6] *Erasmi* Lib. I. Epist. I. "Porro Epistolæ quas nobis reliquit nescio quis Bruti nomine, nomine Phalaridis, nomine Senecæ, et Pauli, quid aliud censeri possunt, quam Declamatiunculæ?" Of this great opinion in his favour Bentley was probably not aware, as he does not refer to it in his first Dissertation: but he afterwards adduces it in his reply to Boyle, who had charged him at a venture 'with being the first man who had ever pretended to despise Phalaris; and with having an opinion contrary to the sense of all mankind that had ever written before him.' *Boyle's Examination*, p. 27. *Bentley's Dissertation*, p. 6.

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From chronology.

the *matter* of the Epistles, and concludes with the argument of their late appearance in the world. Upon the first point alone, which he justly regarded as the most satisfactory method of detecting an imposture, his proofs seem more than sufficient to procure an unanimous condemnation of the fraud. Having assumed the age of Phalaris to be in the 57th Olympiad, or about 550 years before Christ, the latest period that history will allow, and therefore the most favourable to his pretended writings, he proceeds to prove that one Sicilian city, Phintia, mentioned in the Epistles, was not named or built till nearly three centuries after his time; another, Alæsa, was first founded above 140 years later; the 'Thericlean cups,' ten pair of which are included in a magnificent present sent by the pretended Phalaris to a physician, who had cured him of a dangerous illness, derived their name from Thericles, a Corinthian potter, who was contemporary with Aristophanes the comedian, and therefore above 120 years later than the death of the real tyrant of Agrigentum: he speaks in one place of 'Zancle,' and in others of 'Messana;' whereas they were one and the same city, which, by the concurrent testimony of historians, had received the latter name from the exiled Messenians of the Peloponnesus, above 60 years after the latest date of Phalaris's death: the author makes use of a quaint phrase, '*to extirpate like a pine tree*,' the original of which belonged to Crœsus the Lydian monarch, whose reign did not begin till some years after the Sicilian was murdered: he mentions 'Tauromenium,' a name given to the city of Naxos many generations after the time of Phalaris: this pretended prince quotes a celebrated expression, '*words are the shadows of things*,' which Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius attribute to Democritus, the laughing philosopher of Abdera, who was more than a century later than his days: the author of the Epistles shows some acquaintance with verses of Pindar and Callimachus, poets of after times; and not only refers to a passage from an Athenian drama, but actually mentions 'tragedies,' the invention and name of which performance had not its origin till some years after the tyrant had expiated his crimes and cruelties in his own brazen bull.

From their language.

Having established these pretty formidable objections to Phalaris's claim of authorship, he proceeds to the language of the Epistles, which

is Attic, and therefore not likely to come from the prince of Agrigentum, a Doric colony, whose broad and harsh dialect differed in every thing from the refinements of Atticism. And, even admitting some childish arguments that had been suggested by Joshua Barnes, for Phalaris speaking the language of Athens, yet the style and idiom of his pretended compositions bore a character later by some centuries than the tyrant, who was contemporary with Solon, and consequently older than any Athenian writings which exist. Besides, Bentley urged, that the sums of money, which the mock prince distributes with boundless profusion in his presents and purchases, were all of the Athenian standard; since the Sicilian talent was but a two-thousandth part of the Attic, comprising only three *denarii*, while the latter was equivalent to six thousand; the author's ignorance of which fact plainly betrayed the forgery.

From their matter.

Having destroyed the credit of these reputed specimens of antiquity by such overwhelming arguments from fact, he ventures upon the most tender part of the question, their subjects and business. Respecting the force of wit and spirit, and the lively painting of humour, which Sir W. Temple fancied he discovered in them, he waives all discussion; but proves, by many examples, the want of sense and judgment which they exhibit, and detects the inaccurate and clumsy learning, and depravation of taste, which marked the scholastic exercises of the later sophists. Having quoted the glowing character of the Epistles drawn by the Baronet, I shall now give the reader the summary of the Doctor's opinion, in a paragraph containing the particular expressions for which his style of writing was most keenly attacked:

"It would be endless to prosecute this part, and shew all the silliness and impertinency in the matter of the Epistles. For, take them in the whole bulk, if a great person would give me leave, I should say, they are a fardle of common-places, without life or spirit from action and circumstance. Do but cast your eye upon Cicero's letters, or any statesman's, as Phalaris was: what lively characters of men there! what descriptions of place! what notifications of time! what particularity of circumstances! what multiplicity of designs and events! When you return to these again, you feel, by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming pedant with his elbow on his desk; not with an active, ambitious tyrant, with his hand on his sword, commanding a million of subjects. All that takes or affects you is a stiffness and stateliness and

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operoseness of style; but as that is improper and unbecoming in all epistles, so especially it is quite aliene from the character of Phalaris, a man of business and dispatch[7]."

From their late discovery

One point only remained, the late discovery of these Epistles. Supposing Sir William Temple's opinion of their age to be correct, they must have remained concealed above a thousand years, (a period not of darkness and ignorance, but one in which literature flourished more than any in the history of the world), unknown to all the writers of antiquity, many of whom would have been greatly interested by such curious documents. This view of the question, exhibiting so many enormous absurdities, he treats with a liveliness and jocularity, which must have been highly unpalatable to the advocates of the ancient Agrigentine.

Replies to Mr. Boyle.

Having dismissed Phalaris, he proceeds to discuss the edition which contained the attack upon himself:

"I must now beg the favour," he says, "of one word with our late editors of this author. They have told the world, in their preface, that (among other specimens of their diligence) they collated the King's MS. as far as the XL epistle; and would have done so throughout, but that the library keeper, *out of his singular humanity*, denied them the further use of it. This was meant as a lash for me, who had the honour then and since to serve his Majesty in that office. I must own, 'twas very well resolved of them, to make the preface and the book all of a piece; for they have acted in this calumny both the injustice of the tyrant, and the forgery of the sophist. For my own part, I should never have honour'd it with a refutation in print, but have given it the neglect that is due to weak detraction, had I not been engaged to my friend to write this censure upon Phalaris; where to omit to take notice of that slander, would be tacitly to own it[8]."

He then tells the story of the bookseller and the manuscript, and his correspondence with Boyle, though in less detail than he afterwards found necessary; and thus contrives to introduce his strictures upon the literary merits of the new edition:

"*Pro singulari sua humanitate!* I could produce several letters from learned professors abroad, whose books our editors may in time be fit to read; wherein these very same words are said of me candidly and seriously. For I endeavour to oblige even foreigners by all courtesie and humanity; much more would I encourage and assist any useful designs at home. And I heartily wish, that I could do any service to that young gentleman of great hopes, whose name is set to the edition. I can do him no greater at

[7] *Dissertation upon Phalaris*, &c. p. 62.

[8] Ibid. p. 66.

present, than to remove some blemishes from the book that is ascribed to him, which I desire may be taken aright; to be no disparagement to himself, but a reproof only to his teachers [9]."

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He then brings forward some specimens of false translation, and mistaken readings, to which he gives no quarter, but lashes with a severity unusual at that time in classical criticism. Such a book as the Phalaris was beneath this species of chastisement; nor is this part of his essay well suited to the rest, but is rather a discredit and blemish to the whole performance. Nevertheless it occasioned his adversaries all the mortification which he thought they deserved. It ends with this defiance:

Censures his edition.

"Let this serve for a short specimen of their care and skill in using of manuscripts. I have many more instances ready at hand; but their *humanity*, I hope, will pardon me, if I don't produce them now, nor now proceed, as I once thought, to weed all their book for them. My time does not lie upon my hands; and this tract must be only a short appendix to the book of my friend; but it's likely hereafter, if, in their way of speaking, they mightily *exhort* me to it, I may be at their service; if not in this, yet in another language; to carry the fame and glory of our editors, whither such editions as theirs seldom go, to foreign universities."

Having overthrown the claim of Phalaris to a place among royal or noble authors, Bentley examines certain other reputed pieces of antiquity, the Letters of Themistocles, of Socrates, and of Euripides; all which he shews not to be productions of the mighty characters whose names they bear, but forgeries of some sophists many centuries later. His arguments, like those upon Phalaris, are taken from the contradictions to history and chronology, the extravagant matter as well as tasteless language of these impostures; all which he exposes with a happy mixture of accurate learning and playful humour. It is right to notice the manner in which he treats Joshua Barnes, whose insufferable behaviour respecting the Epistles of Euripides has been mentioned in our third chapter. Instead of resenting this conduct, he repeats calmly and good-humouredly the arguments of his private letter, enlarged and enforced by several others; and of Barnes himself, who had since become Professor of Greek at Cambridge, he speaks in terms not of displeasure but of compliment.

Other spurious epistles.

Reply to Barnes.

[9] *Dissert. upon Phalaris*, p. 68.

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Æsop's Fables.

There still remained the Æsopian Fables, the other great object of Sir W. Temple's admiration; and to dispossess the old Phrygian fabulist of the credit, or rather discredit, of having written the present collection, was no difficult task. This section of Bentley's performance exhibits little novelty or research, and bears greater marks of haste than any other part of the Dissertation. It is probable that the printer was too urgent, or his friend Wotton too impatient for the publication of the book, to allow more time for the Appendix. The history of the

Their history.

Fables, though not generally known, had in fact been told before, and Bentley only contributed greater precision and accuracy, together with a few additional circumstances. Whether Æsop himself left any thing in writing, or whether his Fables were preserved by oral tradition, is a point which admits of dispute. From Plato we learn, that Socrates amused himself when in prison, with putting into verse some of these apologues, which he happened to recollect. The first collection which we hear of, was made by Demetrius Phalereus, the peripatetic philosopher of Athens, who wrote and declaimed about a century later than Socrates. After him, the Fables were put into verse by some one whose name is lost; fragments of this collection have been preserved, and are principally in elegiac measure. The present collection origi-

Babrius.

nated with Babrius, a Greek poet, whose age is uncertain, but whom Bentley considers to be in the latest class of good writers: he composed Æsopian Fables in scazon or choliambic verse, of which specimens are

Maximus Planudes.

quoted by Suidas and others. Maximus Planudes, the same who translated Ovid's Metamorphoses, Cæsar's Commentaries, and other Latin books into Greek, amused himself with the edifying task of putting Babrius into very dull prose [10]; and this notable performance is the very collection which is the delight of our nurseries, and which Sir W. Temple extolled above all other prose writings, as being at once the oldest and the best in the world. Babrius, however, was not so completely *transprosed*, but that many traces of his verse, and indeed whole choliambic lines remain; some of which Bentley pointed out, and observed that they were quoted elsewhere as from Babrius. This

[10] There is reason, however, to believe he was not the person who originated this work. See *Museum Criticum*, vol. i. p. 410.

discovery had been before made by Neveletus, who printed 136 of the Fables, from a manuscript in the Heidelberg library, in the year 1610. Planudes, who was himself a monk, makes Æsop speak in one place of the monastic order, and in another gives a quotation from the book of Job [11]. The subject, however, far from being exhausted, was but slightly touched by Bentley, and has received much greater light from writers who have had the advantage of older copies; in which the verses of Babrius may be extracted from their mutilated and disguised form, and exhibit not indeed 'the oldest prose writer in existence,' but in his stead, a terse, elegant, and pleasing poet, who lived many centuries nearer our own times [12]. To this Planudes belongs, as Bentley believed, the Life of Æsop, filled with unfounded and absurd fictions: among these is the account of the old fabulist's personal deformity; a story as generally believed as the fact that he was a Phrygian and a slave, to whom the Athenians erected a statue; but one which is not only without authority, but contrary to every fair and probable supposition [13].

May, 1697.

On the publication of this joint work, the sensation in the literary and academical circles was without example [14]. In the large and distinguished society of Christ Church, a perfect ferment was produced by Bentley's attack upon Boyle's Phalaris, which was considered an affront to the Dean under whose auspices it was published, and the college for whose use it was designed: and the mention of 'the editors,' 'the translators,' &c. in the plural number, seemed a reflection upon the whole society, as if they were answerable for the faults of a juvenile publication. It was resolved accordingly, that the audacious offender

Sensation produced by the Dissertation.

[11] *Dissertation upon the Fables of Æsop*, p. 141.

[12] Tyrwhitt wrote a Dissertation *de Babrio, Fabularum Æsopicarum Scriptore;* with some additional Fables, from a manuscript in the Bodleian. This tract, which first appeared in 1775, was reprinted at Leipsic, in 1810, by Francis de Furia, in a thick volume, containing the Fables from an ancient Florentine manuscript. The most satisfactory account of the history of the Æsopian Fables will be found in an article of the *Museum Criticum*, vol. i. p. 407, for which we are indebted to the present Bishop of London, who has most ingeniously restored several complete fables to the choliambic verses of Babrius.

[13] *Bentley's Dissertation on the Fables of Æsop*, § ix. p. 148.

[14] Bentley's Dissertation was sold separately to the purchasers of the first edition of the 'Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning.'

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should experience the full resentment of the body whom he had provoked: and the task of inflicting this public chastisement devolved upon the ablest scholars and wits of the college. The leaders of the confederacy were Francis Atterbury and George Smalridge, both of them in process of time members of the episcopal bench: the first of whom has associated his name with the political history of this country in a degree which has seldom been the lot of a churchman. Each was nearly of the same age as Bentley[15]; and they were regarded the rising lights of the University of Oxford. A share in the association for the demolition of our critic, is claimed for Robert Freind, afterwards head-master of Westminster school, his brother John Freind, and Anthony Alsop, all students of Christ Church; and the work was undertaken with the encouragement, but not with the assistance of the Dean. Mr. Boyle, in whose name and behalf the controversy was carried on, seems to have had but a small share in the actual operations: having now quitted academical pursuits, and entered upon the theatre of active life, he was content that his college friends should fight the battle under his colours[16]. It was resolved to attack every part of Bentley's book; to cavil at all his arguments, and to contend that, whatever were the merits of Phalaris and Æsop, his dissertation had failed to prove either of them spurious. But as they were likely to obtain little triumph in matters of erudition, they determined to hold up every particular of Bentley's character and conduct to ridicule and odium; to dispute his honesty and veracity as well as his learning; and by representing him as a model of pedantry, conceit, and ill-manners, to raise such an outcry, as should drive him off the literary stage for ever. Accordingly, every circumstance which could be discovered respecting his life and conversation, every trivial anecdote, however unconnected with the controversy, was caught up, and made a topic either of censure or ridicule. In short, the obnoxious scholar,

The confederacy.

Atterbury, Smalridge.

R. Freind, J. Freind, Alsop.

[15] Atterbury was born in 1662; Smalridge in 1663.

[16] Warburton says, upon the authority of Pope, that Boyle supplied only a detail of the transactions with the bookseller; and that even this was corrected. *Warburton's Letters to Hurd*, p. 11. I am disposed, however, to believe that Boyle had a somewhat greater share in the book than is here represented: and I shall give my reasons in a subsequent note for questioning altogether the authority of Pope's account.

whose only strength they supposed to be his learning, was to be borne down by the weight of a combined attack upon his literary, moral, and personal character.

Atterbury the chief author.

The principal share in the undertaking fell to the lot of Atterbury: this was suspected at the time, and has been since placed beyond all doubt by the publication of a letter of his to Boyle, in which he mentions, that 'in writing more than half the book, in reviewing a good part of the rest, and in transcribing the whole, half a year of his life had passed away.' The main part of the discussion upon Phalaris is from his pen: that upon Æsop was believed to be written by John Freind; and he was probably assisted in it by Alsop, who was at that very time engaged on an edition of the Fables. But the respective shares cannot be fixed with certainty; nor is this a matter of importance, since Atterbury, by his own confession, made himself responsible for the faults of the whole. In point of classical learning, the joint stock of the confederacy bore no proportion to that of Bentley: their acquaintance with several of the books upon which they comment, appears only to have begun upon this occasion; and sometimes they are indebted for their knowledge of them to their adversary: compared with his boundless erudition, their learning was that of schoolboys, and not always sufficient to preserve them from distressing mistakes. But profound literature was at that period confined to few; while wit and raillery found numerous and eager readers. It may be doubted whether Busby himself, by whom every one of the confederated band had been educated, possessed knowledge which would have qualified him to enter the lists in such a controversy. Besides, they had undertaken to maintain an untenable position: for, though opinions might differ upon parts of Bentley's performance, yet the assertion that *all* his arguments had failed to invalidate the credit of Phalaris's Epistles, was one which committed their characters both for scholarship and for judgment. Nevertheless the confidence of wit and talent, joined with great *esprit de corps*, carried them forward; and high were their anticipations of vengeance to be executed upon the presumptuous critic [17].

There was another individual in whom Bentley's Dissertation excited

[17] Their feelings may be seen in a letter from Smalridge; *Nichols' Illust. of Lit.* vol. iii. p. 268.

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Sir William Temple's mortification.

a still deeper feeling of resentment. Sir William Temple had already been severely chagrined at the favourable reception of Wotton's Reflections, the work of a young and unknown author, who presumed to question the decisions of his established judgment; but his mortification was increased ten-fold by Bentley's appendix, which, it must be confessed, did place him in an uncomfortable predicament. He now saw it demonstrated by arguments not one of which he could refute, that the two productions believed by him to be the oldest, and pronounced to be the finest in existence, were the fabrications of some comparatively recent hand; and that they belonged to an age, in which both learning and taste had degenerated. The Baronet therefore stood in the situation of a celebrated connoisseur, who learns that the pictures which he has commended as master-pieces of Raphael or Titian, are the productions of some common sign-painter; or in that of an antiquary, who after having published his conviction of the inimitable merit of an antique gem, finds evidence brought to prove it the performance of an ordinary modern workman. A person so circumstanced might, indeed, change his ground, and maintain that the merit of the forgery did really surpass all the most famous originals. But Sir William had not left himself even this desperate resource: his argument for the superiority of the most ancient writings over those of all succeeding ages, was made to depend upon the antiquity of these productions; whereby he had cut off his own retreat, and in a two-fold manner, staked his credit upon this questionable ground. His first step was, to write a reply to both Wotton and Bentley, couched in language of indignation and contempt. This piece was left unfinished, and printed after his death; his reputation, however, would have been better consulted by its suppression. It breathes an angry and resentful spirit, ill becoming a dignified and philosophic old age. His adversaries he compares with 'young barbarous Goths and Vandals, breaking or defacing the admirable statues of those ancient heroes,' &c [18]. The part which is finished of Sir William's rejoinder, concerns the publication of Wotton, to whose arguments, however, he can hardly be said to reply; as he does little more than repeat his own

His rejoinder.

[18] 'Some thoughts upon reviewing the Essay, &c.' *Temple's Works*, vol. iii. p. 471.

declamatory account of the immense advances made in science, philosophy, and literature by the ancient sages of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Sicily; without adverting to the questionable nature of the testimonies upon which those pretensions rest. Before he arrived at Bentley's Appendix, he discovered that this was already taken in hand by Boyle and his friends, who were preparing an ample punishment for his temerity; and to them he was content to leave the cause of his ancient Sicilian and Phrygian authors.

Swift's Tale of a Tub.

It was at this time that Jonathan Swift inserted his first attack upon our critic in the 'Tale of a Tub.' The greater part of this celebrated piece of humour had been composed, as the author informs us, in the preceding year. The first design of the 'Tale' was only to ridicule the corruptions and extravagances of certain religious sects; which part of his performance, while it marks a peculiar turn of humour and an original genius, has given well grounded offence to many, by the indecorous and licentious manner in which it treats the most solemn allusions. The sections containing his ridicule of criticism and of whatever else he disapproved in literature, were written upon the appearance of Wotton's and Bentley's joint publication. Swift was at this time living under the protection of Sir William Temple, at Moor Park, and regarded his patron with the utmost attachment and veneration. Perceiving the uneasiness of the Baronet at the awkward situation in which this controversy had placed him, he determined to avenge his cause by those weapons, against which no learning and no genius is entirely proof. Accordingly he gratified his patron, by exhibiting his adversaries in ludicrous colours, and at the same time indulged his own propensity of treating with contempt those branches of knowledge with which he was ill acquainted. He took the same opportunity of venting private spleen against some other writers; but by placing at their head John Dryden, his distant relation, who had spoken in disparagement of some specimens of his poetry, he blunted his satire against the rest, and conferred upon them no small honour, by grouping them in such glorious company [19].

Ridicules Wotton and Bentley.

[19] The origin of this pique is well known: some juvenile odes of Swift having been shown to the veteran bard for his opinion of their merits, Dryden said, upon inspecting them, 'Cousin Swift, you will never make a poet.'

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The third section of Swift's book intitled 'A Digression concerning Critics,' is almost entirely levelled against Bentley, and represents him as a model of the '*true critic*:' a character pourtrayed in a mixture of irony and invective, as remarkable for the broadness of the humour, as for its being totally inapplicable to the Dissertation upon Phalaris. The following specimens will be sufficient to justify this remark:

"The third and noblest sort is that of the TRUE CRITIC, whose original is the most ancient of all. Every true critic is a hero born, descending in a direct line from a celestial stem by Momus and Hybris, who begat Zoilus, who begat Tigellius, who begat Etcætera the elder; who begat Bentley, and Rymer, and Wotton, and Perrault, and Dennis; who begat Etcætera the younger."——"Now, from this heavenly descent of criticism, and the close analogy it bears to heroic virtue, it is easy to assign the proper employment of a true ancient genuine critic; which is, to travel through this vast world of writings; to pursue and hunt those monstrous faults bred within them; to drag out the lurking errors, like Cacus from his den; to multiply them like Hydra's heads; and rake them together like Augeas's dung: or else drive away a sort of dangerous fowl, who have a perverse inclination to plunder the best branches of the tree of knowledge, like those Stymphalian birds that eat up the fruit."

In the fifth section he returns to the charge:

"When I consider how exceedingly our illustrious moderns have eclipsed the weak glimmering lights of the ancients, and turned them out of the road of all fashionable commerce, to a degree, that our choice town wits, of most refined accomplishments, are in grave dispute, whether there have been ever any ancients or not; in which point, we are likely to receive wonderful satisfaction, from the most useful labours and lucubrations of that worthy modern, Dr. Bentley:" adding this note: "The learned person, here meant by our author, has been endeavouring to annihilate so many ancient writers, that, until he is pleased to stop his hand, it will be dangerous to affirm, whether there have been any ancients in the world [20]."

This celebrated piece succeeded at the time in obliging and gratifying Sir William Temple, and in exciting a high opinion of Swift's talents among private friends to whom the manuscript was shown: but for some reason or other, several years passed before it was given to the public.

[20] In another section Swift calls Dr. Bentley, 'that great rectifier of saddles.'

CHAPTER VI.

Proposed new library—Bentley's club—Alsop's publication of Æsop—Boyle's Examination of Bentley's Dissertation—Dr. William King—Sir Edward Sherburn's frivolous complaint—Absurd charges against Bentley—Merits of the Christ Church book—Instances of its mistakes—Examination of Æsop—Witty proof that the Dissertation was not written by Bentley—Charge of plagiarism—Affronting Index—Causes of the great popularity of Boyle's book—Temple's reception of the book—Boyle's own sentiments—Outcry against Bentley—Keill—Milner—Garth—Aldrich—Caricature—Rymer's Essay—Swift's Battle of the Books—Bentley's behaviour—Bentley prepares a reply—Dodwell's Chronology—Bentley's enlarged Dissertation on Phalaris—Attractive nature of the work—Defence against the accusation of pedantry—Retorts Boyle's raillery—Short Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Justice—Refutation of this pamphlet—Another anonymous tract—Bishop Lloyd's publication—Death of Bishop Stillingfleet—His Library—Bentley's complete victory.

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Proposed new library.

WHILE the storm was gathering from various quarters, Bentley's mind was directed to an object of a different description—the erection of a new royal library, which might be worthy of the nation, and of the noble collection of books entrusted to his charge. It had formerly been intended to convey the books to the Roman Catholic chapel at Whitehall, a fine room which the abdication of James II. had left unemployed; but this scheme was defeated by the fire which destroyed the Palace, and most of the adjoining buildings. The design upon which Bentley had fixed his heart, has been already mentioned; the building a room of appropriate size and magnificence in St. James's Park: the sanction of the Lords of the Treasury had been obtained for this work, when it was found that an Act of Parliament was requisite; to procure which, every exertion was made by himself and his friends. In promoting this as well as all his other views, we find Mr. Evelyn the foremost; but the violence of party disputes at that moment, and the financial embarrassments of the country, proved obstacles too great for all his zeal to overcome[1].

[1] Evelyn's Letter to Bentley, of Dec. 25, 1698. *Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 284. Also Bentley's manuscript letters to Evelyn, Oct. 21, 1697, and Feb. 27, 1698. In the latter he says, "I did receive your very kind letter about your conversation with Mr. Edwards, and give you a thousand thanks for the favour; but I fear the quarrels of the House of Commons, the unfortunate burning of Whitehall, the public necessities, and the general decay of honour and

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Bentley's club.

About the same time Bentley formed a club, or evening meeting of a few friends, who happened to be among the greatest intellectual characters that the history of mankind can produce: this society, which met once or twice a week in the librarian's apartments in St. James's, consisted, at its foundation, of Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. John Evelyn, Mr. Isaac Newton, Mr. John Locke, and Dr. Richard Bentley: names sufficient in themselves to render illustrious the age in which they lived, and the country which gave them birth [2].

1698. Alsop's publication of Æsop.

The attack from Christ Church commenced with the new year. The honour of leading the assault was given to Alsop, who published a selection of Æsop's Fables, as the Dean's present to his students. In the preface he treats Bentley in a manner which betokened what might be shortly expected; terming him, *Richardum quendam Bentleium, virum in volvendis lexicis satis diligentem*; and describes his supposed refusal of the manuscript to Boyle, by giving the fable of the 'Dog in the manger,' in neat latinity; where the ironical words *singularis humanitas*, fix the allusion upon the offending librarian [3].

virtue, will scarce permit our bill to be brought in, at least not in this session. But, however, we are resolved not to despair, till we are actually defeated. You know my useful motto, *Possunt quia posse videntur*."

[2] The foundation of this society is mentioned in a manuscript letter of Bentley to Evelyn, Oct. 21, 1697.

[3] *Fabularum Æsopicarum Delectus.* Oxoniæ, 1698. The fable deserves to be given at length.

" CANIS IN PRÆSEPI.

Bos post laboris tædia reversus domum,
Pro more stabulum ingreditur, ut famem levet;
Præsepe sed prius occupaverat canis,
Ringensque frendensque arcet a fæno bovem:
Hunc ille morosum atque inhospitum vocat,
Et fastuosum mentis ingenium exprobat:
Canis hisce graviter percitus conviciis,
Tune, inquit, audes me vocare inhospitum?
Me nempe summis quem ferunt præconiis
Gentes tibi ignotæ? Exteri si quid sciant,
Humanitate supero quemlibet canem.
Hunc intumentem rursus ita bos excipit,
Hæc *singularis* an tua est *humanitas*,
Mihi id roganti denegare pabulum,
Gustare tu quod ipse nec vis, nec potes."

CHAP. VI. 1698. March. Boyle's examination of Bentley's Dissertation.

At length appeared the performance of the confederate wits, which was to extinguish for ever the fame and pretensions of our critic: it was a book of about 300 pages, entitled '*Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop, examined by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq.*' with a motto sufficiently menacing:

Remember Milo's end,
Wedg'd in that timber which he strove to rend.

This work, which once enjoyed an extravagant popularity, is now little known, except through the fame of him whom it was intended to crush; since few will take the trouble of reading a controversial piece, so immeasurably inferior to its opponent. But if we consider that the view of each several question which it discussed is the wrong one, it is impossible to deny to its arguments the praise of address and ingenuity. Bentley declared, that the only merit of the book was 'banter and grimace:' but this is not a fair statement; no where can we find a specimen of more cleverness and adroitness shown in encountering logic and erudition with the weapons of sophistry. Against every part of the Dissertation ingenious cavils are raised, of a nature quite sufficient to delude the half-learned among its readers: the style is elegant and scholar-like; and a vein of well-sustained humour and lively raillery runs through the whole performance.

Regarded in another point of view, this book deserves severe reprehension: the spirit of hostility and persecution which it breathes, is so bitter and so disproportioned to the alleged offence, that every candid mind feels disgusted. Not content with denying Bentley all credit for ability or learning, his opponents were resolved to dispute his honour and veracity in every action and word, and to represent him as a person unfit for the society of gentlemen. The object constantly kept in view is not the pursuit of truth or detection of error, but the ruin of an individual's character; and to accomplish this, no methods are thought unfair or degrading.

The facts adduced to the disparagement of Bentley's reputation, even admitting the statement of the accusers, would not justify the shocking reflections cast upon him. The affair of the bookseller and the manuscript is related upon Bennet's authority, in exaggerated terms

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But after hearing his own account, every candid person must condemn Boyle for commencing a quarrel in resentment of a supposed slight, before he had taken any measure to ascertain that it was intended as such. His friends felt this to be the weak part of his cause; and accordingly they laboured to prove, upon certain other testimony, that their adversary's general behaviour was uncourteous. Dr. William King, a civilian, well known as a witty writer both in prose and verse, happened to be in Bennet's shop during one of the conversations about the manuscript; and being an old Westminster and Christ Church man, and a friend of Atterbury, he readily furnished some recollections of the *brusque* language, which he had overheard. The foundation of his tale was this: Bentley, immediately upon his appointment to the library, had exerted himself to recover from the booksellers copies of their respective publications, to all which the King's library was entitled, as well as the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but which they had of late failed to deliver. Among the rest, he called upon Bennet for his share; whereupon he complained of the hardship of the demand, questioned the right of Parliament to give away his property, and talked of the booksellers being a rich body, having a common purse, and able to resist and litigate the question. Bentley checked his talk by explaining the advantages derived by publishers from the existence of such libraries, to which, therefore, it was equitable that they should contribute; and mentioned, as an instance, the manuscript of which he was at that moment soliciting the use; telling him in jest that he ought to make a present of a book to the library in return, since the value of the manuscript after its collation would be diminished; and to make him comprehend this, he said, 'it would then become like a squeezed orange.' Dr. King, who overheard this discourse, could recollect no particular, except Dr. Bentley's remark, 'that the manuscript when collated would be worth *nothing* for the future:' he testified, indeed, that there was 'pride and insolence' in his discourse, but suppresses the cause which had excited it; wishing it to be inferred, that it was Mr. Boyle, instead of the bookseller, for whom the rebuke was intended [4].

Dr. William King.

[4] *Boyle*, p. 8. *Bentley's Dissertation*, Preface, p. xxxi.

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Sir Edward Sherburn's frivolous complaint.

The next accusation is still more unjustifiable. It has been mentioned, that Bentley having discovered among certain papers lent him by Sir Edward Sherburn, a tract of Rubenius, transmitted it, with his permission, to Grævius for publication; stating at the same time through whose means it came into his hands. Grævius, when he made his public acknowledgment to our critic, had omitted to name Sir Edward Sherburn, either from inadvertence, or not deeming the mention of him material. The knight, who was struggling with the joint evils of old age and poverty, had been heard to make some querulous remarks about what he considered a slight: this was eagerly caught at by the Boylean party, who procured from Sir Edward a declaration that 'Dr. Bentley had ungratefully robbed him of the honour of that publication[5].' This assertion, unjustifiable even upon his own view of the matter, was now made public, along with an insinuation that he had suppressed the name of Sir Edward, and thereby surreptitiously obtained the noble panegyric bestowed upon him by Grævius; as if that had been any thing but the spontaneous testimony of a scholar to his learning and genius. With the controversy in hand, this story had not the remotest connexion: it is painful to reflect to what disgraceful lengths even enlightened minds may be carried by indulging the animosities of party.

Absurd charges against Bentley.

The other stories are nearly of the same character: the doctor is accused of refusing the use of the library to foreigners of distinction; whereas every testimony proves the reverse. The only instance relied upon by his enemies is that of one Fosse, a Dane, who complained that he could not get a sight of the famous Alexandrian manuscript: this person had made the modest request that he might have that invaluable document, the treasure and glory of the library, given to him to collate at his lodgings; a work of at least six months' constant labour. Bentley observes in his reply, that 'it was pretty hard to keep one's countenance at so senseless a proposal; however, he gave him a civil answer why he thought the favour could not be allowed him:' nor indeed is he charged with want of civility in the refusal[6].

[5] *Boyle*, p. 15.

[6] *Boyle*, p. 14. *Bentley's Dissertation*, p. lxiv. *A Short Review of the Controversy*, &c. p. 24.

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Such tales as these it is humiliating even to narrate: but upon no better grounds did Bentley's enemies rest their general accusation of his rude manners; and endeavoured to confirm it by quotations from his writings in which he had differed in opinion from great men, as Scaliger and Casaubon. Still more stress was laid upon his presuming to contradict the two living worthies, Sir William Temple and Professor Barnes. This attempt was preposterous, and never was failure more complete: in no one of the instances is the language in which he expresses dissent contemptuous or disrespectful; while it happens, that Bentley's judgment is in each case clearly and unquestionably correct.

Merits of the Christ Church book.

With regard to the learning displayed in 'Boyle's Examination' the reader will be disappointed who expects to meet either much information or much accuracy: but he will be amused with the clever and dexterous management in which the arguments of the adversary are eluded, and the several questions made to wear a new complexion. This is particularly exemplified in the discussion upon 'Sicilian money,' in which we are told that even learned readers, and among them some of Bentley's friends, thought that the Christ Church party had triumphed. Upon the whole, great address is shown, in pressing their plausible arguments, and in gliding hastily over the weakest parts of the question. But if we compare their performance with Bentley's reply, it will seem as if his adversaries were impelled by a sort of fatality to afford him fresh opportunity of triumph, and to make their own discomfiture needlessly severe. In one place, they travel far out of their way, to dispute the law laid down by Bentley in his 'Epistle to Mill,' respecting the quantity of the final syllable in anapæstic verses; but the instances which they fancy to be exceptions to this rule, do in fact confirm what they were intended to overthrow. This feat, while it gave their antagonist an occasion of establishing his point more completely, exhibited a ridiculous failure on their part, which in a critical work it would not be easy to parallel. Their censures relative to the 'Greek Drama,' and the 'Age of Tragedy,' were peculiarly adapted to call forth Bentley's knowledge on those subjects. In

Instances of its mistakes.

supposing the σατυρικὴ ποίησις to have consisted of 'lampoons,' they confounded the name with that of the Roman *Satira*, the offspring of

Italy: a blunder for which Dr. Busby's scholars ought to have blushed[7]. In many parts of the Examination, the confederate critics seem to have parted with their lexicons and their grammars too soon: as for instance in asserting that the Ionic was the dialect of Lesbos, the country of Sappho and Alcæus, they betray ignorance of history and grammar which is hardly credible[8]. To complete their mishaps, it is frequently found that in their sallies of ridicule, the whole pith of the jest depends upon some blunder of their own: so difficult is it to be witty and wise at the same time. Of this, the following passage from Boyle's book affords a tolerable specimen:

"The very spirit of Athenæus is got into him, who undertook to disprove some of the most remarkable particulars of Socrates' life, recorded in Xenophon and Plato, by the very same negative way of arguing that Dr. Bentley makes use of against Phalaris and Æsop; the silence and pretermission of authors; nay, and expresses himself in the same mannerly way too, calling Plato, the best bred man in the world, dog and liar, covertly indeed; whereas Dr. Bentley has bestowed much the same titles on those he disputes against, bluntly and openly. But the impartial Casaubon takes the part of those great men against his author, reproves his rudeness, and confutes his reasonings, and shews him to be, as confident clowns generally are, all over mistaken. The men of letters, I hope, will excuse this freedom; no man is readier than I am to value Athenæus for what he ought to be valued, the fragments and remains of antiquity, which he has preserved; but to see him insolently trampling on great names, is what I cannot bear without indignation."—*Boyle's Examination*, p. 238.

Unhappily for this indignant vindicator of Plato and good breeding, against Athenæus and clownishness, he mistook the whole drift of the context and expressions: the words ὁ κυὼν οὗτος are applied by Athenæus not to Plato, but to Antisthenes, who had given the same account as Plato of certain prizes said to have been obtained by Socrates; and whom, as the founder of the sect of Cynics, he designates κυὼν, the title assumed by those philosophers themselves[9]. Nor is he more fortunate in his complaint of the Doctor's application of a Greek proverb, 'Leucon carries one thing, his ass another,' which Mr. Boyle fancies is 'calling him a downright ass[10].'

[7] *Boyle's Examination*, p. 180.

[8] Ibid. p. 41.

[9] *Athenæus*, lib. v. p. 216. B. *Bentley's Dissertation*, Pref. p. xcix.

[10] *Boyle's Examination*, p. 11. To this Bentley replied, "And by the help," he says, "of a Greek proverb, I call him downright ass." After I had censured a passage of Mr. B.'s transla-

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Examination of Æsop.

Of such mistakes there is more than a proportionate share in the part of the 'Examination' devoted to the Fables of Æsop; which is palpably written by a different hand from the rest; and of which Bentley observes, that 'the style is something worse than that of the Defence of Phalaris, and the learning a good deal worse.' Upon the genuineness of the Fables themselves, hardly any stand is attempted to be made: and the contest is maintained rather against the critic than the criticism; but in saucy and affronting raillery this department of the work is not in the least behind its companions.

Witty proof that the Dissertation was not written by Bentley.

Another part of 'Boyle's Examination' consists of an attempt to shew, that by the same sort of arguments as those adduced against Phalaris's claim to the Epistles, it might be proved that the Dissertation itself was not written by Dr. Bentley. This *jeu d'esprit* was, I am inclined to believe, the production of Smalridge: it is highly humourous; and as the chief merit of the book consists in its pleasantry, this part fairly deserves the palm. It supposes some critic to argue at the distance of several centuries, 'should it be then in existence,' that the Dissertation on Phalaris cannot be the production of Dr. Bentley, the library keeper to the King; and the author dexterously contrives to adopt every word and phrase of the Doctor's charged as being pedantic, or ill-mannered: the gravity with which

tion that has no affinity with the original, "This puts me in mind," said I, "of the old Greek proverb, 'that Leucon carries one thing, and his ass quite another.' Where the ass is manifestly spoken of the sophist, whom I had before represented as 'an ass under a lion's skin.' And if Mr. B. has such a dearness for his Phalaris, that he will change places with him there, how can I help it? I can only protest that I put him in Leucon's place; and if he will needs compliment himself out of it, I must leave the two friends to the pleasure of their mutual civilities." *Pref. to Dissert. on Phal.* p. lxxv. This proverb seems to have been a luckless one for the Boyleans; as in another part of their book (p. 49) they accuse Bentley of comparing Mr. Boyle to '*Lucian's* ass;' and by this supplemental blunder, gave a proof that these two parts *must* have been written by different hands. "Then he mentions some coarse compliments upon himself, which I have already accounted for: only here he says, I compare him with *Lucian's* ass; which, were it true, would be no coarse compliment, but a very obliging one. For Lucian's ass was a very intelligent and ingenious ass, and had more sense than any of his riders: he was no other than Lucian himself in the shape of an ass, and had a better talent at kicking and bantering than ever the Examiner will have, though it seems to be his chief one. Let the reader too observe by the way, that Mr. B. in this place has it '*Lucian's* ass;' but in another he cites it truly, '*Leucon's* ass;' and yet we are told the very same hand wrote both passages." *Pref. to Dissert. on Phal.* p. lxxxiii.

Bentley's own language is copied in the parody, and he is thus made to argue against himself, becomes irresistibly laughable [11]. CHAP. VI. 1698.

Bentley had brought this whole storm upon his head, by censuring the faults of Boyle's Phalaris as discreditable to his instructors. His criticisms are of course disputed; but the defence set up for some grievous instances of false translation only involves the editor in still greater difficulties. The reprisals which the Doctor's adversaries found themselves able to make were few, and not very important: in confining the ancient usage of the verbs *διώκω* and *προδίδωμι* too narrowly, he had certainly spoken in haste, and without due examination; and this is in fact the only triumph which he afforded to the advocates of Phalaris.

Charge of plagiarism.

The whole book is drawn up upon a plan of offensive warfare; but the only point calculated to make a serious impression upon Bentley's character, is a charge of plagiarism in two instances. It had been alleged by Professor Barnes, in an apology for Phalaris, a Dorian prince, writing in the Attic dialect, that other Greeks of Dorian colonies, and among them Ocellus of Lucania, had done the very same [12]. Bentley demolished this argument, by proving from extracts existing in Stobæus, that this Pythagorean did in reality compose his treatise 'on the Universe' in Doric, from which it had been translated into the common dialect. This discovery Bentley had given as his own; but his adversaries found that it had been already made by Vizzanius, in the preface to an edition of Ocellus, about fifty years before. The other instance was, his observation of the verses of Babrius, still found

[11] *Boyle*, p. 184—201. In attributing this part of the book to Smalridge, I follow the authority of Dr. Salter, who had conversed with Bentley himself on the subject of this publication. Warburton says, that it was written by 'Dr. King of the Commons;' and this he asserts upon the authority of Pope, 'who had been let into the secret concerning the Oxford performance.' *Letters to Hurd*, p. 10. But in the first place, Pope was at the time only ten years old; and though he was afterwards intimate with Atterbury, yet he was not likely ever to have discussed with him a subject, which supplied only mortifying recollections. In the next place, the tone of the parody is somewhat different, and the taste unlike that of King's banter.

[12] "Monendus autem est lector, Phalaridis Epistolas nihilo secius genuinas esse, quod earum auctor esset Agrigenti tyrannus: is enim Astypala natus erat, una ex Cycladibus, ubi Atheniensium erat colonia: sed nec ipse Diodorus Siculus, nec Empedocles Agrigentinus, nec Ocellus Lucanus, Dorice sed Attice fere scripserunt." *Barnes, Argum. Eurip. Epistol.*

CHAP. VI. 1698.

lurking in the Æsopian Fables; a fact which had been previously discovered and published by Neveletus. These were adduced as cases of gross plagiarism on the part of Bentley, and he was assailed with every opprobrious taunt which could be devised against a literary plunderer. This was evidently considered by the Christ Church wits as the surest and most annoying of their weapons: but for the complete success of their cause, they relied upon the numbers, the celebrity, and the influence of their college; a fact which they unwisely reveal, when in the gaiety of anticipated triumph they thus wind up their long tirade:

"Especially he should take care, when the angry fit is upon him, not to vent it upon great bodies of learned men. A single writer may be trampled upon now and then, and receive correction from his hand without endeavouring to return it; but among numbers there will always be found some who have ability, and inclination, and leisure enough to do themselves and their friends right upon the injurer, though he were a champion of ten times as much strength and prowess as Dr. Bentley thinks himself to be. Besides, single adversaries die, and drop off; but Societies are immortal; their resentments are sometimes delivered down from hand to hand; and when once they have begun with a man, there is no knowing when they will leave him.

"'Twere well too, if he would think it a point of prudence to observe some measures of decency towards the dead as well as the living; and not give himself that insufferable liberty of attacking their reputation and their works, in hopes that nobody will be generous enough to stand up in their behalf, and speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. He has defied Phalaris, and used him very coarsely, under the assurance, as he tells us, that 'he is out of his reach:' many of Phalaris's enemies thought the same thing, and repented of their vain confidence afterwards in his Bull. Dr. Bentley is perhaps by this time, or will suddenly be satisfied, that he also has presumed a little too much upon his distance: but 'twill be too late to repent, when he begins to bellow."

Affronting index.

As a parting favour, they attached to the second edition of their book 'A short account of Dr. Bentley by way of INDEX,' for the pleasure of repeating once more their principal affronts; such as, 'his charges against the Sophists returned upon himself, for forging history'—'for solecisms'—'for *egregious dulness*'—'for pedantry'—'for declaiming'—'his familiar acquaintance with books that he never saw'—'his dogmatical air'—'his modesty and decency in contradicting great men, Casaubon, Erasmus, Scaliger, Sir W. Temple, Mr. Barnes, every body.'

The uncommonly favourable reception of this motley production, generally called 'Boyle against Bentley,' has long been regarded as a paradox in literary history. The work, had it been viewed upon its bare merits must have been pronounced a total failure; for allowing the utmost credit to the exceptions against Bentley's Dissertation, yet every impartial scholar must have admitted, that the main effect of his arguments continued unimpaired: and whatever foundation there might be for the complaint against his personal conduct, yet the retaliation was such, as neither his alleged incivility could justify, nor the wit and humour of the performance render tolerable. Nevertheless, all accounts agree in stating the applause which the book met with, to have been loud and universal: and the general interest excited by this controversy, properly a business of dry learning, appears to us almost incredible. This state of public feeling is attributable in some degree to the vein of wit and satire which pervades the Christ Church performance; but still more to extraneous causes. The numbers and the ability of the members of that distinguished society, who appear to have felt as one man in this common cause, had a powerful influence over public opinion. Again, the extreme popularity of Sir W. Temple, who was represented as rudely attacked; and the interest excited in behalf of Mr. Boyle, a young scholar of noble birth, who appeared in the field of controversy as the champion of an accomplished veteran, disposed people at all hazards to favour his cause. Added to this, an opinion, which had been industriously circulated of Bentley's incivility, and a certain haughty carriage which undoubtedly belonged to him, gave a violent prejudice to the public mind. Severe and accurate erudition being rare in those days, people were so far deluded as to believe that on most, if not all points, Boyle was successful: we learn from Bentley himself, that the book was at first generally regarded as unanswerable; and this even among his own friends. Nobody suspected that he would venture to reply; still less that he could ever again hold up his head in the republic of learning: the blow was thought to be fatal; and many persons, as usual, eagerly joined the cry against the devoted critic. Sir W. Temple, though he could hardly flatter himself that the Christ Church work had established his

Causes of the great popularity of Boyle's book.

Temple's reception of the book.

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own sentiments respecting Phalaris and Æsop, yet believed that it had succeeded in destroying the reputation of Bentley, against whom he had conceived an unwarrantable resentment, grounded not upon any personal offence, but upon the powerful case which he had made out against his positions. He lost no time in pronouncing a judgment upon Boyle's publication, in which, he says, 'the compass and application of so much learning, the strength and pertinence of arguments, the candour of his relations, in return to such foul-mouthed raillery, the pleasant turns of wit, and the easiness of style, are in my opinion as extraordinary as the contrary of these all appear to be, in what the Doctor and his friend have written.' In conclusion, this enemy of railing and abuse excuses his not having taken up the controversy himself, by declaring that he 'had no mind to enter the lists with such a mean, *dull*, unmannerly pedant [13].'

March 30.

Boyle's own sentiments.

To the general applause which hailed this publication, there seems to have been one exception; and that was no other than Mr. Boyle himself, in whose name it appeared, and for whom the honour of the achievement was designed. This gentleman, while his friends were so zealously fighting under his colours, was himself attending his parliamentary duty in Ireland: although he left his cause in their hands, yet he had, it seems, certain apprehensions and misgivings respecting the manner in which they were conducting it; and during the progress of the work, expressed in his letters 'hopes that it would do no harm.' The popularity of the book causing a new edition to be immediately called for, he took that opportunity of inserting some improvements, and some corrections; for which he was indebted to another friend, whom I apprehend to have been his former tutor, Dr. Gale, the Dean of York [14]. These were transmitted to Atterbury, the

[13] The extracts from this letter of Sir William's, perhaps addressed to Atterbury, are given in the *Short Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Justice*, &c. p. 140.

[14] Wotton, in the Appendix to his Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, 3d edit. 1705, mentions the belief that Dr. Gale had some concern in *Boyle's Examination*. The Dean himself says, in a letter to Mr. Pepys, of March 18, 1698—99: "The quarrel between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley I abominated from the first. I like it not better now: so much as I have read of the book (i. e. *Bentley against Boyle*) gives me the same idea that you have of it." *Pepys's Correspondence*, p. 164.

leader of the confederacy, whose proud spirit immediately took fire: considering this a proof of distrust, and ingratitude to one who had by his own labour procured so much reputation for his pupil, he returned the papers to Boyle, with a letter of indignant complaint, reproaching him for his thankless behaviour, and declining all further interference in the controversy [15].

Outcry against Bentley.

Notwithstanding this dissension at the head-quarters of his enemies, the clamour against our devoted critic continued loud and incessant; nor was it confined to one description of persons; all who wished to attract attention by declaiming upon a popular topic joined in the cry. We find philosophers and wits, poets and critics, divines and physicians, grey-beards and striplings, Oxford men and Cambridge men, combining to hunt down the enemy of Temple and Boyle. John Keill, of Baliol College, a mathematician of high reputation, was at this time publishing his first work, an 'Examination of Burnet's Theory of the Earth;' and from no assignable motive except a wish to ingratiate himself with the enemies of Bentley, he ransacked the philosophical part of his 'Lectures on Atheism,' for some opportunity of cavil. In his astronomy he could find but two flaws; and these he went far out of his way to mention with indecent asperity [16]. The first was, a remark that 'though the axis of the earth had been perpendicular to the plane of ecliptic, yet, take the whole year about, we should have had the same measure of heat as we have now;' where Keill chose to understand '*we*' as signifying the inhabitants of the temperate zone, instead of *the whole earth*; in which latter sense the assertion is correctly true. The other observation was certainly an error; that 'the moon does not wheel about her own centre;' but it was an error which had been committed by every astronomer before Newton, who first discovered that the moon *does* revolve about her axis; and this is mentioned in an inci-

Keill.

[15] This letter will be found in *Atterbury's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 21.

[16] *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory*, &c. p. 70. Bentley, in the next edition of his Boyle's Lectures, altered *we*, in the first passage, into '*the whole earth*,' and omitted the second altogether. Keill's malevolent remarks met with a merited rebuke from Wotton, in the third edition of his *Reflections*, p. 478, and I have never seen his conduct in this matter mentioned in any terms but those of reprobation.

CHAP. VI. 1698.

dental sentence of the *Principia*, which Bentley had either overlooked or forgotten. Keill concludes his ill-natured attack upon a writer who had deserved so well of the cause in which he was himself labouring, with this pitiful sneer: 'It were to be wished that great critics would confine their labours to their lexicons, and not venture to guess in those parts of learning which are capable of demonstration:' speaking as if he thought that a person's classical attainments did in themselves disqualify him for other and more severe studies.

Milner.

John Milner, a veteran schoolmaster at Leeds, engaged in the dispute on Phalaris, in a book called 'A View of the Dissertation,' &c.; and took part against our critic; but in so doing, he gave Bentley an occasion to correct two or three mistakes or misapprehensions, the only fresh contribution which he brought to this controversy [17].

Garth.

Dr. Garth, his contemporary at Cambridge, who was related to the Boyles, published about this time his well-known poem, 'The Dispensary,' and pronounced his judgment upon the merits of the two combatants in this simile:

> "So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
> And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle:"

a couplet which is, perhaps, more frequently quoted than any other in the poem, and always to the disparagement of the author's judgment. In a collection of Latin verses printed at Oxford, called *Examen Poeticum Duplex*, Bentley is held up as an object of ridicule by two different hands, one of whom was asserted to be 'Dean Aldrich himself, or a brother Doctor of Divinity [18]. At Cambridge a caricature was exhibited of Phalaris putting the unfortunate critic into his brazen bull; and as it was thought that a member of St. John's College could not properly make his exit without a pun, he was represented saying, 'I had rather be roasted than BOYLED [19].'

Aldrich.

Caricature.

[17] Bentley replies to him, *Dissert. on Phal.* p. 214, 215. terming him 'an unknown author, who has mixed himself in this controversy.'

[18] *Essay on Critical and Curious Learning*, p. 70. Of the other poem, all the wit is contained in the following line: 'Anglo-Græco-Latino-crepundia Bentleiana.'

[19] *Budgell's Lives of the Boyles*, p. 193.

Though there already existed literary journals in England, they had not yet assumed the character or functions of our modern Reviews. The same office, however, was performed by pamphlets. One of these speedily came forth, termed 'An Essay concerning Critical and Curious Learning, in which are contained some short reflections on the controversie betwixt Sir W. Temple and Mr. Wotton, and that betwixt Dr. Bentley and Mr. Boyl.' The author was Thomas Rymer, best known as a laborious antiquary, and the principal compiler of the numerous and ponderous volumes of the *Fœdera*; who seems to have enjoyed at that time no inconsiderable reputation as a critic. This article displays its impartiality by dispensing censures upon all parties concerned, with the tone and authority assumed by a fastidious reviewer: except, indeed, that Sir W. Temple is declared a perfect and faultless writer; and to take any exception to his decisions is pronounced the height of presumption. Rymer condemns our critic for having resented Boyle's reflection at all, for having used rudeness in the manner of doing so, and, lastly, for contesting such an unimportant question as the authenticity of Phalaris and Æsop. The only real charge, that of rudeness, is not substantiated: and in regard to his last censure, nothing can be more unphilosophical than his reasoning. He contends that all enquiries of a 'curious' nature, carried beyond a supposed point of utility, (which never can be ascertained) are wrong in themselves, because they are fruitless. To this doctrine nobody who is acquainted with the progress of human knowledge, can ever subscribe. Such pursuits, if they have no important results, are at least innocent; and are the amusements of a liberal mind. But it is well known that some of the greatest advances in science and literature have been made by urging such 'curious' investigations, as did not at first promise any great reward to the inquirer. Upon the confederacy who, under the name of Mr. Boyle, had clubbed their forces for the purpose of writing down an individual, Rymer bestows a full measure of censure. They are condemned for the rancour of their language, and for their arrogant pretensions, grounded upon the celebrity of their college. He adds some reflections upon the supercilious air of superiority assumed by the Christ Church men of that day towards the rest of

Rymer's Essay.

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the University; which was encouraged by their Dean, upon whom he is particularly severe [20]. This provocation called forth an immediate and angry reply from the college; the author of which abuses Rymer and Bentley in alternate sentences, directing his principal complaint, just as his precursors had done, against the *ill-breeding* of his adversaries [21].

Swift's Battle of the Books.

Of all the attacks upon Bentley written at this period, the only one which continues to be known by its own merits, is Swift's 'Battle of the Books,' a piece exhibiting perhaps more than any of his writings, the original vein of humour which distinguishes its author. Like its predecessor, 'the Tale of a Tub,' it was composed to soothe the mortified feelings of his patron, Sir W. Temple, by sacrificing to eternal ridicule the objects of his resentment. In fact it continues to be read and laughed over by thousands, who would have turned a deaf ear to the eloquence of the English Memmius, and all the combined wit and learning of Christ Church. The idea of this piece, and the arrangement of the combat, was borrowed from a French poem by Coutray, called '*Histoire Poetique de la Guerre nouvellement declarée entre les anciens et les modernes*;' but the humour, the spirit, and the satire are sustained in a manner peculiar to Swift; who displays here the same talent as in his Gulliver, of reconciling the reader to the most monstrous fictions, and of giving almost an air of probability to the wildest offsprings of an all licenced fancy. In so professed a satire, the reader hardly expects to find the semblance of fairness, in estimating the relative strength of the parties who are

[20] *Essay on Critical and Curious Learning*, p. 63. "If I may be permitted to suggest my own opinion, I fancy this book was written (as most public compositions in that college are) by a select club. There is such a profusion of wit all along, and such variety of points and raillery, that every man seems to have thrown in a repartee or so in his turn, and the most ingenious Dr. Aldrich no doubt was at the head of them, and smoaked and punned plentifully on this occasion. It brings the old character of Christ Church very fresh into my mind; which you may remember distinguished itself from the rest of the University, not by its extraordinary learning, but its abominable arrogance.—The Dean, instead of checking this intolerable temper, encourages and promotes it by his own worthy example. It is not long since he published a small Compendium of Logic, for the use of Mr. Boyle, &c."

[21] "*An Answer to a late Pamphlet called an Essay concerning Critical and Curious Learning.*" London. 1698. 8vo.

brought into deadly strife in St. James's Library. But it has been remarked that in some cases, Swift is guilty of less injustice to Englishmen than Sir W. Temple, who committed his high reputation in a serious and studied estimate of the comparative claims of ancient and modern writers to the gratitude of mankind. Shakspeare and Newton, the two great glories of our island, pass alike unnoticed by the statesman and the wit; except that each indulges a sneer at the philosopher, along with the rest of the Royal Society: but of Milton a distinguished notice is taken by Swift: and while Sir William chose to be totally ignorant that such a philosopher as Lord Bacon had ever existed, and declared that 'he knew of no new philosophers, that had made their entries upon that noble stage for fifteen hundred years, unless Des Cartes and Hobbes should pretend to it,' the 'Battle of the Books' assigns to Bacon the foremost place among the opposers of Aristotle.

In the combat and the parley between Virgil and Dryden, Swift takes a fresh occasion to discharge his spleen against his illustrious kinsman. But it is upon Wotton and Bentley, particularly the latter, that the full vehemence of his unbridled satire is let loose. The greater part of the ridicule thrown upon our critic, whose leading demerits are represented to be dullness and hatred of the ancients, is so remarkably inapplicable, that no degree of humour less than Swift's could make it palatable:

"The guardian of the regal library, a person of great valour, but chiefly renowned for his humanity, had been a fierce champion for the moderns; and, in an engagement upon Parnassus, had vowed, with his own hands, to knock down two of the ancient chiefs, who guarded a small pass on the superior rock; but, endeavouring to climb up, was cruelly obstructed by his own unhappy weight, and tendency towards his centre," &c.

This mock-heroic combat concludes with the 'Episode of Bentley and Wotton,' which has succeeded as completely as the author could have wished, among the lovers of broad humour, and has immortalized the supposed triumph of Boyle over the two friends.

Bentley meanwhile remained calm under this merciless storm, relying upon the goodness of his cause, and a conviction, that the public judgment, however strangely it may be perverted for a time, will at length come to a just decision upon every question. Warburton

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tells an anecdote upon the authority of Dr. S. (whom I apprehend to be Smalbroke, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry) who meeting Bentley at this period, and telling him not to be discouraged at the run made against him, was answered, "Indeed I am in no pain about the matter, for it is a maxim with me that no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself[22]." He had now, however, to experience the most painful of all circumstances attending popular outcry, the desertion or coldness of some friends, whose regards were influenced by fashion. That he felt uneasiness at this situation may well be believed; indeed he confesses as much in one of his letters to Grævius; but instead of expressing this to the world, he applied himself to write such an answer as should effectually turn the tide of popular opinion, and make the weapons of his enemies recoil upon their own heads.

Bentley's sentiments.

April 21. His sentiments at this time are expressed in a letter to his unshaken friend Evelyn, who appears to have stood up alone as his defender, and to have recommended people to wait and hear the other side, before they pronounced his condemnation. He feels gratefully this proof of Evelyn's friendship; and assures him that he shall very shortly be able to refute all the charges and all the cavils of his enemies, so fully 'both in points of learning and points of fact, that they themselves would feel ashamed.' Though this was only three or four weeks after the appearance of their book, his answer was almost ready, and he intended it to be at the press within a few days.

That Bentley did not immediately reply to his adversaries must be regarded as fortunate, not only for himself, but for the whole learned world. Although there is no doubt but that such a publication as he meditated, would have put him in possession of the victory, and settled the whole controversy; so perfectly was he master of all parts of the question; yet a hasty performance could not have supplied us with such a valuable treasure of wit and learning as appeared at the

[22] This anecdote is told by Warburton in a note on Pope's Imitation of Horace's Epistle to Augustus, v. 104. Its publication was in 1749, which enables me to fix the teller of the anecdote, whom he terms Dr. L. a learned prelate, now living. Warburton, however, is mistaken in saying that it was *after* 'the publication of that noble piece of criticism, the answer to the Oxford writers.' At that time both speeches would have been inapplicable.

beginning of the following year: a piece, which by the concurring testimony of all scholars, has never been rivalled. The Boyleans had pursued a course calculated to display their adversary to the greatest advantage, and to raise to the highest pinnacle the reputation which they designed to overturn. In their efforts to confute his reasonings about Phalaris, they had introduced a variety of new topics, which the writers from whence they drew their knowledge had treated either erroneously or slightly. This imposed upon Bentley the necessity of explaining and elucidating them; in doing which he was able to develope stores of learning more abundant than either his friends hoped, or his enemies apprehended. It was fully believed, that his first Dissertation had been the elaborate result of more than two years' attention to the subject; that his bolt was now shot; and that his learning and objections were exhausted. So far was this from being the case, that it was in fact a hasty sketch, the sheets of which were sent to the press as fast as they were written. When the famous Reply appeared, the public found to their astonishment, that the former piece had consisted only of the sprinklings of immense stores of knowledge, which might almost be said, like his talents, to expand with the occasion that called them forth.

Bentley prepares a reply.

Before he submitted his case to the world, Bentley was careful to arm himself with a full refutation of those charges upon his personal behaviour, which, futile and despicable as they now sound, had produced a great impression to his disadvantage. The principal part of the bookseller's accusations he was enabled to refute, by the very same description of arguments which he had so successfully used against the genuineness of Phalaris, a comparison of dates. To disprove the calumny that he had disguised the name of Sir Edward Sherburn as the proprietor of Rubenius's tract, in order to obtain the dedication of Grævius for himself, he applied to his venerable correspondent for a copy of the communication in which he had introduced the subject. Grævius transcribed that part of his letter, by which it appeared, that the charge of his enemies was as unfounded as it was illiberal, and that he had explained the whole circumstance, with due mention of the knight's

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name; whose merit in the discovery, to say the truth, amounted to little or nothing. Grævius laid the blame upon his own negligence, as the means of drawing unmerited slander upon his friend: of the defence set up for Phalaris and Æsop, he spoke with indignation and contempt: and of the controversy itself he expressed himself in such terms, as gave a fair prognostication of what would be the opinion of scholars, when party prejudice had ceased to operate.

Dodwell's Chronology.

The chronology of early Grecian history is involved in great and perplexing obscurity; so contradictory are the statements of the writers from whom this information must be sought. Such investigations demand a sound and discriminating judgment, as well as extensive and accurate learning. I apprehend, that before this period Bentley had not bestowed more than an ordinary share of attention upon this pursuit. But the questions of the age of Phalaris, of Pythagoras, and of other worthies who lived in the early periods of history, being closely connected with the work on which he was embarked, he now exerted all his acuteness in unravelling and clearing the subject. Dodwell's work, *De Cyclis Veterum*, being then in the press, Bentley was indulged by the author with a sight of that part which concerned his inquiry. It had been composed before Bentley's first Dissertation had dispossessed Phalaris of his claim to the Epistles; and Dodwell, led by the vulgar error to believe in their authenticity, had unhappily availed himself of their contents to determine certain dates; a step which might have been seriously prejudicial to historical knowledge, but for the timely interposition of our critic. This field of chronology has exercised the learning and sagacity of more heroes of literature than perhaps any other; it brings Bentley into immediate comparison with Scaliger, Usher, Lloyd, and Dodwell; and we shall only observe, that the reader of Bentley's dissertation on the age of Phalaris, and of Pythagoras, will find no inferiority to any of the great persons whose names have just been mentioned.

1699. Bentley's enlarged Dissertation.

The Doctor found his book swell to a scale far beyond his original design; and his remarks upon Phalaris alone having extended to above 600 pages, he gave the volume to the world at the beginning of the

year 1699. His reply to the Examiner's strictures respecting Æsop's Fables, he reserved for a second part, for fear either of delaying his reply till the public interest had subsided, or of making the book too large for general circulation. CHAP. VI. 1699.

As the new work comprised the greater part of the former Dissertation, its title was, *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris: with an Answer to the Objections of the Hon. Charles Boyle. By Richard Bentley, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary and Library Keeper to his Majesty.* Its motto was from Horace:

> " Mordear opprobriis falsis, mutemve colores?
> Falsus honor juvat, et mendax Infamia terret
> Quem nisi mendacem et mendosum?"

The appearance of this work is to be considered an epoch not only in the life of Bentley, but in the history of literature. The victory obtained over his opponents, although the most complete that can be imagined, constitutes but a small part of the merits of this performance. Such is the author's address, that while every page is professedly controversial, there is embodied in the work a quantity of accurate information relative to history, chronology, antiquities, philology, and criticism, which it would be difficult to match in any other volume. The cavils of the Boyleans had fortunately touched upon so many topics, as to draw from their adversary a mass of learning, none of which is misplaced or superfluous: he contrives, with admirable judgment, to give the reader all the information which can be desired upon each question, while he never loses sight of his main object. Profound and various as are the sources of his learning, every thing is so well arranged, and placed in so clear a view, that the student who is only in the elementary parts of classical literature, may peruse the book with profit and pleasure, while the most learned reader cannot fail to find his knowledge enlarged. Nor is this merely the language of those who are partial to the author; the eminently learned Dodwell, who had no peculiar motive to be pleased with a work, in which he was himself a considerable sufferer, and who, as a non-juror, was prejudiced against

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Bentley's party, is recorded to have avowed, 'that he had never learned so much from any book in his life[23].'

Attractive nature of the work.

This learned volume owes much of its attraction to the strain of humour, which makes the perusal highly entertaining. The advocates of Phalaris having chosen to rely upon wit and raillery, were now made to feel, in their turn, the consequences of the warfare which they had adopted. In holding up his enemies to laughter, Bentley's address is no less conspicuous than his wit: he says in the preface, "I have endeavoured to take Mr. Boyle's advice, and to avoid all ridicule, where it was possible to avoid it: and if ever 'that odd work of his' has irresistibly moved me to a little jest and laughter, I am content that what is the greatest virtue of *his* book should be counted the greatest fault of *mine*[24]." He generally contrives to expose the poverty of the jest attempted by the Boyleans; and having convicted them of some gross mistake committed in their eagerness to be witty, he effectually turns the laugh against themselves. And though he recurs perpetually to the same method, and that too with the keenest irony, yet the occasions are so well chosen, that we are neither sated nor offended by the repetition: so careful is he, that the provocation shall have proceeded from his adversaries. Moreover he contrives, by stopping short of the point to which strict justice would have allowed retaliation, to engage the reader's good-will in his favour. In this part of his controversial tactics, as well as in the whole of his argument, he owes much of his success to his strong sense, and to that acute logic which we have more than once had occasion to notice. The talent

[23] This is told by Dr. Salter, in a note affixed to Bowyer's edition of the Dissertation, p. 449. He says, in the same place, that Dodwell 'in a letter to Bentley which he had seen, reproves him with some severity, as guilty of unpardonable affectation in pretending a contempt of his adversaries.' If this be true, Dodwell did not regard the controversy fairly. Considering their pretensions and their performances, Bentley gives them at least as much credit as was their due. The compliment of Grævius is not very unlike that of Dodwell: in his Letter of May 3, 1699, he says to Bentley, "*Pro tua, quam mihi misisti Apologia, maximas tibi ago gratias: nihil vulgare mihi de illa sposponderam; sed vicit opinionem meam doctrinæ varietate et copia, quæ supra hujus argumenti, in quo elaborasti, mediocritatem assurgit,*" *&c.*——Oct. 9. "*Quam multa didicerim ex hoc libro pulcherrimo et varia doctrina recondita referto, malo apud alios, quam apud te.*"

[24] Preface to *Dissert. on Phal.* p. xlii.

exhibited in reducing to an absurdity all the erroneous positions of his adversaries, is scarcely to be paralleled. Even Bishop Warburton, who was not well disposed to Bentley's reputation, admits that 'he beat the Oxford men at their own weapons.' Such is the lively interest which his unabated strain of humour confers on the book, that a person who looks into any part of it finds himself almost irresistibly carried forward. It has been a matter of my own observation for many years, that young men who have consulted the Dissertation with no other view than to obtain information respecting the history of tragedy, the Attic dialect, or some other subject connected with their studies, have unexpectedly felt such interest in the train of argument, as to read the whole work with appetite and delight.

So well sustained is the learning, the wit, and the spirit of this production, that it is not possible to select particular parts as objects of admiration, without committing a sort of injustice to the rest. And the book itself will continue to be in the hands of all educated persons, as long as literature maintains its station in society.

The preface contains his defence against the charges made upon his personal character: and his vindication is in every instance satisfactory and triumphant. The affair of the manuscript, and the paltry insinuation respecting Sir Edward Sherburn, are treated with such clearness, and such temper, that even the authors of the calumnies must have felt ashamed of their injustice. To the complaint that he had spoken roughly and injuriously of Mr. Boyle in his first Dissertation, he replies by showing that he was not the aggressor, but the injured party; and that it was scarcely possible, while vindicating his own character, to have spoken with less severity of him by whom it was assailed. To the charge of plagiarism, for having taken his remark upon the language of Ocellus Lucanus, without acknowledgment, from Vizzanius, he replies that at the time of writing he had not seen that edition.

Defence against accusation of pedantry.

Upon the peculiarities of Bentley's style of writing, his adversaries had insisted, as if they actually deemed this a point in their own favour. They consider it one of the marks of a *pedant* 'to use a Greek or Latin word, when there is an English one that signifies the very same

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thing.' The Doctor's justification will, perhaps, not carry perfect satisfaction to the reader's mind: however, as there are occasions for finding fault with this practice throughout all his writings, it is but fair to quote his own apology.

"Now, if this be one of Mr. Boyle's marks, himself is a pedant, by his own confession: for, in this very sentence of his, *signify* is a Latin word, and there is an English one that *means* the very same thing. We shall do the Examiner therefore no injury in calling him pedant, upon this article. But if such a general censure, as this forward author here passes, had been always fastened upon those that enrich our language from the Latin and Greek stores, what a fine condition had our language been in! It is well known, it has scarce any words, besides monosyllables, of its native growth; and were all the rest imported and introduced by pedants?—The words in my book, which he excepts against, are 'commentitious, repudiate, concede, aliene, vernacular, timid, negoce, putid,' and 'idiom;' every one of which were in print, before I used them, and most of them before I was born. And are they not all regularly formed, and kept to the true and genuine sense that they have in the original? Why may we not say 'negoce' from *negotium;* as well as 'commerce' from *commercium,* and 'palace' from *palatium?* Has not the French nation been before-hand with us in espousing it? and have not we 'negotiate' and 'negotiation,' words that grow upon the same root, in the commonest use? and why may not I say 'aliene,' as well as the learned Sir Henry Spelman, who used it eighty years since, and yet was never thought a pedant? But he says 'My words will be hissed off the stage, as soon as they come on.' If so, they would have been hissed off, long before I had come on. But the Examiner might have remembered, before he talked thus at large, who it was that distinguished his style with 'ignore' and 'recognosce,' and other words of that sort; which no body has yet thought fit to follow him in. For his argument, if it proved any thing, would prove perhaps too much; and bring the glory of his own family into the tribe of pedants. Though I must freely declare, I would rather use, not my own words only, but even these too, (if I did it sparingly, and but once or twice at most in CLII pages:) than that single word of the Examiner's 'cotemporary;' which is a downright barbarism. For the Latins never use *co* for *con* except before a vowel; as 'co-equal, co-eternal;' but, before a consonant, they either retain the N; as 'contemporary, constitution:' or melt it into another letter; as 'collection, comprehension.' So that the Examiner's 'COTEMPORARY' is a word of his own *coposition,* for which the learned world will *cogratulate* him." *Pref.* p. lxxxiv.

Bentley's vindication of himself against another charge of pedantry, that of writing proper names, such as *Delphi*, correctly, and deserting vulgar errors, is more completely successful: and from that day, Mr. Boyle's *Delphos* has been classed with the *mumpsimus* of the Romish priest; nor has any writer been since found to uphold gross barbarisms upon the authority of 'common custom.'

Retorts Boyle's railing.

The argument of his opponents 'that Dr. Bentley cannot be the author of the Dissertation,' he calls 'an insipid banter, which seems rather to have been written in a tavern than a study:' an unfair character of that *jeu d'esprit*; but his retaliation is surprisingly caustic:

"If another should answer him in his own way, and pretend to prove, 'that Mr. Boyle is not the author of the Examination,' from the variety of styles in it, from its contradictions to his edition of Phalaris, from its contradictions to itself, from its contradictions to Mr. Boyle's character, and to his title of Honourable, and from several other topics; it would be taken perhaps for no raillery, but too serious a repartee; or at least might pass for a true jest, though intended only for a merry one." *Dissert.* Pref. p. cviii.

Of the *Index*, which concludes his antagonist's book, the Doctor takes this notice:

"Mr. Boyle thought fit, in his second edition, to rake up all his affronts upon me together, under the title of 'A short account of Dr. Bentley by way of Index.' And in an imperfect imitation of so great an example, I had drawn up 'an account,' not of Mr. Boyle, but 'of his performance, by way of Synopsis.' But, when I saw such a multitude of errors concentered together, the sight was so deformed and disagreeable, '*miseranda vel hosti*,' that no resentment could prevail with me to return him his own compliment." P. cxii.

The introduction to the original Dissertation was omitted in the second edition, and gave place to one more fitting the present state of the controversy. Our critic likewise cancelled the last section, in which the affair of the manuscript, and the faults of Boyle's edition of Phalaris had been exposed. The former point is more fully discussed in the preface; and perhaps he felt ashamed of perpetuating in a work of profound learning, a critique upon the venial errors of a youthful editor. Bentley at this time, in expectation of a continuance of the controversy, intended to translate his whole publication into Latin, and was enlarging it by a reply to the Examination of Æsop, and by his discourse upon the other spurious Epistles. But his adversaries were content with this display of his wit and learning, and forebore to call upon him for any further satisfaction. Thus it happened that the most valuable of all critical essays long remained inaccessible except to natives of this country, and to the few continental scholars who understood the English language. Nor was it till after nearly eighty years, when a Latin version of the Dissertation,

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made by Lennep, was published along with his edition of Phalaris, that foreigners became possessed of this literary treasure [27].

Sir William Temple was spared the mortification of beholding the result of a controversy, upon which he had so imprudently staked his credit for taste and discernment. He died a few weeks before the appearance of the Dissertation, which was to annihilate for ever the pretensions of his Sicilian hero to the fame of authorship. His Christ Church allies did not feel easy under the report that a reply from Dr. Bentley was in preparation, and they seem to have thought in earnest of executing the threat denounced in the gaiety of their hearts, that if the Doctor were not quiet, 'they would put forth a book against him every month as long as he lived.' Just at the time of the appearance of *Bentley against Boyle,* (for so the incomparable Reply was generally styled), they had one of these attacks ready for publication; a piece of abuse, the subject of which was quite foreign to the controversy. Is is called *A Short Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Justice to those Authors who have written before him,* &c. &c. A bad and rancorous feeling pervades this anonymous rhapsody. After a vapid declamation upon Bentley's want of veracity, manners, and learning, his 'singular humanity,' and other topics borrowed from

'Short Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Justice.'

[27] *Phalaridis Epistolæ. Quas Latinas fecit, et, interpositis Caroli Boyle Notis, Commentariis illustravit Joannes Daniel a Lennep.* Groningæ, 1777. This edition was published after the death of Lennep by his friend Valckenaer, who prefixed a preface and some notes of his own. The reader may like to see his observations upon the controversy: as they proceed from a scholar whose name ranks in a class next to Bentley's: "Bentleius in Dissertatione de Phalaridis, Themistoclis, Socratis, Euripidis aliorumque Epistolis, et de Fabulis Æsopi, in Responsione quoque, qua Dissertationem suam vindicat a censura Caroli Boyle, sic evicit, has Epistolas sub nomine Phalaridis a recentiore sophista fuisse confictas, ut ea res amplius in controversiam cadere non possit." *Valck. Præf. in Phal. Epist.* p. v. "Anglici Codicis M.S. ex Bibl. Regia Cottoniana qui litem Boyleum inter et Bentleium, utroque indignam, sed nobis utilissimam et posteritati, peperit, collationem accuratissimam ad Ed. Boyleanam in gratiam Lennepii ab amico clariss. D. Ruhnkenio rogatus instituit vir humanissimus Henricus Gally, S. T. P. Canonicus Norwicensis et Glocestriensis: qui, dum fuit in vivis, Magnæ Britanniæ Regi erat a sacris." *Ibid.* p. vi. "De his Epistolis, a docto sophista, homine, meo quidem judicio, in Italia nato, cui lingua Græca non erat vernacula (vid. a me notata in p. 200), scriptis pæne nimis est severum magni Bentleii, sed ab editore Boyleo irritati, judicium." *Ibid.* p. viii. The passage to which Valckenaer refers as one proof among a number, of the author of Phalaris's Epistles having been a person whose mother tongue was the Latin, is ἐκτεῖναι δυνάμενος τὴν φήμην, a Latin not a Greek phrase. Virgil: "*sed famam extendere factis Hoc virtutis opus.*"

Boyle's book, there follows a prancing attack upon the arrogance shown in his first work, the Epistle to Mill, eight years before; wherein he had questioned the judgment of certain great writers, as Gerard Vossius, Leo Allatius, Scaliger, and Grotius, and had even ventured to correct Casaubon, and other masters of learning. A charge of such a nature only proves the want of learning in the person who makes it. We next find a heavy complaint of his having dared to dispute the accuracy of certain quotations found in the fathers, and other ecclesiastical writers. Then comes the main accusation, that Bentley had stolen a great part of his celebrated collection of the Fragments of Callimachus from certain manuscript papers, left by Thomas Stanley, the editor of Æschylus. The charge of plagiarism is one to which critical scholars, from the nature of their pursuits, are constantly exposed; since no care can secure them from sometimes publishing remarks and conjectures, without being aware that they have already been made by others. Every candid person is slow to believe that such coincidences are the result of any thing but accident; and theft would be equally dishonourable and foolish, in a case where detection is sure, sooner or later, to ensue: yet it is by these insinuations that the characters of illustrious scholars have not unfrequently been assailed by the envious and malignant. The present accusation happened to carry its refutation along with it; since it appeared that Stanley's collection, which was among the papers lent to our critic by Sir Edward Sherburn, was merely taken from Athenæus, Suidas, the Etymologus Magnus, Harpocration, and other grammarians, with whom Bentley had shown himself to be peculiarly conversant; and whom, as is proved by his collection of those very fragments, he had examined and sifted with more diligence than Stanley; a fact virtually admitted by the accuser himself. No person of common learning or common candour can read the evidence for this charge without pronouncing it to be frivolous and malicious: nor is there the least reason to suspect that Bentley, supposing him to have examined Stanley's papers, was indebted to them for a single fragment, or a single correction. But the charge was urged with rancour; and his enemies hoped to give it the colour and air of truth, by declaring that the original manuscript of Stanley was left at Bennet's

Alleged Plagiarism from Stanley.

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shop, for the examination of the curious. Just as this new engine for the Doctor's destruction was ready to discharge its fire, the Reply to Boyle came forth, and at once reversed the situation of the parties. The Boyleans were now the persons accused; they stood arraigned for language and conduct which, to a certain degree, militated against gentlemanly and liberal principles; their arguments were shown to be feeble and unsound; they were proved to be woefully deficient in the particular learning requisite for their undertaking; and what was most unexpected and most galling, they found the weapons of satire and raillery, their main reliance, retorted with success upon themselves. All that they could do was to annex to the forthcoming publication an appendix as large as the book itself, contesting, in the name and on behalf of Bennet, Dr. Bentley's narrative of the King's manuscript. This wearisome and revolting detail does not materially impugn the Doctor's statement; while it shews the anxiety of his opponents to shift the dispute to a ground, on which they thought a better stand might be made than on questions of learning. The bookseller eagerly caught at the opportunity of making himself a prominent figure in an affair, which brought him notoriety and customers. Dr. King, (who was perhaps the writer of Bennet's Vindication), introduces himself into the appendix in a very ludicrous plight. His wretched tale of overhearing one day some of Bentley's discourse, had been treated in the latter's preface with merited contempt; and the tale-bearer himself, who was best known as the author of the 'Journey to London,' a parody on Dr. Lister's 'Journey to Paris,' was made to feel in his turn the smart of ridicule:

Dr. King.

"But let us hear," says Bentley, "the Doctor's testimony; the air and spirit of it is so extraordinary, the virulency and insolence so far above the common pitch, that it puts one in mind of *Rupilius King*, a great ancestor of the Doctor's, commended to posterity by Horace, under this honourable character:

"*Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum:*"
The filth and venom of Rupilius King.

And if the Doctor do not inherit the estate of Rupilius, yet the whole world must allow that he is heir of his virtues, as his own writings will vouch for him, his deposition here against me, his buffoonery upon the learned Dr. Lister, and some other monuments of his learning and his morals." P. xxviii. And again: "But we must not expect from

the Doctor that he should know the *worth of books;* for he is better skilled in his catalogue of his ales, his *humtie-dumtie, hug-matee, three-threads,* and the rest of that glorious list, than in the catalogues of MSS." P. xxxiii.

These and some other hits came home to the civilian, who, like other jesters, could not endure to have the laugh turned against himself; and in his reply, while he strives to be witty, he only shews that he is immoderately angry[28].

Refutation of this pamphlet.

This book appears to have been on every account unworthy of a reply: but a reply it immediately met with. Bentley had now placed himself on such an eminence, that people were no longer afraid to be seen combating in his cause. The advocate who on this occasion volunteered his services, is said to have been Mr. Solomon Whateley, of Magdalene College, Oxford, the same who had lately translated the Epistles of Phalaris into English[29]. His defence is insufferably long-winded and tedious, and although the arguments are correct, yet the author's plan of spreading over more than two hundred pages a trivial and unfruitful question, is sufficient to surfeit the most determined lover of controversy. Bentley's book called forth another pamphlet, entitled '*A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Bentley upon the Controversie between him and Mr. Boyle,*' written in a moderate tone, and complimentary to our critic, but exhorting him not to continue the dispute, as it was unsuitable for a divine, and as Mr. Boyle was a gentleman of merit, and, moreover, related to the great philosopher. To give a specimen of this author's ratiocination; he contends, that injury is done to literature by proving books not to proceed from the great men to whom they are attributed, since the value of the work is frequently estimated by the name which it bears: an argument which tells in an exactly opposite direction to that which he designed. Of this tract the most remarkable circumstance is, that it has, I believe, escaped the notice of all persons who have given a history, or a list of the pieces produced by this memorable controversy.

Another anonymous tract.

[28] *Short Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Justice, &c.* p. 135.

[29] The title is, *An Answer to a late Book written against the Learned and Reverend Dr. B. relating to some MS. Notes on Callimachus, together with an Examination of Mr. Bennet's Appendix to the said Book.* London, 8vo. 1699.

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Bishop Lloyd's publication on the age of Pythagoras.

About the same time there appeared another letter addressed to our critic, of a very different character. At the conclusion of his arguments respecting the age of Phalaris and of Pythagoras, wherein he combated the opinions of Dodwell, Bentley had expressed a wish to refer those nice questions to the judgment of Bishop Lloyd, whom he considered the highest authority upon subjects of that nature. The appeal was immediately attended to; and the learned prelate published a full statement of all particulars which he deemed well authenticated, respecting the lives of 'Pythagoras and other famous men his contemporaries;' along with their dates and the reasons for reliance upon each. To this chronological detail, he prefixed an essay in the form of a dedicatory 'Epistle to the Rev. Dr. Bentley:' an honour which must be considered not the least of the rewards obtained by the Dissertation on Phalaris.

Respecting Pythagoras, the Bishop observes:

"Of those many eminent writers that have employed their pens on this subject, there are three that have given us his history at large, Diogenes Laertius, Porphyry, and Jamblichus. These three have, I believe, culled out all that was remarkable in any of the rest: and the two last were his great admirers, who would not omit any thing that might make for his glory[30]."

He then gives a full and clear account of Porphyry and Jamblichus, as well as their monstrous and fabulous narratives respecting Pythagoras. Those writers were determined enemies of Christianity, and laboured to discredit the history of our Saviour's life, by publishing extravagant details of the life of that philosopher; representing it as no less miraculous than the Gospel history; in hopes that men, not examining the different evidence on which the two narratives rested, might regard them both as equally incredible. He explains also the similar attempt made by Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana. Bishop Lloyd's essay is well executed, and exhibits so much learning applied to an important purpose, that it seems a matter of regret that it should not be more generally known.

[30] *Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras and of other famous men his Contemporaries. With an Epistle to the Rev. Dr. Bentley about Porphyry's and Jamblichus's Lives of Pythagoras. By the Right Reverend Father in God William, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,* p. iv.

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Death of Bishop Stillingfleet. March 27.

Bentley's first patron, the excellent and accomplished Bishop Stillingfleet, had been for a long time in a precarious state from an inveterate gout; which now fixed upon his stomach, and put a period to his existence. As he had maintained a long and painful conflict with this disease, it is hardly necessary to refute the assertion of Whiston, that his end was hastened by mortification at the ill success of his last controversy with Locke: nor should I have mentioned it at all, had he not quoted Bentley as his authority [31]; whereas a letter of his, still in existence, shews that he attributed his patron's danger to its real cause [32]. Indeed, without assigning to him wilful misrepresentation, it is proper to caution the reader against giving credit to Whiston's narratives. Not only the inaccuracy of his memory, but the mist of prejudice through which he regarded every person and every topic, may be observed in all his gossipping anecdotes. He perpetually confounds both dates and persons; and generally appears to substitute for the sentiments of others his own interpretation of what he had heard: accordingly, few of his stories will bear the test of examination. In the controversy with Locke, the Bishop of Worcester had been hasty in attributing to that philosopher opinions which could not fairly be inferred from his writings; and, consequently, his success was not that which had attended his other performances. But it is impossible to imagine that any chagrin at Locke's vindication of himself, could have affected so philosophical and religious a mind as that of Stillingfleet.

Bentley was proud of expressing the veneration with which he regarded his patron: having occasion to mention him immediately before the Bishop's death, he uses these remarkable expressions:

"I shall always esteem it both my honour and happiness to have spent fourteen years of my life in his family and acquaintance, whom even envy itself will allow to be the glory of our church and nation; who by his vast and comprehensive genius, is as great in all parts of learning, as the greatest next himself are in any." Pref. to *Dissert.* p. lxxviii.

The remains of the deceased Bishop being conveyed to Worcester

[31] Whiston; *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. i. p. 251.

[32] Bentley in a letter to his brother, James Bentley, written in February, 1699, says, "The Bishop of Worcester, my old patron, who is now at London, lies very sick, and I fear he will hardly recover."

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and interred in the Cathedral, a monument was erected over them by his son, James Stillingfleet, who was then Prebendary, and afterwards Dean of that Church: the inscription, which was written by Dr. Bentley, continues to be admired for its eloquence and propriety, among the ornaments of that venerable structure [33].

Inscription on his monument.

His library.

It was Bentley's first object to secure the valuable library of the Bishop, with the riches of which he was so well acquainted, as an accession to that under his own care: accordingly we find solicitations made for its purchase by the Crown; and, connected with this proposal, Bentley's old scheme was revived, of procuring an apartment to be built for the library in St. James's Park. His ever-active friend Evelyn again endeavoured to interest the Archbishop of Canterbury in favour of the measure [34]. But this scheme not appearing likely to

[33] The reader will not be displeased to see this monumental eulogium:

H. S. E.
EDVARDUS STILLINGFLEET, S. T. P.
EX DECANO ECCLESIÆ PAULINÆ EPISCOPUS VIGORNIENSIS,
JAM TIBI, QUICUNQUE HÆC LEGES,
NISI ET EUROPÆ ET LITERATI ORBIS HOSPES ES,
IPSE PER SE NOTUS:
DUM REBUS MORTALIBUS INTERFUIT,
ET SANCTITATE MORUM, ET ORIS STATURÆQUE DIGNITATE,
ET CONSUMMATÆ ERUDITIONIS LAUDE,
UNDIQUE VENERANDUS.
CUI IN HUMANIORIBUS LITERIS CRITICI, IN DIVINIS THEOLOGI,
IN RECONDITA HISTORIA ANTIQUARII, IN SCIENTIIS PHILOSOPHI,
IN LEGUM PERITIA JURISCONSULTI, IN CIVILI PRUDENTIA POLITICI,
IN ELOQUENTIA UNIVERSI
FASCES ULTRO SUBMISERUNT.
MAJOR UNUS IN HIS OMNIBUS, QUAM ALII IN SINGULIS.
UT BIBLIOTHECAM SUAM, CUI PAREM ORBIS VIX HABUIT,
INTRA PECTUS OMNIS DOCTRINÆ CAPAX
GESTASSE INTEGRAM VISUS SIT;
QUÆ TAMEN NULLOS LIBROS NOVERAT MELIORES,
QUAM QUOS IPSE MULTOS SCRIPSIT EDIDITQUE,
ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ DEFENSOR SEMPER INVICTUS.

[34] *Evelyn's Memoirs*, April 29, 1699. "I dined with the Archbishop, but my business was to get him to persuade the King to purchase the late Bishop of Worcester's library; and build a place for his own library at St. James's, in the Park, the present one being too small."

succeed, he had recourse to a different expedient, and recommended the purchase of the library for the Royal Society: here also the assistance of the King's bounty was requisite: and when we consider how many great and distinguished persons were interested in effecting this object, and particularly that the Lord Chancellor Somers was then President of the Society, we are apt to wonder that it should not have succeeded [35]. But it seems that, in spite of such powerful interest, the claims of economy were more listened to than those of literature; and Bentley had the mortification to see this noble collection carried out of the island. It was bought by the private purse of a liberal and spirited Irish prelate, Dr. Narcissus Marsh, then newly appointed to the archbishoprick of Dublin; who devoted his purchase to the purpose of founding a public library in that metropolis [36].

Bentley's complete victory.

Bentley was now left to enjoy the triumph of his learning and sagacity, to which even the most averse were compelled to pay homage: and what was a still more important result of his book, he had silenced and put to shame the slanderous attacks made upon his character. Upon the various matters of this celebrated controversy, his victory was complete and final, and he was left in undisputed possession of the field. A declaration was indeed made by his adversaries of their intention to publish a complete reply to his book; but this was an empty vaunt; they felt their inability to renew the conflict upon questions of learning; and it was the course of prudence not to recall public attention to the dispute. It may be remarked, that no one of the Boylean confederacy ever again appeared before the world as a critic. Atterbury, their leader, immediately afterwards found business

[35] Bentley, in a note to Evelyn, of May 3, 1699, thus opens to him the topic: "I come now to wait upon you with a request that you would meet Sir Robert Southron, Sir Christopher Wren, and other friends, at Pontac's to day at dinner; to make an act of council at Gresham College, to desire our president, and the late president, to obtain a public library for the Royal Society. I beg of you not to fail us before two o'clock there." The result of this meeting is mentioned in *Evelyn's Memoirs*, May 3, 1699: "At a meeting of the Royal Society I was nominated to be of the committee to wait upon the Lord Chancellor to move the King to purchase the Bishop of Worcester's library."

[36] See a letter of Archbishop Marsh, dated May 4, 1700. *Letters of Eminent Persons*, vol. i. p. 103.

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of a different character, a defence of the rights of the Convocation, in which he acquitted himself with signal ability; and though encountered by such opponents as Wake, Kennett, and Gibson, his superiors in antiquarian learning, he established his reputation as a spirited and powerful controversialist; and was from that time looked upon as the ablest champion of the High Church party in the kingdom.

King's Dialogues of the Dead.

Of all Bentley's enemies, Dr. King appears to have been most severely galled by the chastisement which he experienced, and laboured to revenge himself, by turning the critic into ridicule, in his ten 'Dialogues of the Dead;' which, by his own confession, he 'wrote to divert his spleen.' The subject of all these performances is Bentley and the controversy. His banter, though occasionally humourous, is upon the whole tiresome and palling; and the work produces the same effect as the travesty of a poem, in shewing the high opinion really entertained of the original. Dr. King styles our critic *Bentivoglio*, a nick-name which we find adhering to him afterwards as long as he lived[37].

[37] The following passage of a dialogue between Lilly and Helvetius is a favourable specimen of the civilian's banter:—

"Helv. Why in such a passion, brother Lilly?

"Lilly. Brother Lilly!—You make very free with me. I am none of your brother! The great Bentivoglio may indeed call me brother, since the publication of his eternal labours. He equals the Chronological Tables that I yearly published; and then he is so exact a man at the original of a Sicilian city, that, amidst never so great variety of authors, he can tell you the man who laid the first stone of it. There was not a potter in Athens, or a brazier in Corinth, but he knows when he set up, and who took out a statute of bankrupt against him.

"Helv. Why this is great learning indeed!

"Lilly. Why so it is, Sir. Do you know whether Thericles made *glass* or *earthenware*, or what Olympiad he lived in?

"Helv. Truly, not I! But do the fortunes of Greece depend upon it?

"Lilly. Thus you would encourage ignorance! My brother Bentivoglio and I have studied many years upon things of less importance, some of which I shall name to you; as, that carp and hops came into England the same year with heresy;—that the first weathercock was set up, on the tomb of Zethys and Calais, sons of Boreas, in the time of the Argonautic expedition;—that Mrs. Turner brought up the fashion of yellow starch;—that the Sybarites first laid rose-cakes and lavender among their linen;—that Sardanapalus was the inventor of cushions, which never before this last century have been improved into easy chairs, by the metamorphosis of cast mantuas and petticoats, to the ruin of chamber-maids.—And yet we thought our time well spent, I must tell you.

"Helv. Are any of these things in Usher's 'Annals,' or Simpson's 'Chronicon?'

"Lilly. Perhaps not. But we stand upon their shoulders, and therefore see things with

The prejudices excited by party and fashion are never easily overcome. Of this fact there appears a remarkable instance in the popular opinion prevalent in England for at least fifty years, that the controversy on Phalaris was one upon which great learning and wit had been bestowed, but which after all left the point in dispute undecided. Among persons whose judgment upon such questions could be of any value, the case was different: by them the triumph of Dr. Bentley was deemed as complete, as his learning, wit, and ingenuity were admirable: and it was not long before he experienced a signal proof of the impression created in his favour.

greater exactness. Perhaps never man came to the same pitch of chronology as the much esteemed Bentivoglio. He has gotten the true standard by which to judge of the Grecian time: 'He knows the age of any Greek word unless it be in the Greek Testament;' and can tell you the time a man lived in, by reading a page of his book, as easily as I could have told an oyster-woman's fortune when my hand was crost with a piece of silver.

"HELV. This is admirable! Why then, it seems, words have their chronology and phrases, their rise and fall, as well as the Four Monarchies.

"LILLY. Very right; let Bentivoglio but get a sentence of Greek in his mouth, and turn it once or twice upon his tongue; and he as well knows the growth of it, as a vintner does Burgundy from Madeira."—*King's Works*, Dialogue VII. vol. i. p. 161.

CHAPTER VII.

Bentley made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge—History of the College—Its great fame and prosperity—Its decline—The probable causes—Bentley's appointment unpopular—The Duke of Gloucester—Bentley's first step upon his admission—Repairs of the Master's Lodge—Bentley elected Vice-Chancellor—His Marriage—Vindicates the rights of the University—A Greek Archbishop created D.D.—Address to the King—Ludolf Kuster—His edition of Suidas—Bentley made Archdeacon of Ely—Member of Convocation—University Press—General Election—Bentley undertakes to publish Horace—Death of Grævius—Elections in Trinity College—The Master's regulations—Measures of discipline—Care of the College Library—Graduates in Divinity—Dissention among the Fellows—Declamations—Offence given by the Master—Expensive repairs—New Staircase—College Preachers—Sequel of the Phalaris controversy—Publications of Atterbury—Dodwell—Swift—Wotton.

CHAP. VII. 1700.

We have already noticed that during the life time of Queen Mary, the Church preferment in the gift of the Crown was generally left to her disposal. Soon after the loss of his Queen, King William was induced to appoint a Commission, consisting of the six most distinguished prelates on the Bench, who were to recommend fit persons to supply all vacant bishopricks, deaneries, and other preferments, as well as headships and professorships of the two Universities, in the Royal patronage. The persons invested with this trust were the Archbishops Tenison and Sharpe, Bishops Lloyd of Coventry and Lichfield, Burnet of Sarum, Stillingfleet of Worcester, and Patrick of Ely; after Stillingfleet's death, another Commission was issued, substituting in his place Moore the Bishop of Norwich [1]. Upon the vacancy of the deanery of Durham in the latter part of 1699, Dr. John Montague, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was promoted to that dignity; and the Commissioners unanimously recommended Dr. Bentley to the vacant headship of Trinity College.

April 7, 1696.

Bentley made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

There could scarcely be a better testimony of the opinion entertained of our hero by the heads of the Church, than the important and dignified charge thus confided to his administration. And it might be

[1] The copy of this Commission, dated May 9, 1699, is given at length in *Le Neve's Lives of the Protestant Archbishops*, p. 247. No Commission of this nature has been issued by any monarch since King William.

supposed that no appointment could be more agreeable to the feelings and taste of a scholar; not merely on account of high rank and influence in a learned body, but from the opportunity which it conferred of promoting literature by the encouragement of merit and of talents.

History of the College.

The College over which Bentley was called to preside, may be considered as the first-fruits of the Reformation. It was founded by King Henry the Eighth, about one month before his death, and endowed with revenues taken from the dissolved monasteries. Its earlier years were somewhat clouded by the struggles between the popish and reformed Churches; but upon the accession of Elizabeth, the foundation was completed, and placed upon its present liberal footing; giving ample encouragement to the pursuit both of ornamental and useful knowledge, and opening the emoluments of the college as rewards to the merit of the students, in the most unrestricted manner.

Its great fame and prosperity.

Accordingly, we find that Trinity College rose at once from the infancy to the maturity of its fame: and from that epoch to the civil troubles in the reign of Charles the First, a period of little more than eighty years, it flourished in a manner unexampled in the history of academical institutions. The illustrious names of Lord Bacon and Sir Edward Coke stand at the head of a list of its members distinguished in the theatre of public life. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, a period when extraordinary attention was shown to merit in ecclesiastical appointments, a greater number of Bishops proceeded from this, than from any other society; and it was observed about the beginning of the 17th century, that Trinity College might claim at the same time the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and no less than seven other principal prelates on the English Bench [2].

[2] The following is an extract from a Memorial of Dr. Nevile, Master of Trinity, in the reign of King James I.

"Within the suggestor's remembrance, besides Doctors in all faculties, to the number of at least 60, Deans to the number of 11, Public Professors to the number of 10, the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Most Rev. Fathers Whitgift and Hutton, and seven other principal Prelates, viz. Fletcher of London, Still of Bath and Wells, Babington of Worcester, Redman of Norwich, Rudd of St. David's, Bennet of Hereford, and Goldsborough of Gloucester; all of them, *simul et semel*, Bishops of this kingdom, since and under the reign of our now most

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So greatly did theological learning flourish here, that when the present Translation of the Bible was executed by order of James the First, no less than six of the translators were found among the resident Fellows of this College[3]. In elegant literature it claims an equal celebrity; having, in addition to many of the Elizabethan poets, produced those two constellations of wit and learning, John Donne and Abraham Cowley[4]; while it boasts, in the next generation, the still more illustrious name of Dryden. So high was its reputation during the period of which we are speaking, that Fellows of this society were chosen to fill the headships of the majority of other Colleges in the University[5].

Its decline.

The civil troubles, and the intolerance of the Puritans brought ruin and confusion upon this as well as other societies: all the Royalist Fellows were expelled, along with Dr. Thomas Comber, the Master, one of the most exemplary characters that ever presided over a college. But the Restoration did not bring back the same prosperity, or the same spirit that had been banished by the evil times; nor could the society recover the paramount station which it had so long maintained. There were, indeed, some circumstances peculiarly auspicious to Trinity

gracious Sovereign (except London and Norwich, who died not long before) are such an instance, as we think no other College can afford the like; and not one of them chosen out of Westminster School."—*Carter's Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 349.

[3] The Fellows of Trinity College employed in the Translation of the Bible were, 1. Edward Lively, Professor of Hebrew. 2. Jeremiah Radcliffe. 3. Thomas Harrison. 4. John Overall, Professor of Divinity. 5. John Layfield. 6. William Dakins. Dr. John Richardson, Master of the College, was also one of the translators; but he was not appointed Master till the work was completed.

[4] The fact of Cowley being of this College, his biographer Dr. Samuel Johnson chooses to omit: he was elected Fellow in 1640, being then a junior Bachelor; in 1643 he was ejected by the Puritans for refusing the Covenant: but he recovered his fellowship after the Restoration.

[5] William Glynne, was made President of Queen's College; Matthew Hutton, Master of Pembroke Hall; Nicholas Sheppard, Master of St. John's College; Thomas Legge, Master of Caius; William Whytaker, Master of St. John's; John Copcot, Master of Corpus Christi; John Overall, Master of Catherine Hall; Francis Aldrich, Master of Sidney College; Robert Scott, Master of Clare Hall. Two other Fellows of Trinity of this period, James Duport and Francis Wilsford were after the Restoration made Masters of Magdalene and Corpus Christi. To this list of Fellows of Trinity, who became heads of other Colleges, may be added Walter Travers, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; Matthew Sutcliffe, Founder and Head of Chelsea College; and Charles Chauncy, Head of Harvard College, in New England.

College. Dr. John Pearson and Dr. Isaac Barrow, two of the brightest characters which grace the period of Charles the Second, were successively Masters. In the meantime, the fabric nearly attained to the state in which it continued till the year 1824; the beautiful quadrangle, half of which had been built in the mastership of Dr. Thomas Nevile, the Dean of Peterborough, and in a great degree at his own cost, was now completed by the munificence of two restored Fellows, Sir Thomas Sclater, and Dr. Humphrey Babington; and the noble library, an edifice unrivalled for magnificence and convenience, was erected by a subscription of the members, under the auspices of Dr. Barrow. Above all, the presence and example of Sir Isaac Newton might have been expected to sustain the spirit of a college, the scene of all his great discoveries, of which he continued many years a resident Fellow. In spite of these advantages, the house was observed to decline in numbers and celebrity in the latter years of the seventeenth century; and it happened that at the crisis of which we are speaking, the list of its Fellows was more destitute of distinguished names than at any preceding or subsequent period.

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To what such a state of things was owing, must not be hastily pronounced. The reason assigned by Bentley for the decline of the Society was the disuse of theological degrees among the Fellows; a cause insufficient of itself to produce such an effect. The following facts may account for it more satisfactorily: first, the acknowledged relaxation of discipline under the two last Masters, Dr. North and Dr. Montague, had produced its never-failing consequences, in impairing both decorum and literature: secondly, that distinguishing principle of Trinity College, admission to the founder's bounty upon the score of merit alone, had experienced an interruption in the times of civil discord, when Fellows were appointed by the nomination of parliamentary commissioners, and subsequently of the Protector. After the Restoration, Charles the Second being probably urged to assume the same patronage as had been exercised by the Usurper, frequently sent to this College Royal mandates for elections to fellowships; which the Society, though plainly contrary to their statutes, were constrained to obey. In the short reign of James the Second this exercise of arbitrary

The probable causes.

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power was carried still further, *every* vacancy among the fellowships being filled by mandatory letters from the King. Although the College was delivered by the Revolution from future invasions of its privileges, yet some of the intruded Fellows having obtained office by their seniority, and not being indebted to industry or learning for their own preferment, wanted both ability and disposition to encourage those qualifications in others. A third cause of the depressed and languid state of Trinity College, may be found in the prevalent distaste for the old system of academical study; people had begun to neglect and despise the learning of the schoolmen, before a more vigorous and manly system of instruction had been substituted. This happened to be the intermediate state of torpor; and the College disputations, exercises in which members of all ages used to display their ingenuity, were now much neglected, being frequently performed by deputy, and disposed of in a superficial and unedifying manner.

Bentley's appointment unpopular.

For these evils no better remedy could have been devised than the appointment of a Master, possessed of talents, energy, and reputation; and this was the sole motive for the arrangement, which placed Bentley at the head of Trinity College. The measure was so well intended, and so honourable to its authors, that it is painful to find it not productive of all the good effects which they contemplated. But in making this selection, some material circumstances appear to have been overlooked. Bentley had no previous connection with the College, which he was sent to govern; he was himself educated in another and a rival society; and not having resided at Cambridge since he reached manhood, he was unacquainted with the business as well as feelings of the place, and destitute of all the peculiar information which the Head of a College ought to possess. Far from cherishing that attachment to his society which is generally observed to overcome all other feelings among the governors of our colleges, Bentley regarded with contempt the Fellows over whom he was to preside; and the preferment itself he seems to have valued chiefly on account of its income, and as a step in the ladder of advancement. On the other hand, his appointment was unpopular in the society, to whom he was known only by his reputation as a critic and controversialist, and who were chagrined at not seeing one of their

own College placed at their head [6]. Besides overlooking these circumstances, his patrons were not aware that there were certain defects in his character, which made him a person not to be safely trusted with authority. Hitherto the reader has seen him pass clear and unsullied through no common ordeal, and put to shame the attacks of jealous and envious adversaries: in the remainder of his history there will be found much to regret, and much to condemn.

The Duke of Gloucester.

At the time of his appointment it was intended that the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, and heir apparent to the throne, should be educated at Trinity College, under the immediate care of the new Master. Great were the hopes entertained of this amiable young prince by all parties in the nation; but it happened in this, as in many similar instances, that the expectations of the English people, when strongly excited, were destined to be disappointed by the premature death of their beloved object [7].

Dr. Bentley installed Master.

On the first of February, 1699—1700, Dr. Bentley was installed Master; having first taken the oath to preserve unbroken the statutes of the College, and to consult the common benefit, rather than his private interests. Tradition says, that being congratulated upon a promotion so little to have been expected by a member of St. John's, he replied, in the words of the psalmist, "By the help of my God, I have leaped over the wall [8]."

[6] Dr. Gale, the Dean of York, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and Greek Professor of the University, had aspired to succeed Dr. Montague in the mastership, as appears from a letter of his to his friend Mr. Pepys. March 18, 1698: "I am told Dr. Montague will be Bishop of Worcester: when that shall happen, might not a friend of yours hope to be removed southward to Trin. Coll.?" *Pepys's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 164.

[7] William, Duke of Gloucester, died July 29, 1700. For an account of this young prince, see *Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 245.

[8] Another traditionary anecdote, preserved in Dr. Bentley's family, is this: "Bishop Stillingfleet said, We must send Bentley to rule the turbulent Fellows of Trinity College: if any body can do it, he is the person; for I am sure that he has ruled my family ever since he entered it." The truth of this story is overset by a reference to dates. Stillingfleet was dead many months before the vacancy; and the 'turbulence' of the Fellows has an evident allusion to transactions which occurred several years later. It is allowed on all hands that, before Bentley's appointment, the Society had been perfectly tranquil.

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Bentley's first step upon his admission.

His first step on entering into the office was of a very inauspicious description. A dividend from the surplus money had been fixed, in December 1699, to be paid, agreeably to the custom of the College, to the Master and Fellows, for the year ending at Michaelmas. The Master's share, amounting to 170*l.*, was clearly due to Dr. Montague, whose resignation took place in November; but by some accident it had not yet been disbursed to him. Bentley, immediately upon his admission, claimed this sum, as being profits accruing during the vacancy, and therefore payable to the new Master; and by dint of terrifying the bursar, or treasurer, who declined paying it, with a threat to bring him before the Archbishop of Canterbury, he actually obtained the money. In making this claim he was misled by a reference to the case of parochial preferment, where the successor is always entitled to the arrears during the vacancy. But in the present instance, the sums from whence the dividend was made, had all fallen in Dr. Montague's time. Besides, a case precisely similar had occurred in Trinity College little more than twenty years before, when Dr. North gave up the dividend to the executors of his predecessor, Dr. Barrow; and a College order was made, to regulate and decide such questions for the future. Bentley at the same time demanded and enforced payment of other dues, amounting to 110*l.* which had become payable at St. Thomas's day preceding. For this claim he had stronger grounds; though, to say the least, it was injudicious to assert it against the opinions and feelings of the Society: but to the dividend he had not the shadow of a right; and his predecessor declared his intention of commencing a suit against the College, if it was withheld from him. Bentley throughout life was too obstinate in maintaining a point to which he had once committed himself: thus the matter remained in

April 16, 1702.

controversy about two years, when a compromise was effected. The Dean of Durham allowed the 170*l.* to remain in Bentley's hands, as a gift to the College, to be expended in purchasing furniture for the Master's lodge: and the thanks of the Society were given to him for this benefaction, and entered in the register by the Master's hand. Through this handsome conduct of the Dean the dispute was amicably

settled; however, an impression was produced not favourable to the new Master; and unfortunately his subsequent conduct had no tendency to remove the prejudice thus excited against him.

Repairs of the Master's lodge.

The Master's lodge, a spacious and noble habitation, was in want of considerable repair, no material work having been done at it for about sixty years. The state of the floors and ceilings made it expedient that there should be no longer delay; and it was natural that a new Head should, at his first coming, wish his house to be suitably repaired and ornamented. Bentley applied for this purpose to the eight Senior Fellows, a body to whom, in conjunction with the Master, the government of the College, and disposal of its revenues, is entrusted. To induce them to consent to a thorough reparation of the lodge at the College expense, he urged the propriety of its being fitted up previously to the coming of the Duke of Gloucester, their future sovereign. The cost, he said, would not exceed 300*l.*; and he declared that he would himself contribute 100*l.* towards it. The Seniors readily and handsomely assented; making no difficulty or demur upon any point, except that some thought it wrong to permit a charge required for the credit and dignity of the whole Society, to fall even in part upon the private purse of the Master. An order was accordingly entered in the College register by Dr. Bentley, and subscribed, at his request, by the whole meeting, directing in general terms that the lodge should be 'repaired and finished with new ceiling, wainscot, flooring, and *other convenient improvements*,' but without naming any limit to the expense, or specifying what 'other improvements' were deemed 'convenient[9].' I am thus particular in the detail of this transaction, as it afterwards became the subject of a serious charge against the Master, that he had

[9] April 11, 1700. "Agreed then by the Master and Seniors, that the *Master's Lodge* be repaired and finished with new ceiling, wainscot, flooring, and other convenient improvements; towards which expense the Master will contribute *de proprio* the sum of one hundred pounds sterling.

R. Bentley, *Mag. Collegii.*
Thos. Bainbriggs, D.D. — Edw. Chester.
Will. Corker. — Geo. Modd.
John Ekins. — Edw. Bathurst.
W. Stubbe, D.D. — Nat. Rashleigh."

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artfully worded the order, in such general terms as left the extent of the work to his own discretion; and that he had, contrary to the practice, induced the Seniors, by the subscription of their names, to commit themselves for the payment of the expense. The latter step, however, he probably adopted from the custom of his Chapter at Worcester; and in an undertaking of magnitude, it seems no more than a measure of prudence. The cost of the whole work, exceeding 1600*l.*, caused excessive dissatisfaction and clamour: but it does not appear to have been executed with extravagance; nor can we, after a careful examination, see reason for believing that Bentley was actuated by bad faith. That he had ever said the expense would not exceed 300*l.* he denied, and commented on the improbability and absurdity of the assertion; but as the evidence of several persons proves that he *did* name that sum to the Meeting, it is to be concluded that he was speaking only of a part of the work. Some of the Seniors must have possessed sufficient knowledge of such matters, to be aware that a thorough repair of so large a building could not be effected at so small a cost. It does not appear that any scruple was made at the outset of the undertaking, or that workmen were called upon for an estimate of the expense. In short, the confidence reposed in the Master's discretion was absolute and unlimited.

As the lodge is now nearly in the state into which it was brought by these repairs, it is evident that no inappropriate or extravagant alterations were admitted. In all the rooms wainscot was substituted for the antiquated and decaying tapestry. Here Bentley complied with the fashion of the day[10]; as he did likewise in the introduction of marble chimney-pieces, and of sash-windows. In the last particular only there seems to have been just ground for complaint; since these windows not only occasioned a great cost, but were a blemish to the Gothic character of the noble quadrangle. He alleged, in defence of this alteration, for which his taste as well as economy were impeached, that there was already a want of uniformity in the court, no two sides being exactly alike; and that sash windows were desirable, as giving

[10] Only the dining-room was wainscoted with oak.

greater light to rooms which were not less than twenty-five feet in depth.

Nov. 4. 1700. Bentley elected Vice Chancellor.

In the first year of his mastership, Dr. Bentley became Vice Chancellor; being chosen agreeably to the custom of the University, as the senior in degree among the Heads of Colleges who had not already served that office. This choice of the chief magistrate, according to his standing, not as a Head, but as a graduate, is so palpably inconvenient, that it is astonishing the practice should have been so long continued. It occasionally happens, as in the present instance, that a person who has not resided in the University for many years, and has little or no knowledge of its business and customs, immediately upon being appointed to preside over a College, finds himself invested with the government of the whole body, and the management of its revenues, business, and discipline; and ere he has become properly acquainted with the duties of his station, his term of office has expired. Owing probably to his inexperience in University business, very few matters of importance were transacted during the year of Bentley's Vice Chancellorship. I find him charged with not exercising the hospitalities expected from his high office [11]; a circumstance which, if true, must be attributed to the state of his lodge; which continued during the whole year in the hands of workmen.

Bentley's marriage.

Bentley was, indeed, a good deal absent from the University this year, from causes of another kind. He had long cherished an attachment for Mrs. Joanna Bernard, a lady who had been a visitor in Bishop Stillingfleet's family. She was daughter of Sir John Bernard, of Brampton, in Huntingdonshire. Being now raised to a station of dignity and consequence, he succeeded in obtaining the object of his affections, and was united to her at Windsor [12]: having previously obtained a Royal dispensation under the Great Seal, for the violation of Queen Elizabeth's statutes, which enjoin celibacy to the Master as

Jan. 4. 1701.

[11] A MS. letter in the Bodleian, from Mr. Wm. Bishop, dated Chelsea, July 10, 1701, makes a bitter mention of this.

[12] Memorandum from Bentley's Ephemeris for the year 1701. "*Jan.* 4. I married Mrs. Joanna Bernard, daughter of Sir John Bernard, Baronet.—Dr. Richardson, Fellow of Eton College, and Master of Peterhouse, married us at Windsor in the College Chapel."—"*Jan.* 6. I brought my wife to St. James's."

CHAP. VII. 1701.

Character of Mrs. Bentley.

well as to the Fellows of Trinity College. This marriage appears to have been eminently happy: the lady who continued the partaker of his joys and sorrows for nearly forty years, is described as possessing the most amiable and valuable qualities. She had a cultivated mind, and was sincerely benevolent and religious. Whiston relates that Bentley during his courtship, was in danger of losing her, from insinuating doubts of the authority of the book of Daniel; a story exceedingly improbable, which, if it ever had any foundation, has been distorted from the truth, according to the practice of that hearsay narrator [13]. The alliance with Mrs. Bentley, whose family connections were numerous and distinguished, was the means of securing him powerful protection at critical periods of his life; while the excellence of her disposition tended to soften the animosity of his opponents. We find her mentioned with applause and sympathy in publications written for the purpose of injuring the character and fortunes of her husband [14].

Vindicates the rights of the University. Sept. 4. 1701.

In the course of Bentley's year of office, he had an opportunity of displaying his spirit and decision in upholding the rights of the University against the mayor and corporation of Cambridge, who had given permission and encouragement to players to perform at Sturbridge fair, without the sanction of the Vice Chancellor, and in defiance of his authority. His vindication of these privileges granted by Charters and Acts of Parliament, was essential to the discipline of the place; and we may judge from the practice of subsequent times, that the prompt interference of Dr. Bentley on this occasion was productive of good and permanent effect [15].

A Greek Archbishop created D.D.

A Greek Prelate, Neophytos, Archbishop of Philippopoli, visiting England at this time, came to Cambridge, and was presented to a

[13] *Whiston's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 95.

[14] See two pamphlets written against Dr. Bentley, *True State of Trinity College*. 1710, p. 17. and *A True and Impartial Account*, &c. 1711. p. 28.

[15] The Grace of the Senate, bespeaks the decisive temper of the Vice Chancellor. It enacts that the privileges of the University shall be defended and vindicated at the public charge: and in the meantime, to prevent a breach of discipline, it confers the authority of Proctors during the time of the fair, on no less than 62 Masters of Arts; and decrees that whoever disobeys them shall *ipso facto* incur the penalty of expulsion!!

degree of Doctor in Divinity by the University. On this occasion the Vice Chancellor, with great good-nature and propriety, directed that he should be presented by the Greek Professor, Joshua Barnes; who was thus gratified with the opportunity of delivering a Greek oration, a copy of which is still preserved.

CHAP. VII. 1701. Sept. 11.

Before the end of his year of office, Bentley had an occasion of declaring his political sentiments, and those of the University, in an address presented to King William, upon Louis the Fourteenth's acknowledging the son of James II. as king of England. The address itself is given in a note; being undoubtedly composed by the Vice Chancellor, and expressing his opinion on public affairs in clear and uncompromising terms [16].

Address to the King. Oct. 14.

Of Bentley's operations at this period, the matter most interesting to posterity, is the influence exerted by him over the press of the University. We have seen that to his zeal and services five years before, this establishment was indebted for its new types, and was restored to a condition worthy of the place. Already some handsome editions of Latin Classics had been printed with these types, and dedicated to the use of the young Duke of Gloucester. Terence had been edited by Leng, of Catharine Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich;

University press.

[16] "May it please your Majesty,

"We your Majesty's most loyal and dutyful subjects the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of your University of Cambridge, having a just detestation of the indignity offered to your sacred Majesty, by the French King, in setting up a pretended Prince of Wales, as king of these realms, humbly crave leave on this occasion to assure your Majesty, that from our hearts we own and assert your most just and rightful title to the Crowns of these Kingdoms, and will contribute our utmost to its defence, with all the cheerfulness and affection, that becomes our duty to the best of Kings, and our gratitude to our happy deliverer.

"We can never forget the once deplorable state of the Church and Nation, under the fatal influence of Popish and arbitrary power; when all our prayers and addresses to Heaven were for your Majesty's speedy arrival to rescue us from the imminent dangers of idolatry and slavery. And we are daily sensible, that we entirely owe the safety of our religion and liberties to your auspicious Government. Neither can we doubt but God will still support and enable you, not only to maintain your own Crown and dignity at home, but defend your injured neighbours abroad, and secure the threatened liberty of Europe.

"May the same good Providence, that has hitherto protected you from so many secret and open attempts, preserve and prolong your sacred life, assist and prosper you in all your great and good designs, direct your subjects in Parliament to the wisest and best counsels, and continue these nations under the happy establishment of a Protestant successor."

CHAP. VII. 1701.

Horace by Talbot, the Hebrew Professor; Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius by the Hon. Arthur Annesley, Representative for the University; and Virgil by J. Laughton of Trinity. Bentley, on succeeding to office, resolved to extend the sphere of its utility. Among the many foreigners introduced to his acquaintance by his correspondent Grævius, was the distinguished Ludolf Kuster, a Westphalian, who had lately been appointed by the King of Prussia, professor of an academy at Berlin; and obtained permission of travelling to foreign universities. He had already made himself known as a Greek scholar by the press, under the title of *Neocorus*[17]. Bentley received him with cordiality and kindness, and induced him to make Cambridge his residence, where he might pursue his studies with the advantage of its libraries and learned society. Kuster having, when at Paris, made collations of three manuscripts of Suidas, undertook a new edition of that Lexicon, to be printed at the Cambridge press: this was done at the persuasion of Bentley, who also engaged the University to bear the expense and risk of the publication. He lent to the editor a body of notes and corrections of Suidas, made by his illustrious predecessor Bishop Pearson, and preserved in Trinity library; he added some emendations of his own, and assisted him with his advice throughout the work. Kuster's ardour and perseverance in this undertaking were extraordinary; and such was his eagerness to accomplish it, in order to resume his duties at Berlin, that he did not allow himself sufficient time for a performance of so great extent and importance. Scarcely four years elapsed from the time of his taking the work in hand, to the publication of the three massy folios; a period inadequate even to collect and digest the materials, particularly as the innumerable Greek fragments cited by Suidas, from all descriptions of writers, many of them corrupt, require a cautious and deliberate judgment. But while we regret the haste in which it was executed, we must allow it to be a noble performance; and the experience of 120 years has proved its value and utility. Though the precipitation of the editor has left much for succeeding scholars to accomplish, yet every one capable of appre-

Ludolf Kuster.

His edition of Suidas.

[17] The word KUSTER (being German for *Sexton*) was properly rendered in Greek by Νεώκορος.

ciating what was done, will confess his obligation to Bentley, as the means of this edition being given to the public.

The Doctor continued for several years to interest himself in the affairs of the University press; being generally a member of the syndicates or committees, appointed to investigate and conduct particular matters relative to that concern. Much difficulty seems to have been experienced in securing an adequate extent of premises for the operations of printing, and for warehouses; an object of magnitude and importance, which has been left to our own times to accomplish. It is to be remarked, however, that this establishment, though endowed with privileges intended to make it an advantage as well as an honour to the University, continued for a long time the occasion of pecuniary loss. The cause of this, as far as it can now be understood, appears to have been the want of a permanent committee of management; a measure which, however obvious, was not adopted till many years afterwards. In the meantime, the receipt and disbursement of large sums of money, as well as the necessary negotiations with persons of business, were entrusted to the individuals holding the annual office of Vice Chancellor, who in many cases possessed no previous acquaintance with the concern; a system which inevitably led to injurious and almost ruinous consequences [18].

June 1701. Bentley made Archdeacon of Ely.

On the death of Dr. Saywell, Master of Jesus College and Archdeacon of Ely, Bentley was collated to the vacant archdeaconry; a dignity which besides its rank in the Church, was endowed with the two livings of Haddenham and Wilburton [19]. He had the honour of receiving this preferment from Bishop Patrick, one of the most learned and exemplary prelates that ever graced the Bench. The archdeaconry

[18] The University does not appear to have been awakened to a right view of this matter till 1737, when a Grace was passed, constituting a Syndicate with plenary power over the affairs of the press for three years. The preamble of this Grace observes: "Cum Prelum Academicum, in usum et commoditatem Academiæ olim destinatum, per quadraginta retro annos ita negligenter fuerit administratum, ut Academiam oneraverit sumptu, ultra bis mille et trecentas libras," &c. The present permanent *Syndicate of the Press* was not established till the year 1782.

[19] MS. note in Dr. Bentley's Ephemeris for 1701. "*June* 24. I was admitted Archdeacon in Ely Cathedral by Dr. Fern." It may be observed, that he had resigned his stall at Worcester in May, 1700.

CHAP. VII. 1701.

Becomes a Member of Convocation.

conferred a seat in the Lower House of Convocation : as the opposition carried on by the majority of that house against the Bishops was just then at its height, it seems probable that a wish to call into action on the other side such talents and spirit as Bentley's, might have occasioned this appointment. He was regular in his attendance at the Synod, as long as it was permitted to meet and deliberate ; and he took a share in the debates. Of this fact, I find several proofs : nor is there any doubt but that he sided with the court party, at that time the minority in the Lower House : but I am not able to mention particular instances in which he was distinguished as a member of Convocation.

General Election.

At the General Election in November 1701, Dr. Bentley had the satisfaction of assisting in the return of his illustrious friend Sir Isaac Newton, as one of the Members for the University ; the other successful candidate was Mr. Henry Boyle, afterwards Lord Carleton ; so that on this occasion Trinity College had the honour of supplying the University with both its Representatives.

It was not until the following summer that Dr. Bentley found that leisure for study, which was to be expected as the peculiar advantage of an academical station. The last two years and a half I conceive to have been the only period of his life in which he was abstracted from his favourite employment, the critical examination of ancient writers[20]. He now formed the resolution of devoting his literary powers to prepare editions of classical books for the use of the students of his college, and of selecting those authors which were most likely to prove a relief to his own mind, when fatigued with cares and business ; particularly such as would bear the interruption of other avocations without injury to the plan of his edition. Accordingly, he

[20] In his letter to Grævius, Aug. 20, 1702, Bentley thus expresses himself : " Cum memoria repeto, Vir amicissime, quantum jam temporis effluxit, ex quo literas de communibus studiis vel ad te misi vel ad ullos eruditorum, quos mare a Britannia nostra separat ; non possum non damnare fatum meum, et annorum duorum et amplius quasi jacturam plorare. Sic enim meæ se res habuerunt, postquam ex jucundissimo otio protractus sum ad splendidam hanc sane et satis opulentam sortem, sed obsessam infinitis negotiis per caput et circa latera quotidie salientibus. Quod ergo interrogas, Quid moliar, quemve authorem, Hesychium, Maniliumve, notis meis illustratum edere parem, scias me toto hoc biennio vix unum et alterum diem vacavisse humanioribus literis : tantum abest, ut dignum aliquid tuis oculis jam a me sit expectandum."

determined to commence his scheme with an edition of HORACE; a choice which peculiarly accorded with his views; since such are the charms of this poet, that none can be a more agreeable solace of vacant hours; and so delightful are his writings both to the young and the old, the serious and the gay, that no classical book is so universally read and remembered. As his justly celebrated edition was nearly ten years in preparation, we shall defer our remarks upon its merits for the present. One observation, however, the first mention of this undertaking inevitably suggests: it is greatly to be regretted, that Bentley should have devoted so large a portion of the best years of his life to a Latin, rather than to a Greek poet: his knowledge and perception of the latter language was incomparably better than of the former; and he might have been employed more usefully to literature, and more honourably to himself, in correcting real errors in Greek poetry, with a felicity which no one else could attain, than in suggesting alterations of a Latin author, and defending them by learning and ingenuity, which oftener produce admiration than conviction.

Bentley undertakes to publish Horace. Aug. 1702.

The Doctor now resumed his correspondence with Grævius, to whom he communicated his design, along with three or four emendations of Horace, respecting which he asked for his friend's opinion. The literary veteran was delighted at this renewal of intercourse with a person whom he so greatly admired: he sent for his use a manuscript of Horace, and gave, what Bentley valued still more, his full approbation of the proposed corrections. The concluding part of their correspondence is interesting and affecting. We see the old scholar still zealous in the interests of literature, amidst the calamities of life, and the infirmities of old age. He had just buried his wife, with whom he had lived happily for forty-four years; and he began to feel the distressing symptoms of dizziness or swimming in the head: yet he occupied himself in preparing a corrected and enlarged edition of Gruter's Inscriptions, and in the very different task of writing the memoirs of King William. The interest which he took in the proceedings of the whole literary world continued to his latest hour. Two or three weeks after Bentley had received his last letter, he learned from Peter Burman, Grævius's friend and colleague at Utrecht, that

Renews his correspondence with Grævius.

CHAP. VII. 1702.

Death of Grævius.

he had been seized by apoplexy, while on his way from his own house to Burman's, where he was engaged to dine, and in a few hours was deprived of existence [21].

Elections to fellowships and scholarships in Trinity College.

We must now advert to some parts of Bentley's administration of Trinity College, which occurred in the first five years of his mastership. The conduct of elections to fellowships and scholarships vitally concerning the prosperity of his society, he lost no time in making this the subject of his particular attention. Hitherto the examinations had taken place in chapel *viva voce*, before the Master and eight Seniors, who are the electors: Bentley being of opinion that this oral test was not satisfactory in an enquiry so extensive and profound, ordered that the candidates should be examined by each of the electors at his own apartments, whereby an opportunity was given for the performance of written exercises, and time allowed to weigh and compare the respective merits of the young men with suitable deliberation. This method of separate examination, although liable to some considerable objections, which were felt both in Bentley's time and subsequently, continued to be the practice of Trinity College for ninety years [22]. The Master at the same time put a stop to an unwarrantable custom, which obliged the candidates to keep open hospitality at a tavern during the four days of examination: the expense of these entertainments was defrayed by the persons elected, and could not have been inconsiderable, if, as he tells us, the reckoning for a single evening amounted to six pounds [23].

The Master's regulations.

[21] The letters of each were carefully preserved by his correspondent. Those of Bentley were obtained, along with an immense assortment of letters to Grævius, by Dr. Mead, at whose sale they were disposed of, and came into the possession of the late Mr. George Stevens: by him they were sent as a present to Dr. C. Burney; who having procured Grævius's letters from Mr. Cumberland, printed the correspondence in that sumptuous volume, of which it forms the most valuable half. There are, however, three of Grævius's letters in the collection belonging to Trinity College, which have not been printed, and which were probably overlooked when those papers were ransacked for his correspondence. Grævius's last letter is one of those omitted: it is that from which an extract was given by Bentley in his note on Horace, Carm. I. 23. 5. and its contents are on other accounts highly interesting.

[22] The present admirable system of examination was not adopted till the year 1789, when Dr. T. Postlethwaite became Master.

[23] *Bentley's Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 14. *Miller's Remarks*, p. 39. *Blomer's Full View*, p. 60. Similar entertainments used to be given at taking degrees.

A practice had long existed of holding the elections to scholarships but once in two years; and on those occasions only the sophs and junior sophs were admitted as candidates. Though this can hardly be said to be in express contradiction to the statutes, yet it was certainly not agreeable to their spirit and intent, inasmuch as it withheld longer than was necessary the encouragement given by the foundation to industry and good conduct. Accordingly the Master conferred a benefit upon the rising generation, by ordaining that the elections should take place every year, and that freshmen, as well as undergraduates of higher standing, might become candidates[24]. In order to accelerate the succession to scholarships, he adopted a plan of erasing from the list, previously to each election, the names of those who, having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, did not design to return to the College; considering that to them a scholarship, the allowances of which are paid only to residents, must have ceased to have any value. This last measure, though proceeding from the best intention, was one of questionable propriety, and did in fact lead him to inflict an injury upon at least one meritorious young man. Luke Thompson, a Bachelor of Arts, and then a student in the Temple, whose name he cut out from the list of scholars in 1703, with the presumed consent of his tutor, had designed to sit for a fellowship the following year; but as scholars only can be elected fellows, he was thereby excluded from all access to that object. Bentley, to whom both his person and his name were unknown, acted in this instance entirely from error; and although borne out by the strict letter of a statute, which allows to the scholars only forty-two days' absence in the year, he found sufficient cause to regret his precipitancy, when it was subsequently charged against him as an act of malversation.

In these, as well as many other measures of discipline, the Master proceeded upon his sole authority and responsibility, without asking

[24] *Bentley's Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 13. Bentley, however, was not justified in attributing this abuse to a wish of saving the allowances due to the few scholarships which were annually kept vacant; a sum too paltry to have been any consideration with the Masters or Seniors. A more probable cause might have been found in the disposition likely to exist in old men, to relieve themselves from the fatigue of examining a large body of students, in the alternate years.

CHAP. VII. 1702.

the approbation of the eight Seniors, his statutable counsellors. In thus deviating from the practice of his predecessors, Bentley shewed too plainly a disposition to engross all power, and appropriate all credit in the College government. There is no reason to suppose that the Seniority, which he acknowledges to have been respectably composed, would have withheld its assent from any measures of a beneficial tendency; and their experience might have saved him from such errors as he incurred on the following occasion. One of the students having been detected by the Proctor at a house of ill-fame, for the second time, was brought before the Master; who, judging that the case called for severe punishment, immediately pronounced, on his own authority, the sentence of expulsion. Here was a positive violation of the statutes, which ordain, that no member of the College shall be expelled, except, after a full hearing of the case, by the voices of the Master, and at least five of the eight senior Fellows. Bentley, in thus acting without the concurrence of the Seniority, followed a solitary precedent which he found for monarchical power. This was an order, on a similar occasion, entered in the Conclusion Book, by his great predecessor Bishop Pearson. It is, however, curious to observe, that had he exercised upon this College register the same critical sagacity with which he perused ancient writers, Bentley would have been led to suspect, that the authority which he made his model, was in fact nothing more than a slip of the writer's pen[25]. At all events, the illegal act of a former Master, however great his fame, could not justify so palpable a violation of the statutes. With respect to his severity in this instance, it is but justice to Bentley, who was not ordinarily harsh towards juvenile

The Master acts on his own authority.

Expels a Student.

[25] Bentley's entry is as follows. "Dec. 24, 1701. Ordered by the Master, that Hanson the subsizar be expelled the College, for his foul and scandalous, and repeated offence.

R. BENTLEY, Mag. Coll."

The example which he followed was an order, Jan. 23, 1664—65. "Ordered by the MASTER, that Young the scholar be expelled the College for his foule and scandalous offence.

Jo. PEARSON."

But the entry, which immediately follows, made at the same time, is this: "AGREED THEN ALSO, that Edward Botany be appointed the third cook. J. P."

As the words, '*agreed then also,*' shew that the former order was made at a meeting of the Seniors, it appears in the highest degree probable, that Pearson intended to write, '*Ordered by the Master* AND SENIORS,' but omitted the two last words by accident.

delinquencies, to observe, that the character of the young man was such as made him unfit to remain longer in the College. It appears, that at the time of his repeated immoralities, he was a frequenter of a Presbyterian meeting-house, and was himself meditating the profession of a dissenting preacher. CHAP. VII. 1702.

In the first year of his mastership, Dr. Bentley turned his attention to the important object of supplying the newly erected library with books, and of making it as beneficial as possible to the Society. For this purpose he obtained a College order, that the students should be admitted, upon liberal conditions, to the use of the library; and in consideration of this great privilege, every one was to pay at his admission a small sum for the purchase of books. He also set apart two classes for the use of the under-graduates and bachelors. The last measure seems attended with more inconvenience than advantage; and I find no subsequent mention of such an arrangement: but the discontinuance of the payments upon admission, is a matter seriously to be regretted. Had the regulation been observed from that time to the present, so great is the number of students who have been admitted into Trinity College, that the library would probably at this day have ranked as high in regard to useful books, as any collection in the world [26]. Improves the Library. August 19, 1700.

The Master's efforts to improve the College library gave occasion to the first misunderstanding between himself and his Seniority. Dr. John Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, a prelate noted both for his spirited defence of the dignitaries of the Church before the Long Parliament, and for his splendid munificence after the Restoration, was in the year 1667 a noble benefactor to Trinity College. To this Society, of which he had formerly been a Fellow, his attachment in old age returned with renewed ardour. The old part of the fabrick, called 'Gerard's,' or 'Garret's Hostel,' being in a ruinous state,' he gave 1200*l.* for the purpose of rebuilding it; with a provision, that the rents of the chambers should be for ever appropriated to the improvement Offends the Senior Fellows. Bishop Hacket's Benefaction.

[26] The sums to be paid were thus fixed: for a nobleman or fellow commoner, twenty shillings; a pensioner, ten shillings; a sizar, five shillings. The alteration in the price of books would at this time render it necessary that the payments should be three or four times as great.

CHAP. VII. 1702.

of the library. Not long afterwards the new library was erected at a cost of above 18,000*l.*; but when it was finished, considerable sums being still requisite for the book-cases and internal fitting up of this magnificent room, it was resolved that the charge should be repaid to the college stock by the rents of the 'Bishop's Hostel,' amounting to about 50*l.* a year. This arrangement was not inconsistent with the terms of the donation, which specified as its object not only the purchase of books, but the desks and fabrick of the library, and it was made with the knowledge and approbation of Sir Andrew Hacket, the Bishop's heir. Dr. Bentley, on discovering this practice, insisted that all these sums, which, he contended, had been 'interverted' from the library, should immediately be restored, and devoted to the purchase of books; with an assertion, that the College had been 'robbing the library,' and 'putting the money in their own pockets.' He carried his point, and succeeded in expending the whole sum, about 360*l.*, in books: but the Seniors, who had themselves been liberal subscribers, and had made great personal sacrifices to complete the structure, were deeply hurt at the imputation cast upon them; and the uneasy feelings excited on this occasion, appear never afterwards to have subsided[27].

Dec. 22, 1701.

Privileges of Graduates in Divinity.

The next subject of College legislation was productive of great dissention in the Society, as will easily be believed, when it is understood how the interests of many of its members were affected by the decision. The Fellows of Trinity are not compelled by Queen Elizabeth's statutes to take any degree higher than that of Master of Arts: there are, however, some provisions intended as an irresistible inducement to the superior degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity; the statutes assign increased stipends to those who have obtained such rank, and confer upon the Doctors in particular some material privileges; such as a preference to the highest College offices, the right of sole occupation of a set of chambers, (while other Fellows are to have pensioners living with them), and a permission, withheld from the rest, to occupy a house in the town. At the same time it is specially enacted, that admission into the number of the eight Seniors is not to

[27] *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 14. *Miller's Remarks*, p. 40.

be affected by those degrees, but determined by priority of standing alone; whereby the oldest and most experienced are always associated in the government of the College. But in the lapse of years, and alteration of circumstances, the privileges just mentioned had ceased to be a sufficient temptation to encounter the trouble and expense of the higher degrees. The increase of the College buildings had accommodated almost every member, as well as the Doctors, with a set of rooms to himself; and the surplus of revenue above the original rental, occasioned by the altered value of money, had produced a dividend, which constituted the greater part of a Fellow's income, and left the statutable stipends objects of inferior consideration. There are, however, two chapters in the statutes, upon which graduates in divinity still claimed substantial privileges. In appointing the distribution of chambers, there is this direction: *Seniorem* SECUNDUM SUUM GRADUM *juniori, tam inter socios quam inter discipulos, semper præferendum statuimus*: and with respect to a vacant college living, it is said, *volumus illius præsentationem socio* SECUNDUM GRADUM SUUM *maxime seniori, sive domi sive absens fuerit, omnino conferri.* At first sight, both these passages appear to give the preference to the senior graduates, in terms too precise to admit of a dispute; particularly as the ordinary meaning of the word *gradus* in the statutes is an 'academical degree.' The opponents of this interpretation are, however, able to take fair ground, from the insertion of the words in the first extract, *tam inter socios quam inter discipulos*: about half the *discipuli*, or scholars, being under-graduates, the word *gradus*, as it applies to them, must mean *standing*, or *degree of admission*; thence they contend, that it has the same meaning with respect to the Fellows: and as there is a manifest parallelism between the two passages, they argue that the word should, in the case of livings also, be interpreted as meaning no other seniority than that of admission. To overturn this objection, several strong arguments have been brought; but the subject is of too local a nature to pursue further. I shall only remark, that no person, unbiassed by interest or prejudice, can deny that there is some ambiguity in the terms of the enactment. It is the misfortune of this question hardly ever to have been discussed except in times of

CHAP. VII. 1702.

irritation, and by interested judges; otherwise the real cause of the uncertainty might have been detected and acknowledged: I conceive it to have been this. The Commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, in revising the statutes from a former draught, made an alteration in these two particulars, without noticing that, in order to preserve consistency, a change of some other words became requisite. Their inadvertency has left a bone of contention, which has proved no inconsiderable evil to Trinity College. It is indeed provided, that whatever ambiguities may be found in the statutes, shall be decided by the interpretation of the Master and eight Senior Fellows. But the latter are generally too much parties in this cause, to give an unbiassed judgment: and it has, in fact, happened, that the interpretation of one board has been rescinded by their successors. In 1612, six of the Seniors decided for preoption of livings and chambers by standing; but in 1639, the majority declared in favour of degrees. Nay, in the mastership of Dr. Pearson, there are two orders made by the same Seniority, within two years, which imply opposite opinions upon this question. Both parties appealed to the practice of their predecessors; which had, in truth, been various and unsettled, and supplied authorities to each. The prevailing usage, however, had been this: the Fellows postponed their degree of Bachelor of Divinity till some one among their juniors was on the point of proceeding to that rank; whereupon those who were not already B. D. took the degree, in order to preserve their rights unimpaired. It is obvious that were *all* to graduate according to their standing, the priority of choice of livings and chambers would practically be the same, whichever interpretation be given to the words of the statutes. But there was always an inducement to delay. The College offices of junior bursar and steward, are confined to Masters of Arts; and it was the practice for the Fellows to hold them in rotation for three years. The University offices of proctor and taxor are similarly restricted; and thus it sometimes happened that persons, in hopes of filling all those posts, remained Masters of Arts till an age at which the taking new degrees was irksome and inconvenient. At the time of which we are speaking, an unusually long interval had elapsed since any of the Fellows had graduated in theology: at length, in 1701,

Colbatch and Hutchinson became Bachelors of Divinity; and in imitation of them, the next year, four others applied for the same degree. The discussion of the disputed statutes was now revived, and much heat and disturbance ensued. The question being referred to Dr. Bentley, he declared his judgment decidedly in favour of the graduates; and proposed to settle the point for ever by a formal and statutable interpretation. But here new difficulties arose: five of the eight Seniors happened to be only Masters of Arts; and feeling that such a decision would have the effect of giving all their juniors a claim to rooms and livings before themselves, they stoutly resisted the Master's arguments and persuasions, though urged with all his ability at several successive meetings. At length, upon the candidates for the degree pledging themselves not to use their privileges to the prejudice of those five individuals, they consented to an interpretation, declaring the meaning of the two statutes to be, that 'all Bachelors of Divinity have the preoption both of chambers and livings before Masters of Arts; and that one Bachelor of Divinity is to be preferred to another, according to the seniority of his degree in the University.' In exerting himself to establish this point, Bentley's motive was to raise the character of his Society, to engage the juniors in the studies requisite to appear with credit in their theological disputations, and to obtain for the elder members the consideration belonging to the rank and title of Doctor. His measure had the effect of causing the Fellows to proceed to their degrees in divinity, with few exceptions, for nearly seventy years: after which the practice again fell into abeyance. But for the reasons already explained, the statute itself remains a subject for dissention, which no domestic resolution will ever be able to remove. It can only be taken away by a judicial decision, or by the easier and more eligible method of procuring a new statute in a Royal letter from the Crown[28].

Decision in favour of the Graduates, June 3, 1702.

[28] An apology is due to the generality of readers for having dwelt so much upon a local topic, interesting only to Fellows of Trinity College: while to these the matter is so important, that they may perhaps wish my account had been still more detailed. For the tranquillity of the Society I hope the question may never more be in dispute, and that the knot may be cut by one of the two methods recommended in the text. Should it, however, again come into discussion, it may

CHAP. VII. 1702.

Latin Declamations.

Some other particulars of Bentley's government must now be noticed, otherwise the reader will not understand the real nature of the charges which he will find brought against him. The statutes of Trinity College direct that the Latin declamations of the students shall be delivered on Saturday evenings 'after supper:' they also enjoin that, for the encouragement of diligence in the declaimers, all the society shall be present at these exercises. The hour of supper was six, and after that meal, all who chose used to adjourn to Chapel to hear the declamations. But it was found in practice that the audience was far from comprising the whole College: and the sizars, who sup after the fellows, were by this arrangement excluded from an opportunity of hearing these performances. To correct this evil the Master proposed that they should be delivered immediately after evening service, whereby a full attendance would always be secured; alleging that such a deviation from the letter of the statute was necessary to secure

be of some use to caution the disputants not to rely upon assertions to be found in the only published arguments on this case—those in *Bentley's Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 15; and in *Miller's Remarks*, p. 45—49. Strange as it may seem, both these pamphlets contain several misstatements of the facts relating to this question. First, Bentley gives not the statute itself, but his own interpretation of it: and in a note, pretending to cite the actual Latin words, he omits that member of the sentence, upon which the objection was founded. Some of his statements about the practice of the College are inaccurate: for instance, in his 76th page, he says, that from the Restoration till his becoming Master, but three Fellows had taken any degree higher than M.A.; whereas the number who had taken higher degrees in that time was above twenty. He assigns the cessation of the custom of graduating to the times of the Commonwealth; whereas it had continued with considerable regularity for fifteen years after the Restoration. He is likewise mistaken in attributing the recommencement of the practice to his own encouragement in 1702. The four Fellows who then came forward (and who were not in fact B.D. till the next year) did so in imitation of two who had actually graduated in 1701: a fact of which he seems not to have been aware. As to Miller, he takes up the question so entirely as an advocate, resolved to keep out of sight all that could be said against him, that it may be doubted whether or not he was sincere in the opinion which he upheld. He confutes the mistakes of his antagonist; but gives in his turn, a still more uncandid statement. He suppresses the fact that *gradus* does in a great majority of places in the statutes, clearly mean an *academical degree*: he deliberately strives to confound different topics, by adducing as a case in point the statute for admission into the Seniority: the practice he asserts to have been for eighty years before Bentley, against giving any preference to degrees; though living witnesses could have told him the contrary: and after having searched the Conclusion book for this and other purposes, he quotes the two old orders which make against the claim of the graduates, but suppresses the two which are in their favour.

its essential object; or, to use his own expression, that 'it must be broken in order to be kept.' The alteration was accordingly voted, though not without considerable opposition on the part of some Seniors, who urged the indecency of declamations after the manner of Quintilian, being addressed to an assembly habited in surplices, the universal dress on a Saturday evening: an objection which notwithstanding the reconciling power of custom, cannot be denied to have considerable weight. Perhaps, if it was judged indispensable that the statute should 'be broken in order to be kept,' it might have been a better mode of breaking it, to have fixed the exercises for some other evening in the week [29].

CHAP. VII. 1703.

July 24, 1703.

In some subsequent ordinances, Bentley was accused not only of affecting arbitrary power, but of endeavouring to gain popularity among the students, while he mortified the fellows. In the year 1704 he issued a decree, that the head-lecturer and four sublecturers should be subjected to the statutable mulcts of eight-pence, and of four-pence, in case of neglecting their duty of lecturing and examining daily in the Hall. These lectures, being for the most part confined by the statutes to different works of Aristotle, had, it seems, been for some time generally omitted; and their place was found to be more usefully supplied by the lectures of the Tutors. It must be confessed, that the revival of an obsolete and trivial fine was not the best measure for enforcing attention to the duties of education.

Sept. 30, 1704.

At the same time the Master decreed that the penalty of three half-pence for absence from Chapel, which the statutes impose upon the fellows as well as other members of the college, should be exacted as far as concerned the lower half of the sixty fellows. This distinction,

Absence from chapel.

[29] It is fair to quote part of the College order made on this subject. After a preamble explaining the inconvenience which it was proposed to remedy, it proceeds thus:

"And it being morally certain, that if the declamations were delayed 'till after the scholars in waiting and poor scholars have supped, there would still be fewer auditors at the said declamations, especially in the time of winter;

"Resolved and agreed by the Master and Seniors, in pursuance of the primary intention of the said statute, which desires the whole College to be there present, that from henceforth the declamations be performed immediately after Evening Prayer, before their departure out of Chapel." R. Bentley.

CHAP. VII. 1704

which appears rather arbitrary, was grounded upon an University statute, whereby persons above forty years of age are exempted from the severity of collegiate rules; and he assumed that the last thirty might always be considered *nondum quadragenarii*. The measure itself was nugatory; since a more regular attendance could never be enforced by the infliction of so paltry a fine. The only good which this mass of small penalties could produce, was a more liberal remuneration to the two College deans for the execution of their invidious but important office.

Absence from grace.

Shortly afterwards there issued an edict from the Master, which was deemed a still greater stretch of his prerogative, and was accompanied with insinuations yet more offensive to the Fellows. A pecuniary mulct is fixed by the statutes for any person leaving his table in Hall before grace: hence had grown a custom which Bentley with justice styled 'unwarrantable.' The Fellows, whom long association and friendship had linked together as one family, found much of their comforts arising from the society in Hall, and sat longer over their repasts than the young men, who, as soon as they had despatched their meals, were in haste to go to their avocations, their parties, or amusements. This had induced a general custom of permitting the absence of all the students from grace; while to satisfy the letter of the law, they were fined the sum of two-pence weekly; a mulct, which was indiscriminately imposed upon all students, whether present or absent. This being an undeniable abuse, called for a remedy; nor was there any reason why it should not have been removed by a regular order

Oct. 11, 1704.

of the Master and Seniors. But Bentley, thinking it a fair opportunity of displaying the strength of his prerogative, and of humbling the Fellows, sent forth a mandate, granting a general leave to every member of the College to quit the Hall before grace, at his own discretion, without mulct or punishment: and stated as the ground of this decree, 'the unreasonable delays at meals at some of the Fellows' tables.' This exercise of power he justified by an expression of the statutes, to which he gave a rather wide interpretation[30]. The deans,

[30] The 17th chapter of the statutes ordains that grace shall be said before dinner and supper: *Quod quidem a Magistro vel Vice-Magistro, vel, illis absentibus, a Socio maxime seniore qui in*

however, considering it an illegal proceeding, made some show of resistance, and attempted to fine a student who quitted the Hall: but they soon found that the decrees of the Master of Trinity were neither to be disobeyed nor questioned.

Suppers on Friday.

Conformably to the original observance of Friday, there was no supper allowed in Hall on that day. Bentley, finding that this rule only led to the formation of parties at taverns on Friday evenings, with a view to remedy the evil, ordered that meat suppers should thenceforward be provided in the Hall; and treated with infinite contempt some objections urged by the more scrupulous against this innovation.

Noblemen and fellow-commoners.

From his first coming to the College, the Master determined to break certain customary privileges of the noblemen and fellow-commoners, which were in reality as pernicious to themselves as disgraceful to the society. With this view he ordained that their attendance at Chapel should be noted as well as that of the other students, and that they should deliver declamations in their turns. For the last resolution, not only Trinity College, but the nation is indebted to him: since it has happened, in a great number of instances, that young men of birth and family, who have afterwards become the most shining senators and statesmen, have first had their emulation excited and their talents developed by these collegiate exercises.

Causes of Bentley's unpopularity.

The test of the propriety of Dr. Bentley's ordinances, in the first years of his mastership, is, that they have been maintained, with a very slight exception, from that time to the present. The only valid objection against them appears to have been the assumption of monarchical authority by which they were enacted. There were, however, not wanting other causes which rendered the Master unpopular among his Fellows. He suffered from a comparison with his

Aula sit, semper fieri volumus. Afterwards it says, *Quod si quispiam Sociorum aut Discipulorum aut Pensionariorum a mensa ante gratias actas discedat, nisi petita a Magistro, vel eo qui primarium locum tenet, facultate, prandii vel cœnæ pretio a Decano seniore, si adsit, vel juniore, cum alter abfuerit, mulctetur.* The words *nisi petita a Magistro*, &c. were made the ground of giving a general permission *unasked*. But by others it was considered as the intent of the statute, that leave should be asked of the person who was presiding in the Hall; which the Master of the College had long ceased to do, except upon festivals and extraordinary days.

CHAP. VII. 1704.

predecessor, Dr. Montague, who by associating intimately among them, and exercising a liberal hospitality, as well as by his indulgent manners, had secured the love and affection of the College. Bentley, though fond of the society of a small circle, had no taste for the large scale of hospitality, incumbent upon the Head of such a foundation, and thereby incurred the imputation of penuriousness. But the subject of loudest complaint at this time, was the great and unlooked-for expense of the reparations in the lodge. The Seniors, who had been led to expect that these works were to cost the College about 200*l.*, when they saw them threatening to reach five times that amount, refused to sanction further expenditure. At length, the Master obtained with great difficulty an order for the bursar to defray the workmen's bills already incurred, amounting to between 7 and 800*l.*; but not until the Seniors had been reminded, that there was a necessity for this being done, and that they had, by subscribing the original order for the work, made themselves personally responsible for the payment [31]. At the same time, they voted 150*l.* more for finishing it, besides the 100*l.* to be given by the Master. But they soon found, that the cost still to be incurred, reached a considerable multiple of that sum. Much money was expended in fitting up a large room, formerly appropriated to the performance of comedies. These exhibitions, which are prescribed by the statutes, and were regularly practised till the time of the civil wars, King James I. in his frequent visits to Cambridge, had been fond of witnessing. The room appeared to have been originally part of the master's premises, since it could only be approached by passing through the house: as the performances had long been disused, and it was devoted to no other public object, Bentley considered himself justified in reuniting it to the lodge. But in the college the matter was not regarded in the same light; and this apartment had certainly not been in contemplation when the order was passed for fitting up the lodge; accordingly, much dissatis-

Expenses of repairs of the lodge.

Dec. 24, 1701.

[31] It was in reference to this matter that Bentley was reported to have boasted, 'that he had choused the old gentlemen.' The story is every way improbable and unworthy of credit: had there been any evidence for so disgraceful an expression, it would certainly have been brought forward: as it amounted to an acknowledgment of the whole charge made against him.

faction ensued. At length, however, the work was supposed to be complete, and all the accounts had been paid; when Bentley unexpectedly applied for leave to erect a new and handsome staircase. To this fresh application, the Senior Fellows unanimously refused their assent; representing the great extent of the charges already incurred, as well as the goodness and sufficiency of the old one, whose width admitted four persons abreast. This it was which led to the first open rupture in the college: Bentley, irritated at his repulse, immediately ordered the old staircase to be pulled down, and the new one to be built upon the projected plan. Mr. Spencer, the bursar, whose office especially directed him to take care of the College property, went to the lodge, accompanied by other Seniors, and forbade the workmen to proceed. The Doctor when informed of this interference of the bursar, treated it with much contempt, saying that 'he would send him into the country to feed his turkeys,' and in defiance of all remonstrance, he finished the present very handsome and appropriate staircase, which cannot be denied to reflect credit upon his taste. In this proceeding, however, he had made himself liable to defray the expense from his own pocket; and so he was informed by the Seniors, when he asked them, two or three times, to sanction the payment from the public stock. Hereupon, he reminded them of certain powers vested in their Head, which although disused, might at his pleasure be exerted for the annoyance of the Fellows. It is ordered that no member whatever shall go out of the college, though for a short period, without leave first given by the Master or his deputy: and even then the time of his absence is limited to 62 days, except permission for a longer time has been obtained from the Master and Seniors; and sundry penalties, both vexatious and severe, are attached to the breach of this statute. Experience, however, having shown that the non-residence of a part of the Fellows was beneficial to the College as well as to the country at large, these strict injunctions had long been neglected; and the form itself of soliciting leave of absence, an indulgence never likely to be refused, had been altogether omitted with the connivance and possibly at the wish of the governors. Dr. Bentley now hinted to the Fellows not only his undoubted power to withhold his consent in future to

New staircase.

Dispute between the master and the seniors.

CHAP. VII. 1704.

their leaving college, but the penalties which the greater part of the society had already incurred; at the same time, styling this prerogative, *his rusty sword*. The following scene is recorded, as having taken place in the presence of many witnesses. One evening in coming out of chapel, the Master accosted the Seniors in the great quadrangle with much urbanity; and finding them in perfect good humour, touched upon the subject of the staircase: when, contrary to his expectations, they all decidedly refused to have any thing to do with it. Irritated at this disappointment, his colour and his voice altered, and he demanded, in menacing accents, whether 'they had forgotten his rusty sword[32].'

College preacherships.

The method by which it is alleged that he finally carried his point was even more censurable than the violence of his previous behaviour. Finding his threats ineffectual, he determined to give an actual specimen of the weight of his prerogative. Of the Fellows of Trinity, those only who are College preachers, are allowed to hold Church preferment. These College preacherships were originally twelve in number, but were increased by King James I. to sixteen. At this period there were four vacancies, and four of the Fellows whose standing gave them a claim to succeed, having performed the requisite exercises, were candidates. One of these gentlemen, Mr. Michael Hutchinson, had recently been presented to a Stall in Lichfield Cathedral, which, of course, he could not hold along with his fellowship, unless appointed a College preacher. Bentley, availing himself of this circumstance, declared that he would not consent to any election until the expense of the staircase was defrayed; and plainly told Hutchinson and the others, that their only chance of the appointment would be by persuading the Seniority to allow the charge on the public account. This stratagem succeeded: the Seniors, teazed by importunities, willing to effect a pacification even by a great sacrifice, and seeing no other method of saving one of their brethren from the loss of his preferment, which was on the point of lapsing, did at length, after a resistance of two years, concede the point, and sanctioned the payment of 350*l.* for

Dec. 20, 1704.

[32] *The True State of Trinity College*, 1710, p. 52.

the staircase: whereupon the College preachers were appointed, and harmony was for a season restored to the society [33].

Sequel of Phalaris controversy.

We must now quit the politics of Trinity College, to record the sequel of the controversy on Phalaris. It was no secret that Atterbury was the principal author of 'Boyle against Bentley,' the book which had procured such triumph and distinction to the person whom it was intended to annihilate. In the course of his dispute upon the rights of Convocation, Atterbury was taunted with the defeat which he and his party had sustained from the pen of Dr. Bentley, and with having left their adversary in possession of the field. Upon this provocation there appeared a small anonymous book, entitled 'A Short Review of the Controversy between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley,' the author of which, I have no hesitation in believing, from the style as well as other evidence, to be Atterbury himself [34]. The professed objects of the piece are, to apologize for Mr. Boyle, and to decry the presumption and ill-manners of his opponent: but from all questions of learning, the only objects in the controversy worth attention, it carefully abstains, and thereby conveys a tacit but perfect confession of Bentley's triumph. Though the style is caustic and polished, yet its general effect is feeble; being little more than a repetition of the criminating charges of Boyle's book, subdued and diluted by an unwilling moderation. Notwithstanding the popularity of Atterbury,

Atterbury.

[33] The Seniors at the time of making this concession, stipulated that an inventory of the furniture to be purchased with the 270*l.* in the Master's hands (viz. his own contribution of 100*l.*, and Dr. Montague's donation of 170*l.*) should be entered in the junior bursar's books, as goods belonging to the lodge: an agreement which Bentley neglected to fulfil, and thereby incurred much gratuitous odium.

[34] The title of this book is almost long enough for a table of its contents. '*A Short Review of the Controversy between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley: with suitable reflections upon it. And the Doctor's advantageous character of himself at full length. Recommended to the serious perusal of such as propose to be considered for their fairness, modesty, and good-temper in writing. London*, 1701.' In a manuscript letter from Dr. Wake to Dr. Charlett, dated March 14, 1700—1701, the anticipation of this book is clearly alluded to: Wake, having mentioned Atterbury's late work written in reply to himself, '*The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation, stated and vindicated*,' adds, "Dr. Bentley is next to be brought upon the stage. The book, I am told, is ready, but the market must not be overstocked; and 'tis reasonable that the world should recover breath, and have a new appetite to laugh, before it comes abroad. Some men, I am told, wonder at my impudence that I have not yet hanged myself."

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this tract produced little or no sensation: in fact, it appears shortly after its birth to have sunk into oblivion. Among all the accounts of the Phalaris controversy, I do not find any mention of this 'Short Review;' nor could the author or his friends be solicitous to claim a work which the public shewed no inclination to notice.

Dodwell's Chronology.

I observed in the last chapter, that when Bentley disputed the opinion of Dodwell upon the age of Phalaris and of Pythagoras, he appealed to the judgment of that master of chronological learning, Bishop Lloyd, who immediately published a tract, confirming for the most part our critic's views upon the question. It was not till after five years, that Dodwell found leisure to publish an elaborate reply. About this work the most remarkable circumstance is, that its learned and candid author acknowledges the errors which he had committed respecting Phalaris, and rather corrects than defends his former opinions. He places Pythagoras later than either Bentley or Lloyd had done, and upon this point adduces a powerful mass of authority: at the same time he confesses the great difficulty of the subject; the oldest historians having neglected to distinguish the accounts resting on certain authority, from those which they derived only from tradition. This able tract, though not written in an elegant style, is a model of controversial candour and good-manners. Dodwell treats his two adversaries with the respect and consideration which their learning deserved; but he discovers the feelings of the nonjuror, when in speaking of Lloyd, now Bishop of Worcester, his old patron and friend, he terms him *Episcopus olim Asaphensis*; that he might not acknowledge the validity of his translation by King William. The book itself is one of great value; being the most elaborate attempt ever made to approximate to truth, respecting the history and biography of that remote age [35].

[35] The title of the work *Exercitationes duæ, Prima de Ætate Phalaridis; Secunda, De Ætate Pythagoræ Philosophi. Ab* Henrico Dodwell, A.M. Dubliniensi. Londini, 1704. The spirit in which it is written may be judged by the following extract from the discussion on the age of Pythagoras: 'Nos hic Natalem uno anno seriorem quam in prædicta Dissertatione (scil. De Cyclis Veterum) posuimus, de quo infra plura. Antiquior placet amico summo Cl. Lloydio Episcopo olim Asaphensi, et eruditissimo Bentleio. Natum illi censent Olymp. xliii$\frac{3}{4}$. ut annum ætatis xviii. Olymp. xlviii. inchoarit, quæ illum ætas excluserit a Pugilatu Puerorum. Pugilem

About the same time Swift's two famous productions, 'The Tale of a Tub,' and 'Battle of the Books,' were ushered into the world. They appeared anonymously, after having been for several years handed about in manuscript: the reason for this long delay in the publication it is not easy to determine; it has indeed been remarked that a degree of mystery almost always attended the productions of Swift. Both pieces were immediately read with great interest and avidity; three editions were called for in 1704, and a fourth, with the author's corrections, appeared in the following year. But how great soever was the amusement which it afforded to the laughers, the 'Tale of a Tub' occasioned much scandal and disgust, from the irreverent levity of the allegory in which the history of the Christian Church is disguised. Though there was no doubt of the author's design to uphold the Church of England, yet many of its zealous and conscientious members were justly offended at the method to which he had recourse for this purpose; and, among the rest, Queen Anne, who in consequence of this work, steadily resisted the promotion of its author to a dignity in the English Church. So resolute was she in her refusal, that a few years afterwards, her minister, Harley, who admitted Swift to his confidential intimacy, while in the plenitude of influence, and all-powerful upon other matters, was unable to advance him to a place on the episcopal bench.

Swift's pieces published.

In the following year Wotton printed a third edition of his 'Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning;' in which appeared Bentley's Dissertation upon the spurious Epistles of Euripides, Themistocles, and Socrates, and the Fables of Æsop; but that upon Phalaris was omitted, being superseded by the larger work. As an appendix, Wotton wrote an able defence of himself and Bentley, against the attacks of Swift, without spleen or ill-humour, but not

Wotton's defence.

enim Pythagoram eundem existimant cum Philosopho. Discrepamus ergo spatio integro novem Olympiadum, annorumque proinde xxxvi. De quo spatio ambigitur, antiquioremne justo Pythagoram fecerint celeberrimi Adversarii, an nos potius justo seriorem. Nostras ergo dissentiendi rationes, qua par est nominum tantorum observantia proponemus; nec aliter quam qua salva veritate licebit, tuebimur atque vindicabimus. Sic enim Christiani hominis officiis, et bono Reipubl. literariæ publico, optime consulturos arbitramur.' *Dodwelli Exercitationes Duæ*, p. 96.

CHAP. VII. 1704.

without severity. At the same time he exposed, fairly enough, the real allusions contained in the 'Tale of a Tub.' Dr. Swift, in his edition of 1709, bethought himself of this pleasant conceit: he extracted passages from Wotton's appendix, and affixed them as explanatory notes to the text; thereby making his adversary the commentator on his 'Tale:' a character which Wotton sustains very respectably; his notes have been attached to every subsequent edition, and prove in sober sadness very useful to the reader [36].

[36] Bennet, the bookseller, the prime mover of the famous dispute upon Phalaris. died in 1706: and it is a curious fact, that he gave occasion by his death to another controversy of some celebrity. His funeral Sermon was preached at St. Paul's by his patron Atterbury, and contained a lavish eulogium on his character, which is said not to have been well deserved. In discoursing on his text, 1 Cor. xv. 19. "*If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable:*" the Doctor maintained that 'were there no life after this, men would be more miserable than beasts;' and 'the best men would be most miserable.' Immediately on the publication of this discourse, the celebrated Hoadley printed a letter to Atterbury, calling in question these positions: which the preacher defended in a preface to the Second Edition of the Sermon: and was again attacked in a rejoinder by Hoadley, who on this occasion first distinguished himself in the field of controversy, and seems to have had the advantage over his antagonist.

CHAPTER VIII.

Queen Anne visits Cambridge—Sike, the oriental scholar—Elected Hebrew Professor—Dr. Brookbank—Cottonian library—Verses on the death of Prince George of Denmark—Bentley prints the text of Horace—Baron Spanheim—Kuster's Suidas—Jubilee at Frankfort on the Oder—Kuster quits Berlin, and returns to Utrecht—Undertakes an edition of Aristophanes—Bentley's Critical Epistles to Kuster—to Hemsterhuis—His children—He takes pupils as boarders in the lodge—Roger Cotes—Bentley builds an Observatory—Founds a school of natural philosophy—Whiston—Vigani, Professor of Chemistry—Bentley prepares a chemical laboratory—College bowling-green—Bentley's plan for a new interior of the Chapel—Bernard Smith the Organ builder—Subscription—The work superintended by Professor Cotes—Distress of the Fellows—The Master's measures of Retrenchment and Reformation—College festivals—College offices—Pandoxator's Dividend—First deviation from the rule of merit in elections to Fellowships—Expulsion of two Fellows—Wyvill—Breval—Bentley discommunes some Fellows—Attempts to take away the Combination Room—Is a candidate for the Bishoprick of Chichester—John Davies—Bentley's Emendations on Cicero's Tusculans—James Gronovius—Peter Needham's Edition of Hierocles—Assistance received from Bentley—Second Edition of Sir I. Newton's Principia.

CHAP. VIII. 1705.

Queen Anne visits Cambridge.

Not long after his lodge had been completely refitted and furnished, Dr. Bentley enjoyed the honour of receiving in it no less a guest than his Sovereign. Queen Anne, who was passing the month of April, 1705, at the Royal residence at Newmarket, went over, on the 16th, accompanied by her husband and her whole Court, to visit the University of Cambridge. Alighting at the Regent Walk, before the Schools, she was received by the Duke of Somerset, the Chancellor, at the head of the University, and addressed in a speech by Dr. Ayloffe, the Public Orator. From thence her Majesty went in procession to the Regent House, where, agreeably to ancient custom, was held the congregation of the Senate, termed *Regia Comitia*, at which the University conferred degrees upon all persons nominated by the Royal command; the presence of the Sovereign dispensing with statutable qualifications and exercises[1]. Afterwards the Queen held a court at Trinity Lodge, where

[1] Among the personages of the Queen's suite who received the degree of LL.D. were the Lords Sunderland, Orford, Wharton, and Harvey. There were created at the same time thirteen

CHAP. VIII. 1705.

Confers knighthood on Sir Isaac Newton. Dines in the College Hall.

she rendered this day memorable by conferring knighthood upon the most illustrious of her subjects, Sir Isaac Newton[2]. A sumptuous dinner was then given to the royal visitor and her suite, in the Hall of Trinity College, which had been newly fitted up and decorated. Whoever is acquainted with the large sums which *Alma Mater* has since expended on public objects, will be surprised to learn that she was then so poor, as to be compelled to borrow 500*l.* for the purpose of this entertainment[3]. The royal party, after attending evening service at the magnificent chapel of King's College, took leave of the University, and returned the same night to Newmarket.

Sike, the oriental scholar.

Bentley, from his first coming to Trinity College, lived principally in a select knot of intimate friends, with whom his intercourse was constant and familiar. For two of these, Ludolph Kuster, and Henry Sike, he procured, on the day of the Queen's visit, the degree of Doctor of Laws in the University; an academical rank, which circumstances rendered peculiarly desirable to them both. Of Kuster's history we have already spoken: Sike was a native of Bremen, and, like the other, a scholar of fortune: having obtained great distinction for his knowledge of oriental literature at the University of Utrecht, he published a version of one of the Apocryphal Gospels from the Arabic, and, jointly with Kuster, engaged in the composition of the literary journal, called *Bibliotheca Novorum Librorum.* His merits being made known at Cambridge by his friend and colleague, Bentley formed the idea of bringing him over, and raising him to the station of Hebrew Professor, a post in which a vacancy was shortly expected. This scheme was in agitation as early as 1702, and gave great satisfaction to the venerable Grævius, by whom, as well as the other scholars of Utrecht, Sike was highly

Doctors of Divinity, among whom occur the well-known names of Robert Mosse, William Fleetwood, Samuel Bradford, and Andrew Snape; and three Doctors of Physic, one of whom was her Majesty's physician, the cele rated Dr. Arbuthnot.

[2] The two persons who had the honour of receiving knighthood along with Sir Isaac Newton, were Sir John Ellys, Master of Caius College, the Vice Chancellor, and Sir James Montagu, the University counsel, afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. *Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts,* vol. ii. p. 355.

[3] Grace Book, April 2, 1705. From some expressions in the controversial pamphlets in 1710, I infer that the expense of this academical banquet was not less than one thousand pounds.

esteemed for his learning and character [4]. There were, however, certain difficulties in the way of the project, which it required all Bentley's address to overcome. The statute of foundation for the Hebrew professorship requires that the candidates must personally present themselves to be examined by the electors, and that they must have the degree of Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity, or, at the least, of Master of Arts. It is indeed specified, that if a majority of the electors should deem an absent person most deserving, the election shall be postponed to give him an opportunity of appearing. The vacancy having taken place, by the resignation of Mr. Talbot, the Master of Trinity, being one of the seven electors, availed himself of this clause, and induced a majority to declare the election postponed till Sike should appear: in the meantime, Mr. Bouquet, Fellow of Trinity College, was named to fill the office, and receive the salary [5]. By this contrivance the time of election was made to depend upon Sike's convenience; and since a meeting for the purpose could not take place without Bentley's concurrence, it was in effect postponed until they were certain of success. Accordingly, Sike having become a member of the University at the Royal Commencement, and the opportunity being found favourable, he was chosen Regius Professor of Hebrew [6]. Bentley not only assigned him good chambers in Trinity, but recommended all oriental students to his instruction: and, to render his situation still more advantageous, admitted pupils under him as one of the public tutors of the College.

Feb. 3, 1703-4.

April 24, 1705.

Elected Hebrew Professor.

[4] Grævius says, in his last letter to Bentley, Dec. 1702: "Audio vos cogitare de provincia literas orientales docendi Sickio nostro mandanda: quod si feceritis, optime consuletis studiosis harum deliciarum. Non destituet vestram expectationem. Doctrinam ejus nosti: doctrinæ respondent mores ac vivendi ratio, quam vobis æque probabit ac eruditionem."

[5] The resolution made on that day is still extant in the Registry office, drawn up by Bentley's hand, and states, that the electors were unanimous in considering Sike *dignissimus*, though not unanimous in judging him capable of being elected. It is subscribed by the seven electors, at the head of whom is Sir William Dawes, afterwards Archbishop of York, who was then Deputy Vice-Chancellor.

[6] In the register of this election, Sike is specified to be 'Master of Arts in the University of Utrecht, and Doctor of Laws in our own.' It seems extraordinary that he did not receive at the Royal visit the degree of M.A. which would have been a more statutable qualification than that of LL.D.

CHAP. VIII. 1705.

Dr. John Brookbank.

Among the few with whom Bentley lived in a close intimacy was Dr. John Brookbank, a civilian, Fellow of Trinity Hall, and the Official of his archdeaconry. This gentleman is extolled as often as he is named, for the suavity of his manners, and the friendliness of his disposition. His character and consideration in the University must have been great, as I find that in the year 1692 he was a candidate to represent it in Parliament: although unsuccessful, he had a respectable poll, in which there appear many of the first names in the University; and, above all, he was honoured by the vote of Sir Isaac Newton[7].

Cottonian library.

At this period of his life Dr. Bentley used to pass several months of the year in London, attending his various duties of chaplain to the Queen, librarian, and member of the Convocation. Parliament having purchased the invaluable manuscript library collected by Sir Robert Cotton, along with the house on the banks of the Thames which bears his name, it was placed under the care of the Royal Library-keeper, and

Apartments at Cotton House.

apartments were fitted up for him in Cotton House, better and more commodious than those which he previously occupied at St. James's. We now find him mixing in the highest circles, and his society courted by the most eminent characters in the Church and in the State. The ascendancy of his talents was generally acknowledged, and public rumour marked him out as a probable aspirant to the episcopal dignity. Though on familiar terms with many of the great, our critic does not appear to have attached himself to any one in particular: however, an opinion was raised that Lord Halifax was his professed patron, from a

Verses on the death of Prince George of Denmark. 1708.

copy of Latin verses, in the *Threnodia* of the University of Cambridge, composed on the death of Prince George of Denmark. It has seldom happened that these official expressions of academical feeling have procured any literary honour to their authors; and Bentley's verses on this occasion, we must confess, do little credit to his judgment or delicacy. They are divided into three addresses; the first to the widowed Queen, the second to the Tomb, and the third to Charles Montague, Baron Halifax! the topics of the last being his promised edition of

[7] John Brookbank was originally a member of Trinity College, where he proceeded to the degree of B.A. in 1674-5, and of M.A. in 1678. Being afterwards Fellow of Trinity Hall, he became LL.D. in 1692.

Horace, and the noble statesman's own vein of poetry. This led to a general expectation, that the forthcoming Horace was to have been dedicated to that nobleman; a choice natural enough, from his having been formerly a Fellow of Trinity College, distinguished for the elegance of his scholarship, and now the professed Mæcenas of the age [8].

Bentley prints the text of Horace.

In the meantime the text of Bentley's Horace was committed to the University press. By a letter to Professor Sike, who was then at Oxford, examining oriental manuscripts, it appears that in August 1706, he was diligently employed in correcting the sheets, and hoped to have the publication ready in the ensuing spring [9]. But the method

[8] As some readers may be curious to see a specimen of this poetical *luctus*, I shall treat them with the last of Bentley's three effusions.

" Carole, si tibi adhuc Collegî cura vetusti;
Quod tamen assidue nascitur, usque novum;
Si placuit nostro nitidus jam pumice Flaccus,
Quodque sibi vates dixerat, usque recens;
Gratia si veteris tibi pectore vivit amici:
Unam fer multis officiosus opem.
Sume, precor, citharam nimium nimiumque tacentem;
Verbaque cum plectro fortia junge gravi:
Effer, age, Heroem, stellantique insere Olympo:
Dircæusque iterum nubila tranet olor.
Nos etenim viles, corvi picæque, poëtæ
Vix pennas madida (turpe) levamus humo."

A former copy of the Doctor's elegiacs, on the death of the Duke of Gloucester, received a burlesque translation from Lord Jefferies, son of the infamous Chancellor. The above lines were honoured with a similar translation by some other hand.

[9] In this letter there is something too curious not to be quoted.

" Sir, *Trinity College, Aug.* 16, 1706.

" I received your kind letter, and am glad to hear you have met with such reception at Oxford, and particularly that you have employed your time so well in searching into the oriental manuscripts there. I hope in time the public will have a testimonial of your labours by something in print. The old Arabic Poems, and the Proverbs, will certainly be worth your editing, and bring a great honour to you, as well as benefit to learning. I send you here inclosed a letter, which came hither from Dr. Kuster; I presumed to open it, to see if there was any thing relating to me that required a present answer. I do not wonder that some of the Oxford men do talk so wildly about my Horace; but their tongues are better than their pens; and I am assured none of them will write against my notes. They have had enough of me, and hereafter will let me alone. Perhaps some little bantering book may come out incognito in English;

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

which he adopted, though intended for expedition, was ill calculated to accelerate its appearance. The text being printed off before the notes were written, it became necessary that the daring emendations introduced into Horace's verses, should be defended by arguments, which put into requisition all his learning and all his subtilty. Had the notes been printed at the same time with the text, it is more than probable that many of the boldest alterations would have been withheld. Bentley found also that little progress could be made except in his long vacations. Great were the expectations excited by this undertaking; but among continental scholars, by whom his peculiar strength was better understood than by himself, it appears to have been regretted that he was not occupied upon some Greek author: and particularly there was an earnest and universal wish that he would give the world his promised Hesychius.

Baron Ezechiel Spanheim.

Of all the distinguished personages with whom Bentley associated and corresponded, no one had a greater regard for him than the celebrated Ezechiel Spanheim, who was now become a Baron of the empire, and passed the last eight or nine years of his life as ambassador of the King of Prussia at the British court. This extraordinary man continued at the verge of fourscore, to unite diplomatic activity with intense application to study. Perhaps it would be hardly possible to find so remarkable an instance of the characters of the man of business, and the man of study, combined in the same individual. Being a counsellor, upon whose political sagacity and address his sovereign principally relied, he was now deeply occupied in those measures which exalted Prussia to the rank of one of the leading powers of Europe, and he was at the same time closely engaged in publishing his laborious and abstruse work on Ancient Coins. His letters to our critic,

but that none dare write in Latin, and set his true name to it, I am morally certain. However, if any one should do so, he has my free leave. *Quisque suo periculo.*

Ἄλλους ἐξενάριζ', ἀπὸ δ' Ἕκτορος ἴσχεο χεῖρας.

I have printed three new sheets in it this last fortnight, and I hope shall go on to finish by next spring. You seem to have promised my notes to Dr. Kuster upon Hesychius absolutely; whereas you know I did it conditionally, provided he would print it at Cambridge. Your friends here are all well; I wish you much happiness till I see you. R. Bentley."

several of which are preserved, testify high personal esteem, as well as admiration for his genius and learning; which, it will be remembered, that he had been one of the first to discover and proclaim. As a testimony of his regard, he presented Bentley with his portrait, which is bequeathed by the latter to Trinity College, to remain there as a memorial of their friendship.

Kuster's Suidas.

Bentley's other learned friend, Kuster, having now, by means of his patronage, completed the three noble volumes of his Suidas, their appearance raised the fame of the editor, while it excited public admiration at the spirit and liberality of the University of Cambridge in undertaking so magnificent a publication [10]. Shortly after he had established his reputation by this work, he proceeded to assume his functions at Berlin; and by the management of his friend Bentley, his introduction to the notice of his royal master was particularly auspicious.

Jubilee at Frankfort on the Oder.

The University of Frankfort on the Oder having resolved to celebrate the centenary anniversary of its foundation with secular solemnities, invited various other Universities to assist by their deputies at this ceremony. The invitation sent to Cambridge was courteously accepted; and a deputation was nominated by the Senate, consisting of representatives in the different faculties. The King of Prussia presided at the solemnities; and Kuster, being attached to the delegation, was presented to him, attired in the scarlet robes of a Cambridge doctor, and received in the gracious manner which his merits and character demanded. There exists a curious letter from him to Bentley, in English, giving a detailed account of this academical jubilee: from which it appears that the deputation from the banks of the Cam was distinguished above those of all the other Universities; and an address was delivered to the King by Dr. Andrew Snape, the divine; another to the Prince Royal, by Dr. Penrice, the civilian; and a third to the Rector Magnificus, by Dr. Plumtre, the physician of the representative body [11].

April 26, 1706.

[10] This is particularly noticed in Le Clerc's *Bibliotheque Choisie*.

[11] An account of the solemnities was officially transmitted by the University of Frankfort to that of Cambridge, where it is preserved in the Public Library.

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

Immediately after this celebration, Kuster entered upon his office of Greek Professor in the academy at Berlin; but he soon found that the reputation which he had achieved drew upon him the jealousy of his colleagues, who, though his inferiors in other respects, possessed interest with the ruling powers; while his own former friends were either dead, or had left the capital. Kuster was a man of high and independent spirit, which could neither brook affronts and slights, nor descend to the methods necessary to ingratiate himself at court. Perhaps also a hastiness of temper might have contributed to make him take a precipitate resolution. Having allowed himself scarcely one month's trial of his situation, he determined to quit Berlin, and to pass the remainder of his life in the enjoyment of the freedom and the learned society to be found in Holland or in England. Having asked and obtained the King's permission, he betook himself to Utrecht, where he was kindly received by his old acquaintance, and found himself deservedly appreciated. Presently he resigned his situation at Berlin; whereupon the booksellers became the only resource to which he could look for subsistence. The reputation of his Suidas made them anxious that he should undertake a new edition of Hesychius; a work which he promised to execute, principally in reliance upon Bentley's emendations; well knowing how much they surpassed in worth the lucubrations of all other scholars, and what value and credit they would add to his edition. The Master of Trinity, who felt a sincere regard for Kuster, offered him the whole collection, but upon condition that the book should be printed at the Cambridge press; choosing that the fruit of his early studies should be issued to the world under his own eye, and from the bosom of his own Alma Mater [12]. Some difficulty and delay was thereby interposed, and Kuster had in the mean-time engaged for an edition of Jamblichus's Life of Pythagoras. Before this work was off his hands, he had yielded to the urgency of some booksellers, who imposed upon him the task of a new and complete edition of Aristophanes, for which there appeared to be a great demand; consequently Hesychius was again postponed.

Kuster dissatisfied with his situation at Berlin.

Goes back to Utrecht.

[12] See Bentley's letter to Professor Sike, quoted in the note, p. 148.

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

His edition of Aristophanes.

Kuster having now chosen to throw himself and his reputation into the hands of others, was compelled to put his great work to the press, with scarcely a minute's delay, and to adopt a plan for the edition which was in opposition to his own judgment, and to the earnest and repeated recommendation of his friend Bentley. Thus he inserted the whole of the Greek Scholia; not only the ancient and valuable collection first printed by Aldus, but the modern lucubrations of the French scholars Biset and Bourdin, which overload and incumber the pages of his folio, and detract from its real value as much as they increase its price. It was determined that nothing should be omitted which had appeared in the edition of Portus; accordingly, the Latin metrical versions occupy a column in each page contiguous to the Greek text. At the end of the volume is a valuable collection of all the commentaries upon Aristophanes then in existence; but their arrangement is highly inconvenient to the reader. The fact is, that Kuster was composing his own notes, while the press was occupied in re-printing those of other commentators. In vain did he wish for another year or two to devote to this great and important task: his finances, relying solely upon the profits of his pen, compelled him to obey the arrangements and the urgency of the Leipsic publisher, Fritch, who had undertaken to give him 150*l.* for the edition. His correspondence with Bentley at this period is very interesting. It was my good fortune to discover the originals of Kuster's letters, along with copies of two of Bentley's, amid a large collection of papers found in Trinity Lodge upon the death of the late Master, and I printed them soon afterwards in the seventh number of the *Museum Criticum*. The confidential manner in which the German opens his circumstances and feelings is very striking: he consults Bentley, for whom he entertained unbounded deference, upon rather heterogeneous topics; for instance, the readings of the comic poet, his own scheme for purchasing a life annuity, as soon as he could scrape together 600*l.*, and a private negotiation with some English minister, to whom the Aristophanes was to be dedicated. The last point was decided in favour of Lord Halifax; and of all the 'soft dedications' with which he was regaled, none was ever more soothing to his gentle

Correspondence of Kuster and Bentley.

1708.

CHAP. VIII. 1708.

ears, or better earned the 50*l.* or 60*l.*, which was thought a reasonable compliment to the dedicator of a folio [13]. Bentley did not spare his best exertions to serve his friend on this occasion. He gave him good counsel relative to the undertaking, of which, as we have seen, he was not suffered to avail himself; and not only transmitted a collation of the Lysistrata, along with some unpublished Greek Scholia, which he had copied from Vossius's manuscripts, while that collection was in England, but determined to put together, for the use of the edition, his own emendations of the Comedian. Accordingly, in the summer of 1708, he addressed to him three 'Critical Epistles,' containing observations upon the first two plays, the *Plutus*, and the *Clouds*: and had intended to proceed with the other nine, but found that even those were too late; for Kuster's own commentary, in which he had designed them to be incorporated, was already printed. The use which his friend made of his letters was to dissect them into the form of notes, omitting all the points on which he had himself anticipated them, as well as much of that playful and digressive style which gives them a peculiar interest with the reader. Fortunately, however, the two of which Bentley preserved copies, have now, after more than a century, been given to the world. There are scarcely any of the writings of our great critic which exhibit a more lively specimen of his acuteness, and perception of the elegancies of the Greek language, than may be found in these epistles. The reader of them will hardly fail to remark, that an edition of Aristophanes was the work which would have best suited the genius of Bentley: and every scholar must regret that he did not devote to this task some of the time which was passed in college squabbles, or in defending new readings of the Latin poets. It is not too much to say, that had he given his mind to such a work, no person ever lived who was so well qualified for an editor of the great Comedian of Athens. These specimens, it should be observed, were drawn up hastily, and after he had been for some years abstracted from that line of reading. Their style is animated and engaging: they abound, indeed, as much as any of his writings, with boastful and

Bentley's Critical Epistles on Aristophanes.

[13] Vid. Kusteri Epist. *Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. p. 412—415.

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confident expressions; but for this it is a good apology, that he never intended them to meet the public eye, having strictly enjoined his correspondent to embody the remarks in his own notes, and to give them in his own words [14]. This injunction Kuster could not follow, having already printed his own commentary; and in such haste, that his notes on one comedy, the Lysistrata, were written in a day and a half; and two other plays appear without any annotation whatever. The notes picked out of Bentley's epistles, are subjoined to those of Baron Spanheim, who in his old age, and in the midst of public business, found leisure to write a profound commentary on the three first plays. Having two such auxiliaries in the rear, Kuster sent forth his Aristophanes, with more credit than it really deserved [15].

Tiberius Hemsterhuis.

About the same period Bentley was engaged in a literary correspondence with Tiberius Hemsterhuis, the founder of the most distinguished sect of continental scholars. This personage, who was destined to hold among the literati of the eighteenth century a place second only to Bentley himself, was at that time a youth, and remarked among the learned of Holland for his surprisingly precocious attainments. A new edition of the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux had been for some time in progress at Amsterdam, when it was interrupted by the editor, Lederlin, being called away to a professorship in his native city of Strasburg. He had completed only seven books, and to finish the remaining three, young Hemsterhuis was engaged as a well qualified person. It was the venerable Grævius, the patriarch of literature, whose authority sanctioned this recommendation; and at his urgent persuasion the youthful scholar undertook a work requiring no common portion of learning and judgment, before he had attained his

[14] "Denique hoc oro te atque obsecro (quod antea facere memini) ut si quæ ex nostris tibi usui fuerint, ea in notis exhibeas, non meis verbis, nomine ad finem posito, ut fit in notis variorum; sed tuis, narrationis *σχήματι*, *sic emendat Bentleius*, &c.; et quoties castigationum rationes adjicis, non meis verbis quæ hic *αὐτοσχεδιάζω*, utaris; sed memor Epicharmi, *Εἶμα δῶς καὶ πορφύραν, λόγοισι ποικίλλων σοφοῖς*." *Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. p. 456.

[15] Notwithstanding the breathless haste with which this edition was got up, and which was so injurious to the author, to the editor, and to the reader, there was an unaccountable delay in the publication. Bentley's notes on the *Clouds*, the last matter in the volume except the Indexes, were sent to Kuster in August 1708; but the book was not forthcoming till the year 1710.

CHAP. VIII. 1708.

eighteenth year[16]! His performance bears many marks of juvenility, but exhibits at the same time an extent of erudition which is perfectly astonishing in a youth. Like Kuster, he complains of being hurried by the impatience of the bookseller, who was eager to derive the fruits of the expense bestowed upon the undertaking. Shortly before the publication of Julius Pollux, Hemsterhuis ventured to write to Bentley, whom he considered as the highest living authority, for his opinion and assistance respecting certain passages[17]: he received an immediate reply, with the Doctor's opinion upon all the subjects of consultation. The young Dutchman sent letters of thanks for this favour by the hands of two persons who failed to deliver them: at length, in the spring of 1708, Bentley received from him a letter of acknowledgement, with a present of some select Dialogues of Lucian, which he had just published. Nothing can exceed Hemsterhuis's expressions of gratitude for the condescension and favour of the great critic: he regrets that the hurry of the publisher had prevented the edition of Julius Pollux being enriched with his emendations; but promises to insert those, and any other remarks which Bentley would send him, in his *Curæ Secundæ*. The attention paid to this second application marks considerable good-nature in our Aristarchus. He transmitted to Hemsterhuis one of the richest literary despatches ever consigned to the post-office. First he relieved his young correspondent from all apprehension of having given offence by his silence, and then after some merited compliments to the learning, industry, and genius displayed in his work, he plainly tells him that his principal defects arose from the want of adequate skill in the ancient metres, and adds his urgent advice, that he should lose no time in acquiring this description of knowledge; which indeed appears to have been generally neglected by continental scholars. As example is usually found to have more weight than precept, Bentley took up the tenth book of Julius Pollux, and examined all the comic fragments which it contains; correcting the

Correspondence with Bentley.

Bentley's Critical Epistle on Julius Pollux.

[16] The character of Grævius, and particularly his kindness to young men of merit, is beautifully described by Hemsterhuis, in the preface to Julius Pollux, p. 24.

[17] This letter was written on the 4th of July, 1705, when he had been two years and a half employed on the work.

errors of the original, as well as those committed by Hemsterhuis himself, and restoring the true reading with incomparable neatness and ingenuity. This epistle not only displays his acute and happy perception of the language, but shews in a striking light the importance of that metrical skill on which he so justly prided himself. It proves, besides, great knowledge of the peculiarities of Attic phraseology and Attic customs; which I particularly notice, because some late writers have been disposed to deny him that qualification.

Its effect upon Hemsterhuis.

The effect of this letter upon Hemsterhuis was remarkable, and is well described by his celebrated pupil, David Ruhnken, in the *Elogium* with which he has honoured his memory. The restoration of the comic fragments was the very part of his work upon which he had bestowed most pains, and thought he had acquitted himself most successfully. What then was his mortification, at finding that in almost every one of these attempts he had clearly failed; and that Bentley, without any greater assistance than himself, had by mere dint of learning and sagacity, restored the verses of the poets with success amounting to demonstration. In the first moments of chagrin, he determined to abandon his Greek studies altogether; and kept his resolution for about two months. He then began to consider that it was unfair to compare his own juvenile performances with those of Bentley, an experienced critic, and the first man of the age in that line of scholarship; and wisely judged, that it would be better to follow the advice of his correspondent, in endeavouring to correct the deficiencies which he had pointed out. To the honour of Hemsterhuis it is recorded, that he was in the habit of relating this anecdote, and his own feelings on the occasion, to young scholars, whom he wished to encourage; and that he never failed to speak of Bentley to the last day of his life with veneration, nor did he ever hear an attempt made to depreciate his merits without testifying offence [18].

[18] *Ruhnken. Elogium Hemsterhusii*, p. 23—27. Hemsterhuis kept the two Epistles of Bentley till his death, which happened in 1766. They were then found by his son and given by him to Ruhnken, who printed them at the end of the second edition of his *Elogium* in 1789. Bentley preserved a fair copy of his second letter, which, as well as the originals of Hemsterhuis's, is now lying before me.

CHAP. VIII. 1708.

Bentley's letters to other continental scholars.

I find that about this period Bentley was in correspondence with several other continental scholars, among whom the name of Adrian Reland, the orientalist, is the most distinguished. The homage and deference offered to him by them all, show the vast estimation which his publications had at this time acquired among the learned of other countries. Of his own letters, besides those to Kuster and Hemsterhuis, he kept a copy of one to Godfrey Richter of Jena[19]. From a letter of his to De Veil, a French scholar resident in London, the date of which I am unable to determine, it appears that his intense study by candle-light had produced a weakness of his eyes: which, however, he declares was relieved by an application of the insects called *multipedæ*[20]. This is the only time in Bentley's life that I observe any complaint of his eyes failing him; although he continued the constant exercise of them to extreme old age, in the most trying occupation of reading small Greek type, and manuscripts difficult to be decyphered.

Weakness of his eyes.

Bentley's children.

The offspring of Dr. Bentley's marriage were two daughters, Elizabeth and Joanna, and two sons, William and Richard[21]. William died shortly after his birth. Of the other three, mention will be made in different parts of these memoirs. The increase of his family was probably the cause which induced the Master to listen to the solicitations of some noble persons, and to take three or four young

He takes pupils as boarders in the lodge.

[19] This Richter published *Specimen Observationum Criticarum* in 1713, and an edition of Phædrus for schools in 1718. He wrote to Bentley, Aug. 1, 1708, with an offer to collate for him a MS. of Manilius, which he had found at Leipsic. Bentley's reply has lately been printed in Germany from the original.

[20] "Sed qua ratione oculis meis malefactum rogas? Non usque adeo canis annisque obsiti sumus. Sed quia noctu ad lucernam et quidem luce satis maligna, etiam in lecto supinus legere jam olim consueveram. Hinc illis prima mali labes. Verum haud longa mora contemptissimi animalculi beneficio, quam credo multipedam vocant, simul illi accusare suum, et nos libros (imprimis autem tuos) resumpsimus."

"Quod liceat Velî doctas mihi volvere chartas,
Ponitur hæc vobis gratia, Multipedæ:
At vobis maneat crebris, precor, imbribus uda,
Subque cavo quercus cortice tuta domus."

[21] All, except Elizabeth the eldest, were born in Trinity lodge. It appears from the register of All Saints' parish, that Joanna was baptised Sept. 1, 1703; William, Jan. 16, 1706-7, and buried three days afterwards; Richard, June 3, 1708.

men, students of the College, as pupils and boarders of his own. Their names were Edward Viscount Hinchinbrooke, Lord Kingston and his brother, and Sir Charles Kemys. These pupils remained inmates of the lodge only one year (1707). The Master, perhaps, found that attention to them absorbed too large a share of the leisure which this busy period of his life afforded. I apprehend that they stopped the progress of the Horace; and it is certain that they were the means of exciting a considerable clamour in the society. That the Head of the College should take private pupils, did not seem altogether consistent with his dignity; nor could it be agreeable to the Fellows, who thereby found themselves curtailed of their legitimate occupation. But it gave rise to a complaint of a still more invidious nature. The spirit and liberality of the Fellows of Trinity has always supplied their Master's lodge with various articles of housekeeping, as bread, beer, oil, fuel, &c. out of the common purse of the College, and that too without limitation; reliance being placed upon the delicacy and good feeling of their Head, that this indulgence would never be abused. But when they found the expense of these articles increased by the consumption of the pupils, for whose board no payment was made to the College, they began to grumble and to tax the Master with greediness and meanness. As each of the young men paid him the large sum of 200*l.* for board and lodging only, they certainly should have been regarded in a different light from the rest of his family. Bentley, when he heard of the dissatisfaction, treated it with contempt, observing that 'a few College loaves' were not to be put in competition with the honour brought to the society by these young patricians; and thought that he had amply repaid the cost, by putting into their chambers three sash windows at his own expense. But neither these arguments, nor the mention of some precedents in the time of former Masters (which, to say the truth, were not in point) could allay the discontent and disgust excited by the measure [22].

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Complaints of this measure.

During the period of which we are speaking, the exertions of Dr. Bentley to raise the character and improve the fabric of his college

[22] There is much said on this subject in *Bentley's Present State of Trinity College*, p. 19. *Blomer's Full View*, p. 161. *Miller's Remarks*, p. 186.

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were great and successful. In the course of a single year (1706) he undertook three works of magnitude and importance—the erection of an observatory, the foundation of a chemical laboratory and chemical lecture, and the refitting of the chapel upon a magnificent plan. The origin of the first work was this: Dr. Thomas Plume, Archdeacon of Rochester, had just founded and endowed a professorship of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy, making the Heads of Trinity, Christ's, and Caius Colleges, along with the Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, electors to the office. Among the young men chosen Fellows of Trinity, in the year 1705, was Roger Cotes, a native of Leicestershire; who exhibited such an extraordinary proficiency in natural philosophy and mathematics, with so great an original genius, as attracted the attention of the Master, and caused his determination to bring him forward into a field worthy of his merits. Having made him known to Sir Isaac Newton, as well as Mr. Whiston, the successor to the chair of that philosopher, and having obtained their testimony in his favour, Bentley proposed him as the first Astronomical Professor, and procured his unanimous election, while yet a Bachelor of Arts. No sooner had he accomplished this point, than he undertook to build a noble Observatory, that the study of astronomy, promoted by such a professor, and aided by such advantages, might become naturalized and permanent in Trinity College. For this purpose he instituted a subscription among the members of the College, and the lovers of science throughout the University, and thereby succeeded in erecting over the beautiful entrance of the College, called the King's Gate, an Observatory, stored with the best astronomical instruments which science could at that period produce. The expense, as commonly happens in such undertakings, greatly exceeded the sum contemplated: nor was the Master able to complete the purchase of the instruments, without appropriating to that purpose the money which, as we have seen, properly belonged to the library. He obtained a College order, assigning for ever the chambers over the gate to the Astronomical Professor and his assistant, who was to be a scholar of the College. In this station Cotes delivered his incomparable lectures on the sublimest subjects of natural philosophy for about ten years, when the world was prematurely deprived

Professorship of Astronomy.

Roger Cotes.

Jan. 1705-6. Bentley builds an Observatory.

Feb. 5, 1705 6.

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of that extraordinary genius. In his observations he was assisted by his young relation, Robert Smith, the worthy successor to his professorship. By these measures Bentley had the satisfaction of founding in Trinity College a school of natural philosophy of singular eminence, which has continued to produce some of the first scientific characters of our country, in an unbroken succession from that day to the present. Thenceforth Newtonian learning became one great pride of the place in which the mighty genius of its founder had been nurtured and matured; and the same College which gave birth to his discoveries, has been made a principal means of introducing the knowledge of them to the community. The great and solid glory of originating and fostering this school is due to Dr. Bentley; and it is just to observe, that at no period did his enemies, in the height of their animosity, venture to deny or detract from his credit in this particular.

Founds a school of Natural Philosophy.

It was at this time his favourite object to make Trinity College the focus of all the science in the University. With that view he procured for Professor Whiston chambers in the College adjoining the King's Gate; whereby he and his pupils enjoyed the full advantage and convenience of the observatory. Whiston mentions, in his Memoirs, that he gave a course of lectures on hydrostatics and pneumatics jointly with Cotes; and, with a degree of modesty not usual to him, acknowledges the great superiority of his colleague's share in the performance[23].

Professor Whiston.

John Francis Vigani, a native of Verona, having resided in Cambridge, and taught chemistry with reputation for about twenty years, received in the year 1702 a strong mark of the approbation of the University, by being invested with the title of Professor of Chemistry. To serve the purposes of science, and promote the celebrity of his College, Dr. Bentley resolved to transplant him and his lectures into Trinity. Accordingly he repaired and fitted up an old lumber house as an elegant chemical laboratory; and here Vigani regularly delivered his courses of lectures for some years. But, whatever might be the reason, the scheme of founding a school of chemistry was not perma-

Vigani, Professor of Chemistry.

Bentley prepares a chemical laboratory.

[23] *Whiston's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 118.

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nently successful. Some time elapsed after the death of Vigani, before the University appointed a successor to the professorship. Bentley's conduct in this business, like several of his laudable undertakings, did not escape an uncharitable construction. The College bowling-green happens to adjoin that part of the lodge in which the Master's study was situated; and parties of the Fellows, met to amuse themselves at the game of bowls, proved a frequent disturbance to the lucubrations of our Aristarchus [24]. Accordingly he aimed at delivering himself from this annoyance, and designed at the same time to enlarge the garden of the lodge, which is very confined, and lies contiguous to the bowling-green, by the addition of that ground. But no sooner had he propounded this scheme to the Fellows, than it met with their unanimous opposition, as an unwarrantable encroachment upon their comforts; and it was in vain that he descended to private solicitations to effect his purpose. But as it was observed that he did not easily abandon his projects, it was suspected that the fitting up the 'lumberhole' had some bearing upon this design; since, if ever the bowling-green should become part of his garden, it seemed a natural consequence that the laboratory would be transformed into his green-house. So strongly did this suspicion prevail, that when the Master applied to the Seniority to defray the expense bestowed on that building, (which was not till after the work had been executed) they consented only upon the express and recorded condition, that it should never be converted to any other purpose than that of a laboratory for the use of chemical, physical, and philosophical experiments [25].

College bowling-green.

Feb. 11, 1706-7.

Trinity Chapel.

The idea of giving a new interior to the chapel, the greatest of Dr. Bentley's improvements in Trinity College, appears to have originated in the following manner. Among the members of his club in London was the celebrated organ builder, Mr. Bernard Smith, who is universally known by the title given him by his contemporaries, of 'Father

[24] The following memorandum is found in a blank page of Bentley's Ephemeris for 1701: "July 26, 1701, Saturday. Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Porter, Mr. Green, and Mr. Leighton played at bowls in the College bowling-green all Chapel time, in the evening service: seen out of my window by me (who was then lame and could not be at Chapel) and Will. Saist."

[25] See *Miller's Remarks*, p. 68. *Blomer's Full View*, p. 119.

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Smith[26].' When he first became Master, this gentleman promised to make him a noble organ for his College Chapel. The magnificent instrument being now in a state of forwardness, Bentley considered it almost necessary that the chancel should be fitted up with becoming elegance for its reception. It happened at this time that the fabric itself was dilapidated, the roof being decayed and dangerous, and one of the walls in imminent hazard of falling. To repair the latter damage, Mr. Corker, a Senior Fellow, had, three years before, made a donation of 500*l.*; and several other benefactions, to the amount of 600*l.*, were appropriated to the same object. Fortified by these circumstances, the Master resolved to effect a complete reparation and new modelling of the whole building, with every suitable improvement and ornament; and thus to render it one of the handsomest chapels in Europe. But the College revenues being unequal to such an undertaking, he proposed to aid it by private subscription, and himself set the example by a liberal donation of 200*l.* Having thus taken the lead, he recommended to the Fellows that every one should subscribe the amount of his whole year's dividend, which was just payable. This must be acknowledged to have been a most unreasonable requisition; but such was the spirit pervading the society, and the determination not to be left behind in promoting a work which all had at heart, that almost every man complied. The amount of the dividend of a Senior was 50*l.*, and of a Junior, 25*l.*: these sums, though not large, constituted the principal income of the majority. To some who had small livings, pupils, or other resources, the sacrifice was comparatively light; but in most cases it proved highly distressing; particularly as in the years 1703 and 1704, owing to the great expenses of the College, only half a dividend had been received. Thus, in some instances it happened, that a person subscribed to the chapel more than he was worth in the world. In this measure Bentley emulated the example of his great predecessor, Dr. Barrow, who had, by an appeal to the members of his College, secured funds for the erection of a library. But though that

Organ built by Bernard Smith.

Bentley's plan for a new interior of the chapel.

Subscriptions of the Fellows.

[26] See an account of 'Father Smith,' in *Noble's Biographical History*, vol. ii. p. 362. He did not live to complete the organ of Trinity: it was finished, 'by tuning and voicing,' by his son-in-law, Christopher Schrider, according to a resolution of the Master and Seniors, May 3, 1708.

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magnificent work cost more than 18,000*l.* so judicious were the arrangements, that the burden was less felt than that of the present undertaking [27].

[27] The list of the subscribers for repairing and beautifying Trinity Chapel has, I believe, never been printed. It is true that acknowledgments come too late when more than 120 years have passed: however, as I know no instance in which donations have been so liberal in reference to the means of the contributors, it seems but an act of justice to give the Subscription of 1707 from the original copy.

	£.	s.		£.	s.		£.	s.
Richard Bentley, D.D.	200	0	John Reddington	25	0	Ward Ashenhurst	25	0
W. Stubbe, D.D.	100	0	Conyers Middleton	25	0	Laurence Brodrick	20	0
William Mayer	50	0	John Barnwell	25	0	Robert Lumley	20	0
George Modd	40	0	Marshal Greswold	70	0	Abraham Franke	30	0
Edward Bathurst	40	0	Thomas Hill	25	0	George Tollet	25	0
M. Hutchinson, D.D.	30	0	Thomas Rud	5	0	James Jurin	25	0
John Colbatch, D.D.	30	0	J. Baker	25	0	Vyner Snell	30	0
Stephen Cressar, B.D.	30	0	George Jeffreys	25	0	Robert Parran	25	0
HenryFirebrace,D.D.	50	0	Gilbert Malkin	25	0	Alexander Burrell	30	0
Nath. Hanbury, B.D.	20	0	Ed. Rud	25	0	William Smyth	25	0
Wm. Ayloffe, LL.D.	30	0	Samuel White	25	0	Anthony Corbiere	30	0
John Cooper, B.D.	20	0	Phillips Gretton	26	5	Christopher Hussey	25	0
Edmund Miller	60	0	Roger Cotes	25	0	Ri. Walker	25	0
James Brabourn, B.D.	20	0	John Wyvill	25	0	Henry James, S. Th. Prof. Reg.	20	0
Thomas Blomer	25	0	William Chamberlayn	30	0			
Henry Sike, LL.D.	30	0	John Felton	25	0	William Herring, *of Cambridge, draper*	10	0
Henry Colman	50	0	Samuel Knight	25	0			
John Hacket	50	0	Henry Eden	30	0	Sir John Ellys, *M. of Caius Coll.*	10	0
John Whitfield	20	0	William Wade	25	0			
James Bankes	20	0	Griff. Williams	20	0	D.Hopkins,D.D. *Rector of Fakenham*	20	0
William Drury	20	0	Phil. Bouquet, B.D.	18	0			
Montague Lloyd	32	0	Edmund Stubbe	30	0	Henry Campion, Esq. *of Kent*	50	0
John Williams	25	0	Henry Hawes	10	0			
John Paris	25	0	James Malled	20	0	John Yardley	10	0
John Craister	25	0	John Towersey	25	0	John Valavine	10	0
William Andrews	20	0	Matthew Barwell	20	0	Dr. Bowes	10	10
John Laughton	50	0	John Heylyn	5	0	Mr. Ral. W. Cradock	10	10
Montagu Bacon	30	0	Mordecai Cary	5	0	Mr. Trevor	50	0
Bradgate Ferrand	5	0	Edward Smith	21	0	Mr. William Sotheron	10	10
Richard Stokes	20	0	Laurence Eusden	10	0	Mr. T. Micklethwaite	5	5
Hon. Wm. Kingston	100	0	Paul Jenkinson	10	0	P. Wagener, *Rector of Stistead, Essex*	5	5
Samuel D'Oyly	25	0	Robert Uvedale	25	0			
Thomas Pilgrim	25	0	James Uvedale	25	0			
Nicholas Clagett	25	0	Ralph Welstead	20	0	Total	£2674	5

In the heading of the above subscription for repairing and beautifying the College Chapel, it is stated that the expense of it may amount to about 3000*l.*

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In order to facilitate the execution, 1000*l.* was borrowed at five per cent., which was a low rate of interest at the time: and this sum the Master lent to the College from Mrs. Bentley's fortune. It is an instance of the violence of party prejudice that this act was afterwards objected against him as usurious, and made matter of judicial charge before the Visitor.

The Master lends 1000*l.*

The whole arrangement and superintendance of the work, as well as the disbursement of the money, was committed to Professor Cotes. It must add to the interest with which this chapel is viewed, to learn that it was beautified under his auspices and direction: at the same time many perhaps will regret that so much of the brief period that this extraordinary genius was indulged to the world, should have been devoted to such employments as collecting subscriptions, and overlooking the operations of masons and carvers.

The work superintended by Prof. Cotes.

The work, though beautifully executed, and worthy of the College, was productive of extreme uneasiness and agitation. The expense exceeded 6000*l.*; and the private subscriptions of the Fellows, though they absorbed most of their year's revenue, amounted to little more than a third of that sum: and notwithstanding the assistance from other members, a large deficiency remained for the College stock to defray. Hence, in subsequent years, they found their expected income anticipated by the cost of the chapel, and several of them became involved, from no fault of their own, in debts and embarrassments. An outcry was immediately raised against the Master, as the author of this distress; and their ill-will was augmented by reports of his having spoken of their circumstances in terms of unfeeling levity. On one occasion, when the subject was mentioned, he is said to have replied, that "he expected their complaints, but that it would be all one twenty years hence[28]." And it is recorded, as a proof of his contemptuous treatment of those who had so largely and painfully contributed to the work, that when one of the Seniors enquired what he proposed doing to a particular part under reparation, he was told that

Distress of the Fellows.

[28] Blomer, in his '*Full View*,' p. 125, declares that Dr. Bentley made this speech, which he terms 'barbarous,' in his hearing. But the words have not necessarily the application which he affixes to them: Bentley might have been speaking of unreasonable complaints.

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'he would know when it was done.' A settled ill-humour was now engendered in the Society, which discovered faults and bad intentions in every step and every expression of their Master.

Bentley's financial measures.

The extraordinary charge upon the College stock led Dr. Bentley to turn his attention to methods of improving its revenues, and economizing its ordinary expenditure; and these financial subjects appear to have occupied much of his time and thoughts in the years 1706 and 1707. A large portion of the College rents, being, by Act of Parliament, paid in corn and malt, or in sums equivalent to the value of those articles in the Cambridge market on stated days, much collusion had existed from tenants influencing their prices, in order to defraud the College: such practices were now met by strict and efficient regulations of the Master, which secured that important portion of the revenue. But his measures for domestic retrenchment caused so much offence, that it may be doubted whether they did not occasion greater evils than they remedied. The character of a fiscal reformer is generally invidious; and in order to produce real good, requires to be moderated by judgment and discretion. A great establishment, like Trinity College, is unavoidably exposed to the waste or imposition of servants and dependants. At that time the state of things called aloud for reformation: how the Master corrected one department of the system shall be related in his own words.

Retrenchments.

Pandoxator.

"The pandoxatorship[29] had been so managed, that there were four bakers in one office, and four brewers in the other; each independent of any other, and having a salary to himself: whereby the work was done negligently, and perpetual complaints made without means of redress. There was a clerk too, or supervisor of both offices, who having annually laid out many hundred pounds of College money for wheat and malt, had not bought one bushel in the open market for above twenty years before I came thither. The pandoxator too had carved well for himself, and besides other emoluments, had (as it were on purpose to puzzle the accounts) the 32d part of the yearly gain: and to enhance his own perquisite, had for many years placed that on the account of gain, which was manifestly on the side of charge and loss. To remedy all these evils at once, *without any consent at all of the governing part*, (for that was not to be hoped for, and the statutes in that case required it not), in 1707 I displaced this clerk, and four

[29] "Trinity College for above a hundred years has had a bake-house and brew-house of its own; and the Senior Fellow, who looks after those offices, is called *pandoxator*." *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 22.

bakers, and four brewers at once, made a contract with one baker and one brewer to do the whole work for about half the charge, settled a certain salary of *20l. per ann.* upon the pandoxator (as a premium to the Seniority, though the very office might have been drop'd and spar'd), caused all the corn ever since to be bought in the open market, gained thereby some hundred pounds a year to the College, which since that time has had the best bread and beer in the whole University." *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 23.

In this reform there might have been nothing wrong, except the autocratic exercise of authority by which it was effected. But in controlling the expenses of the College festivals, Dr. Bentley suffered his zeal for economy to impair the character of hospitality, which had always distinguished that noble foundation. On the various feasts of the Church, the two audit days, and the Founder's Commemoration, it had been an immemorial practice for the College to entertain a large party from the rest of the University in its capacious Hall. On Trinity Sunday in particular, the Heads and other dignitaries were invited, and made it a point to pay respect to the College by dining in their robes. The Master finding that the charge of these festivals had become enormous, and amounted on some one day to thirty shillings a head, instead of making such regulations as should obviate the abuses, while the hospitality and splendour were preserved, adopted the unfortunate plan of forbidding the invitations altogether; strictly limiting the charge to a sum sufficient to provide a good dinner for the members of the House, and ordering that if any one introduced a guest, he should pay his quota himself. This order was fatal to all public hospitality; and the society, mortified at the abolition of what they regarded one of their glories, gave a harsh interpretation to this measure, and considered it as a paltry saving of money, to be devoted to the expenses of the Master's private establishment.

College feasts.

The stewardship of the College having descended in its triennial course to Mr. Jordan, a Fellow who is stated to have been sometimes affected in his intellects, Bentley discovered, on examining his accounts at the audit, that he had charged 50*l.* for the article of wine, beyond what had been usual in one year: and as he could give no reasonable account of the excess, he caused the poor man to be fined that sum, and deposed from his office, with all publicity of disgrace. As there was no suspicion of wilful malversation, and as he appeared to have

Jordan the steward.

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been imposed upon by others, this was a very severe proceeding: indeed it was felt to be so three years afterwards, when the penalty was remitted, upon condition of his subscribing 30*l.* towards the repairs of the chapel. The Master seized this opportunity 'while' (to use his own expression) 'the iron was hot,' and extorted the consent of the Seniority to an arrangement, by which the two fiscal offices of junior bursar and steward were confined to the younger part of the society. The statutes exclude from them all Bachelors or Doctors of Divinity; and it was now enacted that thenceforth none should be elected, who were above seven years standing as Masters of Arts; that being the earliest period at which a theological degree can be taken: at the same time the emoluments of the two places were reduced to the original salaries of 4*l.* and 3*l.* a measure intended only to serve a temporary purpose, by removing an obstacle to a favourite plan of the Master's, which will shortly be developed. Indeed it was not equitable, that, while the stipends of other offices were augmented in proportion to the altered value of money, these two, which did not remunerate the holders with rank or dignity, should be brought back to their original allowance: nor was it reasonable to expect gentlemen to devote their time and attention to these troublesome departments, for so paltry a consideration.

Bentley's economy descended to such minute particulars, that he made a decree against any Fellow being allowed to receive his commons in his chambers instead of the Hall, except with the special permission of the Master or his deputy: a regulation tending not so much to save money, as to make himself the arbiter of the comforts of those, whose health or convenience might require such an indulgence.

Pandoxator's dividend.

In years of great expense, when there remained no other money to distribute, the emoluments of the Fellows were confined to their commons, a small statutable stipend, and 'the pandoxator's dividend.' The last was so called from its having originated in a surplus stock in that officer's department. It was fixed at the following sums: 20*l.* to the Master; 10*l.* to each of the eight Seniors; and 5*l.* to each of the other Fellows, who had resided in College not less than half the year.

Dec. 1707.

At the audit of 1707, Bentley, declaring that these proportions were

objectionable, and that the money ought to be divided like the rest of the College stock, put a final period to 'the pandoxator's dividend,' by force of his prerogative; as it could not be issued without the Master's consent. His object was not the correction of an abuse; for this dividend had, in fact, the advantage of priority over the other: but he found it an obstacle to a grand financial scheme then in his contemplation. The season chosen for its abolition was unfortunate; since it aggravated the distress, and increased the murmurs of the Fellows [30].

Malversation in electing a Fellow.

For the first five or six years of his mastership, in all elections to scholarships and fellowships he had regarded only the merit of the candidates; and, in consequence, a series of able and deserving young men had been admitted into the society. But at the election in 1706, Oct. 1, 1706. he is stated to have made the first deviation from the rule of merit. The Vice Master, Dr. Wolfran Stubbe, a much respected personage, who had formerly filled the Hebrew professorship, was generally a supporter of the Master's measures: among the candidates was his nephew and heir, Edmund Stubbe, a young man who is represented as a profligate, and in every way unworthy of the station. Bentley, to gratify the old gentleman, proposed and elected him a supernumerary Fellow, to succeed upon a 'presumed vacancy.' In this act, there was a two-fold malversation. The candidates for fellowships being superannuated when of the standing of Masters of Arts, there had formerly been a custom of pre-electing to future vacancies. This practice, though not expressly forbidden by the statutes, was contrary to their general spirit, as discouraging the emulation of students, by pre-occupying what ought to be their rewards. It had, accordingly, been strictly prohibited by a Royal Letter of King James I. Dr. Bentley, at the same time that he condemned pre-elections, termed this act only a *presumption*; thereby taking a distinction between the two cases, which made no practical difference. Having once ventured upon this step, he had frequent recourse to the same method; and in the following year, two more fellows were elected by 'presumption.'

Pre-elections.

[30] Bentley's *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 22. Miller's *Remarks*, p. 66—71. *True State of Trinity College*, p. 40.

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The choice of an unworthy person, whom he afterwards termed 'the worst character that ever entered a college,' was never insisted upon by his accusers, out of tenderness towards the uncle, Dr. Stubbe; but it became known in the world; and we are told by Whiston that, in his opinion, the present was Bentley's first breach of integrity, and that 'having made this deviation from the path of justice he never afterwards returned to it[31].'

Expulsion of two Fellows.

The Master continued to take such liberties in the administration of Trinity College, as prove that he considered himself absolute and irresponsible. Of this a glaring instance occurs in the expulsion of two Fellows, *propter crimina majora*, both of whom he allows to have been 'men of good learning and excellent parts,' but adds, that 'they were on these very accounts more dangerous to the society, having fallen into such ill courses and enormities, as could not be tolerated there, without infecting and ruining all the youth[32].' The first was Wyvill. Mr. John Wyvill, whose offence consisted in having cut to pieces some College plate, with an intention, as was supposed, of melting and selling it. Of his guilt there was no doubt; but his expulsion was summary, without the forms of the statute, which enacts that this punishment shall be inflicted only with the consent of the Master and major part of the eight Seniors, after a regular citation, hearing, and proof of guilt[33].

[31] *Whiston's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 106. His account of this transaction, though he places it three years too early, is substantially correct, as I find from MSS. observations written by persons in College at the time. Indeed, he asserts that Bentley himself told him that in this instance he had stepped from the rule *Detur Digniori*, and that he had done it with reluctance. I find it also stated that this Edmund Stubbe had paid attention to a niece of the Master, then visiting at the lodge, and that a marriage was in contemplation: in which case Dr. Stubbe's fortune, not less than 10,000*l.*, was to have been settled on the young couple. If there be good foundation for this story, it will at least prove that Bentley, at the time of the election, could not have been aware of the badness of his character. He proved a disgrace to the college; but fortunately in about four years he relieved it, by marrying an innkeeper's daughter at Newmarket.

[32] *Letter of the Bishop of Ely*, p. 29.

[33] John Wyvill was B.A. in 1701-2 and elected Fellow in 1704. He was one of the representatives of the University, in the deputation sent to Frankfort on the Oder, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It is possible that he might have distressed himself by his expenses on that occasion. He confessed in a letter to the Master the justice with which he

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Breval.

The other Fellow expelled at the same time was John Durant Breval, son of Dr. Breval, a Prebendary of Westminster; who had been guilty of some foolish or criminal conduct in Berkshire. He was suspected of an improper connection with a married lady; and on her experiencing harsh usage from her jealous husband, he interfered for her protection: the result was that he beat the husband, and was held to bail for the assault. Conceiving, however, that there was an informality in the proceedings against him, he neglected to appear at the assizes, and was in consequence outlawed. In this stage of the business, Dr. Bentley laid before the Seniority the case of the two delinquents, and proposed their immediate expulsion. Respecting Wyvill little or no opposition was made; though the Board did not conceive that this discussion amounted to a final sentence, and no entry to that effect was made in the College register. But to such a proceeding against Breval, some of the Seniors expressed their positive objection; observing that of the two offences charged against him, the only one for which he was liable to expulsion, the adultery, rested upon mere rumour and suspicion; adding, that if they proceeded upon such grounds, to deprive him of his freehold, 'he would have an action against the College.' This apprehension the Master treated with contempt, saying, that 'his father was just dead in poor circumstances, and all his family were beggars.' Subsequently to the meeting, he entered in the Conclusion-book the following memorandum, the wording of which is peculiar: "April the 5th, 1708. Ordered by the Master and Seniors, that the two Fellowships, late of Mr. Wyvill and Mr. Breval, be declared void." But it was deposed by several of the Seniors, that no consent was given at the Board, and no entry made in their presence. In this proceeding, which is one of the clearest cases of malversation proved against him, Bentley seems to have believed that he had extorted a sort of consent from his council, and so little was he accustomed to have his measures crossed, that he held

Illegality of the proceeding.

had been treated. Subsequently he bore a good character, and became Chaplain to the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton. At the trial of the Master, when this expulsion was made one of the articles of accusation, Wyvill refused to bear evidence against him, declaring that he had no ground of complaint.

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in contempt all forms that stood in the way of his sovereign will. The sentence itself he believed to be just. We find, indeed, Breval some years afterwards asserting upon oath his innocence of the adultery, and his belief that the Master, in thus oppressing him, was actuated by pique, against himself, for a refusal to vote according to his wishes at an election, and against his father, owing to some dispute in the Convocation. But irregular as the exercise of power certainly was, there is no reason to suppose him influenced by those or any other sinister motives. The presumption of Breval's guilt was very strong; nor was it diminished by the pretence of his friends, that 'he was a sort of romantic Platonic lover[34].' The Master alleged in defence of his conduct towards this gentleman, that 'he had been guilty of gambling with young men of the College, and winning their money;' a charge which, if true, called for immediate expulsion. But as no mention had been made of it at the time, this allegation supplies no justification of his proceeding.

Account of Breval.

Mr. Breval having nothing to depend upon but his fellowship for subsistence, immediately joined the army in Flanders as a volunteer, and soon obtained an ensign's commission. Here his talents, address, and skill in different languages, attracted the notice of the Duke of Marlborough, who employed him in several negotiations. Having served in the army with reputation, on the return of peace he travelled through Europe with Lord Malpas, and published an account of his tour in three folio volumes. He afterwards became a wit and poet of some note about town, and produced various dramatic pieces at the theatres. But at length, in a luckless hour, he provoked the resentment of Pope by writing a farce called 'The Confederates,' in ridicule of 'Three Hours after Marriage,' the rejected production of Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay; and was accordingly exalted into the unenviable immortality of the Dunciad[35].

[34] *Miller's Remarks on Dr. Bentley's Letter*, p. 81. Blomer, who was a friend of Breval, and nearly of the same standing, mentions that in reference to Dr. Bentley's usage of him, he said, '*tantum non jugulavit.*' *Full View of Dr. Bentley's Letter*, p. 76.

[35] See an account of Captain Breval in *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 254.

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Many other of his acts show that Dr. Bentley did not entertain the least apprehension of being called to account before a superior. He chose a layman as one of the four *Sacellani* or *Conducts*, whose duty is to read prayers daily in the College chapel; telling him that he would dispense with his taking Orders, and allow him to hold his appointment till seven years after his Master of Arts' degree[36]. He assigned to Mr. Hacket, one of the Fellows, a small piece of garden ground, hitherto used by the College cooks for growing kitchen herbs; saying, that he exercised this right 'as lord of the soil.' Finding that his measures excited much outcry in the society, he resolved to check the rising spirit of sedition by a new and extraordinary mode of punishment; *discommuning* those Fellows whom he designed to censure. Thus he 'put out of commons' Mr. Barwell, who was approaching to the rank of a Senior, because he was in the habit of condemning the proceedings of the Master: he inflicted the same punishment on Mr. Eden, the junior bursar, for hesitating to pay a bill for some work done at the Master's premises; and on two or three other Fellows upon different pretences[37]. For this exercise of power, he alleged the authority of the statutes, which occasionally specify, as a penalty of minor offences, *commeatu menstruo privetur* or *mulctetur*. But for the legal punishment of a Fellow, the consent of the Seniority was required: besides, this sort of penalty, though used as a mode of admonishing refractory students for neglect of College duties, appears never before to have been inflicted upon those of senior standing: when exercised on persons in Holy Orders, and officers of the establishment, it became an unseemly and intolerable

Strong measures of the Master.

He discommunes some Fellows.

[36] This was done in imitation of the provision of a totally different statute, which allows the *Fellows* to remain laymen till that period. But it is indispensible that the *Conducts* shall be clergymen. "*Quatuor sint presbyteri, et appellentur Sacellani.*"

[37] Eden demurred to the payment of 15*l.* for a hen-house, which the Master had erected in his yard, alleging that it was done without leave of the Seniors. Bentley told him, when he 'put him out of commons,' that *he would not be kicked by an ass.* As this measure was speedily followed by the Bursar's submission, and the payment of the bill, it was observed in College, that the Master, by calling him *an ass*, had made him appear one ever since. *Miller's Remarks*, p. 175.

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indignity. To all complaints of this proceeding, he replied, that 'it was but *lusus jocusque*,' and that he 'was not warm yet[38].'

Attempts to take away the combination room.

These and several other particulars of Bentley's government continued to excite discontent; and the outcry was increased by the profuse expenditure of the Lodge, which, it must be confessed, had become much greater than under any of his predecessors. He soon discovered that 'the Combination Room,' where the Society are in the habit of assembling after dinner, was the place in which he and his proceedings were loudly and continually censured; and he bethough him of a desperate expedient, to silence at once the voice of opposition, by taking away the scene on which it was exerted. He accordingly attempted to deprive the Fellows of their Combination Room, and to convert it into chambers; alleging, that the statutes had made no mention of such a place of meeting (although every other College in England possessed one), and urging that it was a source of mischief and dissention. The unanimous resistance of the Society made him abandon this scheme, but the attempt was long remembered with indignation and resentment.

Aspires to the bishoprick of Chichester.

The feuds in Trinity College had not yet attracted public notice; while the great and successful efforts of the Master to advance the splendour and credit of the Society were generally known, and prepared people to witness his further advancement. On the vacancy of the bishoprick of Chichester, in April 1709, Dr. Bentley was a candidate for that dignity. This fact I discover from two letters, which have been preserved, addressed by his friend Baron Spanheim to the Earl of Pembroke and Bishop Moore, soliciting their interest with the Queen in his favour, and urging that such a promotion would be attended with the universal applause of the learned throughout the world. These letters I copy in a note, as a specimen of the address

[38] See *Miller's Remarks*, p. 120. *Blomer's Full View*, 94. *The True State of Trinity College*, p. 50 and 81. Dr. Bentley, in his *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, defends this 'discommuning,' urging that it was not so much a punishment, as 'a reprehension, a disgrace, a denouncing an accusation;' and adding, that 'the parties themselves submitted, asked pardon for their faults, and returned thanks to him for the clemency of his proceeding.'

and delicacy, as well as zeal, with which the veteran diplomatist endeavours to serve his friend in a matter, where his proper character of an ambassador gave him little pretence for interference[39]. The

[39] *A My Lord Comte de Pembroke, Grand Admiral de la Grande Bretagne.*

A Londres le 27 Avril, 1709.

My Lord, Je suis bien redevable a la bonté, avec laquelle il a plu a Vostre Excellence de prendre part a l'estat de ma santé, laquelle, par la grace de Dieu, se trouve autant que retablie, et à me donner lieu de luy en aller temoigner en peu de jours ma reconnoissance. Que pensera-t-Elle cependant de la liberté que je prends de luy dire, que j'aprens que l'Evesché de Chichester se trouve vaquant, et que Mons^r^. le Docteur Bentley est sur les rangs pour y pouvoir estre avancé par la grace de Sa Majesté Britannique. Je sçay que V^re^. Excell^ce^. en connoist le merite, et n'ignore pas, qu'il est consideré non seulement en Angleterre, mais encore dans les pays etrangers pour un des plus sçavans hommes de nostre temps, et un des ornemens de sa nation. En sorte que le choix d'un si digne personnage à cette dignité, s'il venoit à avoir lieu, ne pourroit que rencontrer une approbation generale. Et bien qu'il ne convienne en aucune maniére à un Ministre Etranger, comme moy, de me mesler en ce que peut regarder des affaires ou des établissemens du dedans du Royaume, l'estime particuliére que je fais et du merite et de l'amitié du dit Docteur Bentley, et la connoissance que j'ay de l'estime que V^re^. Excell^ce^. en fait, m'a donné cette confiance qu'Elle ne prendroit pas en mauvaise part, si je luy marquois par ces lignes, combien je serois sensible à l'appui et l'approbation qu'il luy plairoit de contribuer en faveur de cette promotion du Docteur Bentley à l'Evesché de Chichester. Je la supplie au moins de me pardonner cette liberté, et de me croire avec des attachemens particuliers, &c.

E. Spanheim.

Reverendissimo Viro, Joanni Moro, *Episcopo Eliensi, S. P. D.* E. Spanhemius.

Nescio quid de me statues, quod intermissa fuerint aliquamdiu mea te conveniendi, partumque semel eruditæ tuæ consuetudinis amicitiæque usum excolendi ulterius officia. Mitto, quod a pluribus septimanis gravi catharro adfectuque pectoris molesto laborarim, unde vix adhuc plane convalui. Illud vero, quod nunc forte se mihi offert, scribendi ad te argumentum haud omittere potui; idque eo magis, quod istud tibi haud ingratum fore, neque a te alienum, possum facile arbitrari. Fato functum præteritis diebus Episcopum Cesterciensem; ac simul inter illius pontificii candidatos exstare Cl. D^rem^. Bentleium, uno eodemque tempore ad me relatum est. Quum vero, non solum ex quo pedem in hanc Britanniam ante octennium, hujusce mei muneris, quo fungor hactenus, intuitu, intuli, mihi cum eo, ob singularem in omni literarum genere doctrinam, amicitiæ usus intercesserit; sed jam ante ex editis aliquot Dissertationibus, ad Malelam Antiochenum in primis, ut nascens tum eruditæ Britanniæ sidus et ornamentum, quamquam plane ignotum hactenus, publice celebrassem, non potui non, ut hanc ornatissimam spartam vir doctissimus amicissimusque posset consequi, animosus optare. Etsi eadem opera haud minus intelligerem, neutiquam, Ministrum Principis externi decere, ut se rebus vestris interioribus, minime autem Ecclesiasticis immisceat; neque id etiam a me hic agi omnino profitear. Id vero pridem mihi constat, quo loco ipse Bentleium habeas; ut non sim dubius, quin sponte patrocinio tuo, et apud Serenissimam Potentissimamque Reginam commendatione, hoc ejus incrementum sis prosequuturus; unde non in hac solum Britannia, sed foris etiam commendatissimi nominis virum

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quarters to which the Baron addressed his applications were judiciously chosen. The Queen had lately shewn, by her nomination of Dr. Blackall and Sir William Dawes to the sees of Exeter and Chester, in opposition to the recommendation of her prime minister, that she was determined to follow her own will in such appointments. Of all the ministers who had then access to her Majesty, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord High Admiral, was supposed to have the greatest share of her confidence; and she was known to be in the habit of consulting Bishop Moore upon ecclesiastical subjects. The solicitations made on this occasion were unsuccessful; but they probably were not without some effect; as we find from a letter of a cabinet minister, in the following year, on the vacancy of the bishoprick of Bristol, that Dr. Bentley was understood to be in the Queen's contemplation. That see, however, was not filled till after the great ministerial revolution which ensued, when it was given to Dr. John Robinson; who became, shortly afterwards, Lord Privy Seal, and plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Utrecht, and is the last ecclesiastic in England who has held any of the high offices of state [40].

1709. Davies's Cicero's Tusculan Questions.

Though the completion of his Horace was still delayed, some specimens of Bentley's genius and learning appeared in the publications of other scholars. Of these, the most considerable was a body of emendations on Cicero's Tusculan Questions, attached to the edition of that book by Mr. John Davies, a Fellow of Queen's College. This gentleman, who had already appeared before the world as the editor of Maximus Tyrius, of Cæsar, and of Minucius Felix, designed to publish all those works of Cicero which Grævius had left unfinished:

sacris illis infulis ornatum omnes grato animo intelligent. Unum hic addam, quod te facturum, mihi jam spondeo, ut hoc meum pro Cl. Bentleio studium, etsi forte minus mihi conveniens, boni consulas; meque amicitia tua benevolentiaque, quod fecisti hactenus, complecti deinceps non dedigneris. Dabam Londini V. Kal. Mai. Anno MDCCIX.

[40] The Earl of Sunderland to the Duchess of Marlborough. "Tuesday morning. I am this moment informed that the Bishop of Bristol [Dr. Hall] is dead. Upon all accounts Dr. Willis would be the properest person. There are two other men very good, that the Lord Treasurer says that the Queen is well affected to, Dr. Mandeville and Dr. Bentley. This is a time that makes this of more consequence than ordinary; so that I beg you would mention it to the Lord Treasurer as soon as you can, that he may not plead engagements."—*Coxe's Life of the Duke of Marlborough*, vol. iii. p. 169.

the present specimen appeared from the University press, and was dedicated to Bishop Moore, the general patron of rising scholars, who had accommodated him with the use of the same precious volume, which Bentley had formerly procured for his friend Grævius. This work is universally known, and continues to be the most popular edition of the Tusculans. The performance was creditable to the editor as a young man, and it would perhaps have been better, if in his subsequent editions he had used the same moderation, and abstained from altering the text of Cicero without authority. Bentley having obtained a sight of the book before publication, perused it with interest, and noted a great number of corrections which he was disposed to make in the text: whereupon Davies entreated him to write his observations on those passages, to be printed as an appendix to the edition. With these solicitations our Aristarchus complied, and produced a series of notes occupying ninety-four pages, entitled *Richardi Bentleii Emendationes in Ciceronis Tusculanas*, far surpassing all preceding commentaries, and claiming a high rank among the works of Bentley himself. We discover in these emendations, more acquaintance with the philosophical works of Cicero, than his former writings could have led people to expect. Every part is entertaining as well as instructive to the scholar; nor is there any fault to be found with the composition, except the self-complacent and boastful tone which pervades the whole. The most valuable notes are those containing his corrections of fragments of old Latin Poets, with which the Tusculans abound. These quotations had been miserably corrupted and disjointed, owing to an ignorance of the laws of metre adopted by the dramatic poets of Rome: and all scholars before Bentley, without exception, had committed great errors in attempting to correct them. Persons who are not acquainted with these metrical notes, will have but an inadequate notion of Bentley's skill and correctness of ear, which could detect immediately the rhythm of verses, defaced by mistakes of transcribers, mixed up with the text of Cicero, and constructed in measures abounding with licence, and difficult to be caught by a modern reader. To appreciate his merit in this department, it should also be recollected, that he was the first, who discovered the *true* laws of these verses, and that whatever

Bentley's Appendix.

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knowledge we now possess upon the subject, may be said to originate with him. In one place he held out expectations of publishing, some time or other, both Plautus and Terence, a task for which he displayed such peculiar qualifications[41].

Letter to Davies.

Bentley prefixed to these Notes a short letter to Davies, bestowing upon the edition fully as much compliment as it merited; and having so done, he assumed the privilege of a friend, and animadverted rather freely upon the errors and oversights of the editor. Such defects he excuses upon the score of youth; an apology, we might suppose, not very acceptable to a person of the age of thirty, who had been already for six years a classical editor. In fact he schools him, in the course of the appendix, in so magisterial a tone, that a less devoted disciple would have turned refractory, and declined to publish to the world so much censure of himself: but Davies, who regarded Bentley as little less than a divinity, far from being displeased, expressed his unqualified gratitude, and continued to the day of his death to extend to him, not only his admiration, but his zealous and devoted friendship[42].

James Gronovius.

There was a particular reason which, as I apprehend, induced Bentley to comply with Davies's request in writing these notes. The only member of the literary republic from whom he had experienced rough treatment, since the controversy on Phalaris, was James Gronovius of Leyden, who had been attacking him in almost all his writings for the last ten years. This laborious professor, perhaps the most voluminous of classical editors, has disgraced a name which would otherwise be honourable in literature, by his habit of assailing with insolent language his rivals in criticism; a practice which he pursued for nearly half a

[41] Among the metrical notes, I would particularly point out to the reader, those on Lib. I. liv. III. xii. III. xix.

[42] Respecting these notes he thus expresses himself in the preface. "Ultimum locum tenent Emendationes, quas meo rogatu scribere dignatus est Vir præstantissimus Richardus Bentleius. Illi propterea gratias quam maximas habeo atque ago; nec dispari animo erunt ii, qui suo quæque pretio solent æstimare. Quantopere vero mihi placeant, melius indicare nequeo, quam si tester eas Auctore suo dignas videri: Hujus enim summam eruditionem ac mirum acumen exosculantur omnes, qui non sunt aut invidi, aut ab hisce literis alieni." In the editions subsequent to the first, this paragraph is omitted.

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century. At this time his favourite amusement was vilifying and traducing the three most learned men of the age—Spanheim, Bentley, and Kuster. With Bentley he appears to have been angry on account of his success in correcting the fragments of Callimachus, some of which he had himself attempted in vain a long time before. Thus provoked, our critic cannot be accused of indulging hasty resentment: at length finding that ten years could not subdue his ill-nature, and being a perpetual object of the malevolence of one whose talents and learning he held in small esteem, he resolved to make this implacable adversary feel the recoil of his own weapons. Gronovius having published a new edition of the works of Cicero, corrected from Gruter's, the appendix to the Tusculans afforded Bentley an opportunity of retaliating on the aggressor: accordingly he shews him no quarter, but lashes him in a style of severity which he had never before adopted. Whatever may be the literary justice of this proceeding, the reader must regret the animosity evinced towards Gronovius, whose offences do not appear along with the castigation, and whose consideration as a scholar (being termed by his adversary *homunculus eruditione mediocri, ingenio nullo)* hardly deserved so much notice from one of Bentley's eminence [43].

Hostility to Bentley.

About the same time our critic gave great assistance to Mr. Peter Needham, a Fellow of St. John's College, who was publishing an edition of the Commentary of Hierocles on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras. This scholar, like his friend Davies, was patronised by Bishop Moore, and already known to the public as a Greek editor [44]. His present undertaking appears, on some accounts, unfortunately

Needham's edition of Hierocles.

[43] In speaking of the father of Gronovius, he inserts a sentence which, at all events, ought to have been spared: *Ut primus ibi restituit Jo. Frid. Gronovius acerrimo vir judicio, doctrina autem et acumine admirabili qui si in vivis esset, nihil credo ægrius ferret, quam filium sibi esse tam parenti dissimilem.* In Tusc. V. 23. Other signal instances of his severity towards James Gronovius appear in the notes on Tusc. IV. 21. V. 37; and in the latter part of the Dedicatory Epistle to Davies.

[44] Peter Needham had published at the University press, in 1704, an edition of the *Geoponica*. He took his Bachelor of Arts' degree in 1696-97; M.A. in 1700; B.D. in 1707; and D.D. in 1717. On Feb. 14, 1705-6, he was elected Rector of Ovington in Norfolk, a living in the patronage of the University.

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selected: Hierocles was an author originally printed from a bad copy; no good manuscripts had hitherto been used in correcting the editions, and little or no critical skill had been exerted upon the text. There existed in the Medicean library at Florence a singularly good manuscript, the readings of which Needham in vain endeavoured to procure through some powerful intercession. Finding, however, that Fabricius, the compiler of the *Bibliotheca Græca*, possessed a collation of this valuable copy, he used the interest of his friend, Professor Sike, to obtain it; but here some unlucky accident interfered. Fabricius wrote to inform him that he had complied with his request; but the packet never reached him. Instead of such assistance, he received from Bentley a very large collection of emendations and conjectures, which had occurred to him in the perusal of Hierocles, but scarcely a word of note to confirm them: and Needham, who regarded the genius of our critic with unbounded veneration, and deemed his sagacity of conjecture as even more infallible than the authority of manuscripts, admitted into his text without hesitation almost all the Bentleian emendations. In so doing he consulted neither his own reputation, nor that of his illustrious friend; for immediately after the appearance of his book, Christopher Wolfius, of Leipsic, published a review of it, in the form of an epistle, restoring the text, and overturning many of the conjectures upon the authority of that very collation which Needham had failed to obtain. Many years afterwards, Dr. Richard Warren, a Fellow of Jesus College, published an edition of Hierocles, for the avowed purpose of giving a text free from the conjectural emendations introduced by Needham, and supplying the true readings from the Florentine manuscript; not without some misplaced asperity against Bentley; who, in fact, never recommended that absolute and implicit adoption of his conjectures, which his admiring friend judged to be their due[45].

Bentley's emendations of Hierocles.

Wolfius.

Warren.

[45] The title of this book is, '*Hieroclis in Aurea Carmina Commentarius Gr. Lat. Græca accuratius nunc recognita, et ad MSS. Codicum fidem exacta, plurimisque in locis e Gudiana Medicæi Codicis collatione emendata, una cum Notis subjunctis, edidit* R. W. *S. T. P. Coll. Jes. Cant. nuper Socius. Londini*, 1742.' All the knowledge possessed of this manuscript proceeded from the collation made long before by Marquand Gudius, the well-known copyist of inscriptions and manuscripts. The long postponement of the rival edition of Dr. Warren is a curious circumstance. At this time he was a Fellow of Jesus College, a little junior to Need-

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Shortly afterwards Bentley succeeded in effecting a matter which he had much at heart—the publication of a new and improved edition of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia. The first impression being entirely exhausted, the lovers of philosophy were, in a manner, debarred access to the fountain of truth. The book had not been received on the continent as its merits demanded; and the greatest injustice was committed to the fame of the author. This seems principally attributable to Leibnitz, who had already begun to practise those arts, which were afterwards so conspicuously exposed. By denying the truth of part of Sir Isaac's discoveries, and by assuming to himself the credit of part, he laboured, not without success, to detract from his glory, and to transfer it to his own brow. Some of the demonstrations in the Principia were imperfect; and others, depending upon experiments, had not received all the illustration of which they were capable. A new edition was therefore required, both for the interests of science, and the reputation of the philosopher: and Dr. Bentley, who lived in great intimacy with him, long solicited and urged him to this work. But Sir Isaac's avocations as Master of the Mint, and other public duties, had for some years abstracted his attention from mathematical pursuits; and he was unwilling that his book should re-appear, without a full and careful revision and improvement. At length Bentley effected his object by engaging Professor Cotes to superintend the publication at the University press: to his care Sir Isaac committed this trust; and never, perhaps, was more zeal and ability experienced in a literary coadjutor, than he found in this admirable young man. The feelings which Cotes expressed at the outset of the undertaking, continued during the three years that the work was in progress[46].

Newton's Principia.

Bentley induces him to publish a new edition.

June, 1709.

ham; but for some reason or other, he put off his publication for thirty-three years; and at length it came forth *in the year of Bentley's death*, and long after that of Needham, when the age of Warren himself was between sixty and seventy. The origin of his dislike for Bentley will be found in a subsequent period of this history.

[46] Cotes, in his first letter to Sir Isaac, thus expresses himself.

" Sir, *Cambridge, August* 18, 1709.

" The earnest desire I have to see a new edition of your *Principia*, makes me somewhat impatient till we receive your copy of it, which you were pleased to promise me about the middle of last month you would send down in about a fourtnight's time. I hope you will pardon me for

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The improvements which he suggested were numerous and important, and in most cases were adopted by Sir Isaac, who took pains to make this monument of his genius as perfect as possible. The correspondence between Newton and Cotes, during this whole period, is in the highest degree important and interesting to the lovers of science. Their letters, nearly three hundred in number, are preserved in Trinity College: and I now express publicly, what I have often expressed in private, a wish and request that some one of the many accomplished Newtonians, who are resident in that Society, would favour the world by publishing the whole collection.

this uneasiness, from which I cannot free myself, and for giving you this trouble to let you know it. I have been so much obliged by yourself and by your book, that (I desire you to believe me) I think myself bound in gratitude to take all the care I possibly can that it shall be correct.—

" Your obliged servant,

" Roger Cotes."

" *For Sir Isaac Newton, at his house in Jermyn-street, near St. James's Church, Westminster.*"

CHAPTER IX.

A party among the junior Fellows in favour of the Master—History of the College dividends—Bentley issues proposals for a new scheme of dividends—Change in the Master's proportion—Scheme of composition for customary allowances—Objections of the Fellows to the proposals—The Master's design for improving the College preferment—The proposals rejected by the Seniors—Mr. Miller, a lay-fellow, encourages their resistance—Violent behaviour of the Master—The Fellows resolve to complain to the Visitor—Dr. Colbatch—Bentley deprives Miller of his fellowship—The Seniors reinstate him—Half the Fellows petition the Bishop of Ely on the statute for the removal of the Master—Bentley publishes a letter to the Bishop—Defence of himself, and abuse of his prosecutors—Replies by Miller, Blomer, White, Paris, Partridge—Mr. Ashenhurst prosecuted for libelling the Queen—Scandal occasioned by these feuds—Dr. King's Horace in Trinity College—Bentley again writes to the Bishop of Ely—Le Clerc publishes the fragments of Menander and Philemon—Bentley writes a censure of this book, under the title of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis—Sends it to Utrecht to be published by Peter Burman—Correspondence with Le Clerc—Gronovius publishes a book against both Bentley and Le Clerc—Bergler's review—De Pauw, Philargyrius Cantabrigiensis—Le Clerc's defence.

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Bentley forms a party among the Fellows.

Dr. Bentley having excited against himself the clamour and resentment of a large portion of his Fellows, was too much an adept in the art of governing to omit any means of dividing the malcontents, and establishing an opposite party in his own interest. This he effected by carefully watching every opportunity of advancing the fortunes of those who shewed a disposition to adhere to him. His station as Head of so large a College, his acquaintance in the great world, and his eminent reputation naturally invested him with an extensive description of patronage: besides the power of assigning pupils in College, he had opportunities of recommending the younger Fellows to curacies, chaplaincies, tutorships, and other situations. Thus his friends were sure to be provided for, while vexation, loss, and proscription seemed the only lot of his opponents. His system of advancing young men to College offices, and breaking the custom which had long confined all emolument to length of standing, engaged in his interest many of the juniors, who now saw the road to advancement

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laid open. In the meantime, the numbers and the reputation of his College experienced a considerable accession; and it was not to be denied, that the Master distinguished young men of merit, and procured for them the notice and the patronage of the great. The complaint of the Seniors, that he governed arbitrarily and without their assistance, had little weight with their younger brethren: some of whom regarded it with indifference, others with satisfaction. The subject of 'sealing-money' was an old bone of contention in the College: the statutes enjoin that the sixteen first Fellows shall be present at setting the seal to leases and other acts of the corporation, allotting to each one shilling for his trouble, and two shillings to the Master: but an old custom, the origin of which cannot be traced, had increased the allowances for each sealing ten-fold; and the amount of these payments in the course of the year was considerable. The juniors who had no share in this profit, had always contended, that all beyond the statutable allowance of the sealers, ought to be thrown into the common stock; and the Master now declared himself of the same opinion, and incited them to remonstrate against the practice as a grievance [1]. He pursued a similar course in encouraging complaints against an augmentation in the stipends of the Vice Master, Senior dean, and Senior bursar; making it known, *ad augendam invidiam*, that it had originated during the Usurpation. In this instance there was less ground for complaint than in the last; since the altered value of money had rendered an increase of the small salaries prescribed by the statutes, not only reasonable, but necessary: and, even then, the trouble of those important offices was but poorly compensated.

Sealing-money.

Salaries of officers.

By these and similar methods he secured a considerable party among the juniors; of whom the first in talents and reputation was Professor Cotes: a name calculated to reflect honour upon any cause which he embraced. But the most active of his adherents was Mr.

[1] See Bentley's account of this matter, in his *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 20; and a counter statement in *Miller's Remarks*, p. 57 to 60. Bentley appears to overstate the amount of these payments, when he says that they averaged 300*l.* a year. The custom, however, continued till the year 1784, when the fixed sum of 10*l.* was assigned to each of the sixteen Fellows, for his attendance at reading and sealing all the leases, &c. in the course of the year; a sum not more than a reasonable remuneration for his trouble and loss of time.

Ashenhurst, a Fellow of two years standing, whose character, having been painted only by enemies, is represented in as unfavourable a light as possible: he is stated to have been a bustling, forward, and impudent man; of unabashed assurance, and overbearing conversation: his best trait was the unshaken fidelity with which he continued throughout life to serve the interests of his principal. Being a medical student, and having commenced his practice at Cambridge, he was constantly on the spot, and incessantly exerting himself to promote all the views and projects of the Master. Ashenhurst.

Bentley had for some years meditated an improved method of dividing the College revenues, which he at length proposed to the Society, and was resolutely bent upon its accomplishment. The existing system of dividends, distributed the surplus money of the College among the Master and Fellows, in certain proportions, which had been fixed by a College order in the year 1660. The original endowment had allotted to all Fellows chambers and commons free of expense, and had given them stipends varying according to their academical degree: to a Doctor of Divinity 5*l.*, to a Bachelor of Divinity 4*l.*, and to a Master of Arts 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And these were the whole emoluments of a fellowship, except a small allowance for *liberatura* or dress, likewise apportioned according to degrees. But when the depreciation of money had rendered an increase of allowance necessary for the subsistence of gentlemen, and had at the same time increased the revenue, the surplus was disposed in a mode not contemplated by the statutes. The first dividend took place in 1630; in subsequent distributions, the sums allotted to the senior and junior Fellows were varied in arbitrary proportions; but, it was remarked, that by each successive change the juniors were sufferers. At length, after the Restoration, the Seniority thus arranged the distribution of 2000*l.*, the largest sum ever divisible in one year, which was thence termed 'a whole dividend.' The Master had 150*l.*; each of the eight Seniors, 50*l.*; the ninth and tenth Fellows (called *labourers*, from their generally filling the place of some absent Senior at the Board) each 40*l*, the next six 34*l.*, and the rest of the Fellows (being M.A.) 25*l.* This scale, by giving the advantage to standing alone, held out College revenues. History of dividends.

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Bentley proposes a new scheme of dividends.

no encouragement to taking higher degrees; and therein proceeded upon different principles from the statutes. The Master now circulated a paper of proposals for altering the scheme of dividends to an exact proportion with the stipends. Each sum prescribed by the statutes was to be multiplied by ten: so that a Doctor of Divinity was to have 50*l.*, a Bachelor of Divinity 40*l.*, a Master of Arts 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, or in that ratio. That this method was more consonant to the spirit of the foundation than the existing one, is undeniable. The effect of the change would have been to make every Fellow proceed to the higher degrees as soon as his standing allowed; an object which, as we have already seen, Bentley had much at heart; and if a due provision had been made for the present Seniors, whose age rendered the taking degrees inconvenient and burdensome, no one could have complained of hardship in the alteration. It admitted, indeed, of doubt whether it was worth while to disturb an arrangement which had continued fifty years, and, as far as appears, without exciting dissatisfaction. However, the occasion of the determined resistance which the proposals met with, was the increase contemplated in the income of the Master himself.

Amount of the Master's dividend.

The foundation of Trinity, at the same time that it gave the Fellows the above-mentioned stipends, assigned to the Master 100*l.* for stipend and commons jointly; without specifying what portion of that sum was for stipend alone. Bentley, in proposing that the dividends of the society should be in proportion to their respective stipends, of course included the Master in his scale; and suggested, in the first instance, that his stipend should be considered as 85*l.*, or seventeen times as great as that of a Doctor; whence it would follow that his dividend ought to be 850*l.*; but foreseeing that the largeness of that sum would startle every one, he proposed to fix it at 800*l.* When he discovered that the increase of his share from 150*l.* to 800*l.* raised an outcry against the whole scheme, he issued a new paper of proposals, in which he reduced the Master's share to 400*l.* As this was still unpalatable, he finally declared that he would be content with 200*l.*, provided the rest of the project were adopted. But it was shrewdly remarked that, if the dividends were once established upon the footing

of stipends, the old claim for 850*l.* might be revived by the present Master or his successors.

Customary allowances to the Master.

This, however, constituted but a part of his new proposals. The foundation had provided for the Master three servants, and three horses, to be kept at the public charge; as well as extra-commons: for all which a composition in money had long been established. But by custom and prescription he was also supplied with bread, flour, beer, coals and other fuel, candles, oil, linen, pewter, and a few more articles: this was regarded as a matter of grace and favour, since it rested upon no authority to be found in the statutes. The Doctor now proposed that in lieu of all these particulars he should receive a fixed annual payment, the amount of which he estimated at above 700*l.*; but declared himself satisfied with that sum. The idea of compensation for allowances grounded not on right, but on the grace and indulgence of the College, met with a most unfavourable reception. The plan had, in one point of view, a plausible appearance: it removed a source of uneasiness and complaint, as well as the indelicacy of submitting the details of a domestic establishment to the revision of a board, who were yearly called upon to defray its expenditure. But on the other hand, it was evident that such an arrangement would make the Master entirely independent of the Seniority, and would deprive them of the power even of obliging him by their liberality. Moreover, those customary allowances had been granted with the view of enabling the Head to maintain at his table, and in his family, the decent splendor and hospitality of the leading College: but a pecuniary composition might be expended in a different mode, or in a place remote from Cambridge. Indeed, there was a strong suspicion that Bentley intended, as soon as he had accomplished his scheme, to live principally at his new residence in Cotton House. It was no secret that he aspired to high rank in the Church: and people believed that his main purpose was to raise his mastership to such a value, as might make it an object of some importance in an arrangement on the vacancy of a mitre. In addition to these considerations, a serious objection was taken to the proposed amount of the composition. The expenses of the lodge had already in Dr. Bentley's time exceeded by 200*l.* or

Bentley's proposal of a composition.

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300*l.* a year the utmost cost under any former Master; in some articles they do really appear to have been enormous[2]: but the claim now made placed the amount higher than it had reached, even in the year of greatest extravagance: and this payment added to the dividend and other emoluments, would have raised the value of the mastership to above 1000*l.* a year; a sum greater by one third than it had ever yet cost the college.

Methods used to effect his projects.

So greatly did these arguments preponderate, that the proposals met with a cold reception among the Fellows. Bentley, however, was too inflexible in his nature, and too much attached to this particular project, to think of abandoning it. Having first circulated his scheme in December 1708, he tried in the course of the ensuing year, a variety of methods to procure its adoption. He made several alterations in the details, to meet successive objections: but it was observed that in so doing, while he varied the particulars, he always arrived at the same conclusion with respect to the sum total of his demands. He endeavoured to obtain a petition in favour of his scheme from the juniors: to accomplish this, Ashenhurst laboured earnestly; but the result was, that only eight persons subscribed it, three of whom were Bachelors, in the probationary state of Minor Fellows. This attempt, therefore, was not only attended with failure, but raised the displeasure of the Seniors, as promoting discord and insubordination in the society. To some of the Board he held out promises, to others threats, with the view of procuring their acquiescence. Unfortunately for the College and the Church, two of that body had occasioned scandal by some particulars in their lives and conversation; and it is asserted, that he denounced to those individuals his intention of instituting proceedings against them, as Archdeacon, in an ecclesiastical court. But Dr. Brookbank, his Official, suggested to them that this purpose might

[2] In a single year, 1708, the expense of coals, billets, charcoal, &c. for the lodge, was 110*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* Of ale and small beer, 107*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.*, of bread and flour, 68*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* Upon the first item his adversary, Miller, remarks, "One single article, that of his fire, which amounts to 110*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* is so much, that scarce any nobleman in England, I believe, no Archbishop, spent the like in the time. This fuel must be sold or otherwise embezzled; for if he had kept a continual fire in every chimney of his lodge all that time, it could not have consumed so much." *Some Remarks upon Dr. Bentley's Letter*, p. 169.

be averted by their timely acquiescence in the scheme of dividends and compensation ; to which he, being an old College friend, implored them with tears in his eyes to consent [3]. But the argument upon which the Master principally relied for success, was his declared resolution not to suffer a dividend to be issued, except upon the footing of his new arrangement. Two 'whole dividends' were ready for payment at the end of the year 1709 ; and he presumed that the necessities of the Fellows, who had received no dividend for two years, and had devoted the last which had been paid them, to the subscription for the chapel, must soon compel them to unconditional submission.

Conferences at the lodge.

Among other methods of reconciling the society to his measures, we hear of two conferences held at the lodge between the Master and some of the Fellows, in both of which he attempted to gain over by concessions the most respectable and influential among them. Dr. Ayloffe, the Public Orator of the University, having drawn up a paper of objections to the proposals, he suggested a free discussion of the question in a conference. There were present Dr. Cressar and Dr. Ayloffe on one side, Professor Cotes and Mr. Ashenhurst on the other. The Master replied *seriatim* to all the objections, and according to the report of his two seconds, compelled the Orator to recede from each position, and finally to declare himself satisfied : but the other party affirmed that this satisfaction applied only to the Master's reducing the estimate of his own dividend from 400*l.* to 200*l.* [4]. The other conference was for the purpose of fixing the composition ; when he agreed that, upon condition of receiving the proposed 700*l.* a year, he would for the future furnish the lodge at his own expense [5].

Bentley's scheme for improving the College livings.

Among the modifications of his dividend scheme, there is one, inscribed by Bentley on the fly-leaf of the Conclusion-book, which

[3] This story is told by Middleton, in the second part of the *Full and Impartial Account of the Proceedings of the University against Dr. Bentley*, p. 12. He alleges that he had repeatedly heard it from the parties themselves.

[4] See the report of this conference on December 12, 1710, in Dr. Bentley's *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 72 : and *Miller's Remarks*, p. 150.

[5] I find the account of this second conference in the MS. Diary of Dr. Edward Rud. The Fellows who assisted were Cressar, Hanbury, Reddington, and Cotes.

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contains, along with other regulations, a proposition so wise and beneficial, as deserves to redeem his name from much of the obloquy to which his proceedings are exposed. The church preferment belonging to Trinity College is small and insignificant, in comparison with the rest of its endowment; and the best livings, instead of being a provision for those quitting college, were generally held by Fellows being College-preachers. The Master perceiving that this was the faulty part of the system, making fellowships of Trinity rather an impediment than a furtherance to the professional utility of their holders, proposed that one-tenth of every dividend should be set apart for the improvement of College livings; adding a provision, that all Fellows taking preferment thus augmented, should give a bond to resign their fellowships within a year. Had such a plan been adopted and persevered in from that time to the present, the best effects must have ensued; the College would have had a sufficient number of good livings for those who wished to enter upon the care of a parish at an active period of life; the succession to Fellowships would have been accelerated; and the Church would have obtained the services of a number of persons of high talent and acquirements; too many of whom, owing to the poverty of College preferment, continue all their lives unbeneficed, or only commence the practice of clerical duties at an age, when new habits and pursuits are not easily adopted.

His plan rejected by the Seniors.

The Doctor having prepared his way by all the methods described, as well as by private discussions, commonly called 'closetings,' with almost all the Seniors, in which every argument of persuasion, interest, or intimidation, was used to secure their assent, at length proposed to the Board his two schemes of dividend and compensation; when, to his amazement and confusion, they met with unanimous disapprobation. It seems, however, that the plan of dividends according to degrees might have been carried, had he not insisted upon its being accompanied by that of compensation for his allowances. Having formed a contemptuous opinion of the ability and the firmness of the Seniors, and having often witnessed their disposition to make concessions as the price of tranquillity, he did not choose to consider this repulse as decisive, but declared the consideration of the subject adjourned to the morrow.

Dec. 21, 1709.

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Mr. Edmund Miller.

But in the evening of this day another character appeared on the scene, who gave an unexpected turn to the proceedings. This was Edmund Miller, a lay Fellow, and Counsellor of the College, who was come, according to custom, to pass the Christmas vacation among his brethren. He was a barrister of considerable reputation, possessed a great acquaintance with academical affairs, and was generally believed to be aiming at the representation of the University. The state in which he found the Society on his arrival shall be described in his own words. "When he came to College it was easy to perceive in their countenances how most of the Fellows were terrified, as well as dissatisfied, with what they thought was doing; they scarcely spoke to one another, but looked like so many prisoners, which were uncertain whether to expect military execution, or the favour of decimation[6]." Miller at once declared his opinion, that the Master's proposals were unreasonable, and such as the Seniority neither could nor ought to sanction: and he appears first to have hinted that the violence with which they were beset, might be resisted before some higher authority. The confidence reposed in this gentleman, from his familiarity with business and knowledge of the world, encouraged them to a still firmer resistance. Next morning one of the Seniors urged at the meeting, that as they were only trustees for the College, it was desirable to learn the opinions of the rest of the Society, upon the disposal of so large a portion of their revenues: he suggested, accordingly, that the Public Orator, Dr. Colbatch the Professor of Casuistry, and Mr. Miller, should be heard in the name of the other Fellows. The Master having himself set the example of an appeal to the juniors, could not directly refuse this hearing: but finding that Miller was likely to prove an obstacle to the scheme on which he had set his heart, he adopted a sudden and extraordinary measure, in order to paralyze his opposition.

Lay Fellows.

The statutes of Trinity College prescribe that all the Fellows shall be in holy orders within seven years after they are Masters of Arts, or shall then leave the Society, except two; of whom one may study civil law, the other medicine; and these two are to be nominated by the

[6] *Miller's Remarks*, p. 85.

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Master. As it had commonly happened, upon a vacancy of one of these lay-fellowships, that there was neither a civilian nor a physician among the Fellows, the Master had, in default of such, nominated barristers, or persons of no particular profession, according to his discretion: nor was this proceeding ever brought into question. It happened that Miller held the physic fellowship, to which he had been appointed by the late Master; and Bentley chose to infer, from a sentence in the statutes, wherein the two laymen are incidentally termed *Juris Civilis, et Medicinæ Professores*, that they ought to be *Doctors* of those faculties. Accordingly, when Miller was sent for to the meeting, he began by reading the words of those two statutes, and then asked him, 'whether or not he was Doctor of Physic.' On his reply that 'there was no occasion for this question, since the Master knew what he was, as well as he could inform him;' Bentley intimated, that 'if he was not Doctor of Physic the following Lady-day, he would declare his fellowship void.' This passed for an empty threat, and Miller had presence of mind to observe, how great an advantage the Master had given him in the eyes of the meeting. He merely answered, that 'this was not worth talking about, as he had been summoned to speak upon a different matter;' and then proceeded, though not without interruption, to express his sentiments on the unfairness of the new projects, and the designs which he believed them to cover. Bentley was much exasperated at such bold and uncompromising conduct; he asserts, that 'he defied, and threatened and reviled him with such opprobrious words and insolent behaviour, as he believed were never used by any Fellow to his Master, to his face, and before such an audience, since the University had a being.' The other denies his having 'used insolent or opprobrious, or even uncivil language;' but the Doctor was so little used to the common freedom of opposition, that he was likely to be incensed at a fearless and open attack upon his favourite project.

The Master threatens Miller.

Bentley determined, however, after a few days, to make one more trial of his Seniority, and denounced to them his intention of bringing the matter before the Queen and Council, unless they agreed at once to his proposals; and, on their firm and unanimous refusal, he asked

Quarrels with the Seniority.

them, 'whether they would be led by the nose by a lawyer;' and said, that 'lawyers were the most ignominious people in the nation.' And finally, on meeting with unlooked-for steadiness in persons whom he had held in contempt, he was betrayed into an excess of passion, of which we find no other instance in the course of his life. He said, that 'he laid before them good and evil;' bade them 'choose between life and death;' and after calling some of the individuals by opprobrious names, he left them with this valedictory sentence: "From henceforward, farewell peace to Trinity College." Immediately afterwards he set off for London, with an intention, it was thought, of effecting his purposes through the intervention of powerful friends[7].

As soon as he was gone, the Fellows finding that some appeal would forthwith be made to higher authorities, and conceiving themselves to be the party aggrieved, came to a resolution of having the first word, and determined to prefer a complaint against their Master: accordingly they consulted Mr. Miller respecting the proper steps to be adopted. This was the very point at which the latter was aiming, and in which he would probably not have succeeded, but for the violence of the Doctor's behaviour at parting. As a preliminary step he drew up the following paper, to which the sixteen senior Fellows present in College, as well as eight of the juniors, immediately subscribed their names; at the same time entrusting the whole business to his management and discretion:

Declaration subscribed against him.

"We whose names are here underwritten, all of us Fellows of Trinity College in Cambridge, do disapprove of our now Master Dr. Bentley's late project of altering the proportion of our dividends; and of his excessive demands of a composition for the profits of his mastership; and of the unworthy and unstatutable methods he made use of in order to compass the same; and also of many other things by him done, since he became our Master; all which, or so many of them as can be recollected, and as counsel shall think fit, we desire in behalf of ourselves, and the rest of the College, may be represented to those who are the proper judges thereof, and in such manner as counsel shall advise:

Jan. 13, 1709-10.

[7] *Miller's Remarks*, p. 12. It was either at this or the preceding meeting that he told Mr. Cock, one of the Seniors, 'He would die in his shoes:' another, Mr. Rashleigh, he called 'The College Dog.' The character of the latter personage was indecorous, if not immoral; but I have never discovered any thing recorded of Mr. Cock, which could give occasion to such scurrility.

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humbly craving such determination and sentence therein, as to the wisdom and justice of the said judges shall seem meet."

Dr. Colbatch.

Dr. Colbatch, the individual most respected of the whole College for his learning and piety, objected to the violent expressions of this paper: and though he disapproved of the Master's late conduct, and joined in the wish that the disputes should be referred to proper judges, yet he would not consent to push matters to extremity against him. He accordingly proposed to substitute a moderate and temperate declaration for the subscription of the Fellows: but he found only one who concurred in this milder measure: and in conclusion, he and his friend subscribed with the rest, specifying that their signatures extended only to a wish that the dispute might be laid before a proper tribunal [8].

Bentley declares Miller's fellowship vacant. Jan. 18.

No sooner was Bentley informed of this bold and unexpected step, than he hastened back from town, with the impatience of a General who hears of a mutiny among his troops during his absence, and resolves to arrest its progress by making a summary example of the ringleader. On the morning after his return he summoned a meeting of the Seniority, and declared that Mr. Miller's not having proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Physic, was a statutable cause for pronouncing his fellowship void. All the Seniors expressed their dissent from this doctrine; whereupon he informed them, that he neither asked nor needed their concurrence, but should act by virtue of his prerogative, as executor of the statutes; and moreover added, that he appointed Mr. Ashenhurst successor to the physical fellowship: he then sent for the butler, and ordered him, in the presence of the meeting, to cut out the

[8] The following is the declaration proposed by Dr. Colbatch:

"Whereas some disputes have lately arisen, and do still continue, between Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity College, and us, the Fellows of the same College; occasioned by a certain proposal made by him, the said Master, for altering the proportion of their dividends, and making a composition for himself for the profits of his mastership, in which proposal several particulars are contained, to which we cannot (as we conceive) by the statutes of our College agree; we whose names are underwritten, the Vice Master, Senior Fellows, and other Fellows of the said College, do, for the restoring of peace and tranquillity to the Society, earnestly desire, in behalf of ourselves and the rest of the members of the College, that the aforesaid disputes may be referred to their cognizance and determination, who are the proper judges of it, and in such manner as council shall advise, humbly craving such sentence therein as to the wisdom and justice of such judges shall seem meet." *Rud's Diary.*

name of Mr. Miller from the boards of the College; at the same time entering, with his own hand, the following order in the Conclusion Book:

"Jan. 18, 1709—10. Declared by the Master, that Mr. EDMUND MILLER having been nominated by the late Master to the Physic-fellowship, and having neither proceeded *Professor Medicinæ*, nor studied physic according to the 19th and 20th statutes, and still refusing to do so, has thereby forfeited his right to that nomination, and the said fellowship is become void.

"Declared the same day by the Master, that Mr. ASHENHURST, Fellow of this College, student and practitioner in physic, is hereby nominated to the said Physic-fellowship, to hold and enjoy it; upon condition that he proceed *Professor Medicinæ*, when he is of due standing by the statutes of the University.

RI. BENTLEY, *Magister Collegii.*"

The Seniors reinstate Miller.

The statutes direct, that in case of a dispute arising between the Master and any of the Fellows, it shall be laid before the Vice-master, who, with the assistance of the other Seniors, is to investigate and compose the difference. Mr. Miller made his appeal on this ground to Dr. Stubbe, the Vice-master, who immediately desired Dr. Bentley's attendance at a meeting to be held next morning in his chambers. This summons the Master considered an affront, and treated with neglect[9]. The Seniors assembled at the appointed hour; when the Jan. 19.

[9] This summons was not intended to be disrespectful; but it must be allowed that, being addressed to a superior, it was couched in a rather dry and peremptory style:

"Master, *Jan.* 18, 1709.

"I desire you to be present at my chambers to morrow morning at nine of the clock, concerning an appeal made to me and the rest of the seven Seniors this day by Mr. Miller, about your ordering his name to be taken off from the buttery-board, and some other matters between you and Mr. Miller. W. STUBBE, *Vicemaster.*"

Upon this billet the Master remarks, in his printed *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 47.

"I make no doubt but your Lordship, who have once been Fellow of a College, will admire at such a new and unparallel'd thing, that a Master shou'd be summon'd from his own apartment (where the publick business is always transacted) to attend at a Vicemaster's chamber. And yet this was sent me at a time, when they knew I was indispos'd by a great cold, and confin'd at home. However, when they met there at nine the next day, without enquiring whether I design'd to come then, whether I desir'd another opportunity, or wish'd them to come to me; under the conduct of Mr. Miller, they subscrib'd to this following order.

"At the Vicemaster's Chamber in Trinity-College in Cambridge, Jan. 19, 1709.

"Upon complaint and appeal made unto us by Mr. Miller, according to the form of the College-Statute, concerning Dr. Bentley our now Master's yesterday ordering his name to be cut off

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Master not appearing, they entered upon the merits of the question before them, and concluded with an unanimous resolution, to which the eight subscribed their names, that upon an examination of the rules and customs of the College, they dissented from the Master's interpretation of the statute, and therefore thought it right to restore Mr. Miller's name upon the buttery-board.

The arguments for and against Bentley's act.

It is almost superfluous to discuss the legality of Bentley's proceeding, since it is clear, from the time and circumstances, that the act of Miller's expulsion was performed, not as he alleged, in compliance with the oath and duty of a Master, but in punishment of the audacious attempt of which he was the suggester. He defends his conduct with an elaborate and ingenious argument, at considerable length; but the whole chain of his reasoning is broken, if it be not conceded that *Professor Medicinæ* signifies, in the view of the statutes, *Doctor of Physic*: this point he endeavours to establish by a fallacious analogy. At Cambridge, as well as in other Universities, every Doctor of Divinity is termed *Sanctæ Theologiæ Professor*; but the title *Professor* is not technically applied to a Doctor in other faculties. There is no doubt but that the statutes designed this fellowship to be held by a physician; and that is a sufficient reason for conferring it on one who intends *bona fide* to study and practise medicine, in preference to other candidates: but it was unjust to deprive a person legally possessed of it, particularly after he had been made College Counsel by Dr. Bentley himself, with the concurrence of the Seniors, in 1701, at a time when,

from the Buttery-board without and contrary to the consent of any of the Senior Fellows then present, upon the Master's interpretation of the College-statutes concerning the Physick-Fellowship. We the Vicemaster and the rest of the seven Seniors now resident in College, upon consideration of the said statutes, and the usage which has always been in this and other Colleges in the University in the like case, do declare that we do not agree with the Master in his interpretation of the said statutes, and do therefore think fit that Mr. Miller's name be this day put again upon the Buttery-board.

"W. Stubbe, *Vicemaster.*	Edw. Bathurst.	J. Cooper.
P. Cock.	N. Rashleigh.	Nath. Hanbury."
G. Modd.	Tho. Smith.	

The Doctor makes himself extremely merry at the wording of this order, which, having been transcribed by a lawyer's clerk, was not pointed; and pursues his cavils in a tone of drollery not suiting so serious an occasion.

according to this new interpretation, he was liable to expulsion for not being Doctor of Physic. At all events the ground taken by the Master was novel and contrary to usage; and consequently, could not be legally established but by an interpretation, in which the majority of the Seniors should concur with the Master[10]. It was preposterous to assert that his own view of the subject was too plain and clear to admit of doubt, or require consultation; and the circumstance of the place, when vacant, being in the Master's appointment, was so far from giving him the sole power of vacating it, that it made his agency in the business a matter of greater delicacy, and more questionable propriety[11].

This act of severity had an effect widely different from what Bentley had expected. Instead of quelling further opposition by the influence of terror, it made the Fellows more determined in their resolution to dislodge a Master, who had so little difficulty in taking away a person's freehold on his absolute authority. Such readiness had he shewn to bend the statutes to his purpose, that no one could foresee how soon his own turn might come: *fuit intactis quoque cura Conditione super communi.* He had, moreover, supplied his prosecutors with a new and strong article of charge against his administration. All thoughts of pacification being now given up, Miller set off for London to take measures for the prosecution; and the Master, having again cut out from the College boards the reinstated name, followed to traverse and counteract his operations.

Jan. 20,

Jan. 24.

A demur immediately arose among the lawyers consulted, respecting the true Visitor of Trinity College. The old statutes had indeed specified that the Bishop of Ely was General Visitor; but those of Queen Elizabeth did not contain this provision; and it was therefore inferred by some, that the visitatorial power rested with the Crown, as representative of the founder: and practice seemed to confirm this opinion. However, the 40th chapter of Queen Elizabeth's statutes, concerning

Doubts as to the Visitor of Trinity.

[10] The five holders of this fellowship preceding Miller, were Clement Neville, Richard Duke the poet, Sir William Norres, Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax and First Lord of the Treasury, and Dr. Charles Morley; of whom the last only was a physician.

[11] The reader may see, if he please, all that can be said on both sides of this question in Bentley's *Letter*, p. 31—50; Miller's *Remarks*, p. 82—114; and Blomer's *Full View*, p. 77—81.

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the deprivation of a Master, declares that an appeal against him for crimes or malversation must be made to the Bishop of Ely, at the same time terming him *Visitor*, in whom rested the power of judging the cause, and, if necessary, of removing him from the mastership. This statute is of so much importance in the progress of our history, that it will be convenient to give it to the reader at length.

CAP. XL. DE MAGISTRI, SI RES EXIGAT, AMOTIONE.

"Quoniam Capite gravi aliquo morbo laborante, cætera Corporis membra vehementer quoque vexari solent; idcirco Statuimus et Ordinamus, ut si Magister Coll. in suo officio obeundo admodum negligens et dissolutus repertus fuerit, aut de inhonesta vitæ ratione aut incontinentia suspectus fuerit, per Vice-Magistrum et reliquos septem Seniores, aut per majorem partem eorum, quorum Conscientiam quantum possumus in hac re oneramus, sicut Domino Jesu rationem reddituri sunt, cum omni lenitate et modestia admoneatur: quod si hoc modo admonitus non se emendaverit, secundo similiter admoneatur: sin autem neque tum quidem resipuerit, Vice-Magister et reliqui Seniores, vel major pars eorum, rem omnem Visitatori Episcopo Eliensi, qui pro tempore fuerit, aperiant; qui et eam diligenter cognoscat, et cum æquitate definiat. Cujus Sententiæ Magistrum sine ulla appellatione omnino parere volumus, sub pœna loci sui in perpetuum amittendi.

"Porro si dictus Magister coram dicto Visitatore aliquando examinatus, et vel de Hæreseos, vel Læsæ Majestatis crimine, vel de Simonia, Usura, Perjurio coram Judice commisso, Furto notabili, Homicidio voluntario, Incestu, Adulterio, Fornicatione, Dilapidatione bonorum Collegii vel de violatione Statutorum ejusdem, vel denique de alio quovis consimili crimine notabili coram prædicto Visitatore legitime convictus fuerit, sine mora per eundem Vice-Magistrum Officio Magistri privetur: neque ullam ei Appellationem, aut ullum aliud juris remedium permittimus: sed cuncta quæ in hac causa tentaverit, irrita esse volumus, et decernimus ipso facto."

As it was intended to prosecute Dr. Bentley for 'wasting the goods of the College, and violating its statutes,' this enactment appeared completely to meet the case; and accordingly Miller, accompanied by Felton, one of the junior Fellows, carried the complaint to the Bishop of Ely. Dr. John Moore, who filled that see, had been an early friend and patron of Bentley, and was one of the six prelates whose recommendation advanced him to the mastership. His being Archdeacon of the diocese added another tie to the connection, which literature had produced: the Bishop had, since his promotion to Ely, been a guest at Trinity Lodge, and advanced by his contributions the Master's plans for the improvement of the College. Nevertheless, when called upon to become his judge, he made no scruple, except so far as to direct that

Dr. J. Moore, Bishop of Ely.

the accusation should come before him in the form of a petition, addressed to himself by name as Visitor under the statutes. Accordingly the following Petition was drawn up by Miller, and subscribed by a still greater number of names than the former Declaration:

Petition of the Fellows.

"*To the Right Reverend Father in God,* JOHN *Lord Bishop of Ely, Visitor of Trinity College, in Cambridg, upon the Fortieth Chapter of the College Statutes, entitled* De Magistri (si res exigat) amotione, *The Humble Petition and Complaint of the Vice-Master, Senior Fellows, and many of the Doctors in Divinity, and Masters of Arts, Fellows and Members of the College of the Holy and undivided Trinity, in the University of Cambridg, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Members of the said College, against Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, now Master thereof,*

"Shew,

"That the Fellows and all the members of the said College having for many years lived with a great respect and love to their former Masters, and in a perfect amity one with another, In the year of our Lord God 1700, when the said Dr. Bentley first came to be their Master, the peace of the said College was soon disturbed, by his demanding and taking of the said College several unusual and great sums of money, which he applied to his own use: And almost every year since by his continual making new demands of profits and perquisites for himself; and by his taking and threatening to take away, sometimes with the forced consent of the governing part of the College, and sometimes without any consent at all, several known privileges and perquisites from the rest of the College in general, and even fellowships and scholarships from several in particular; and by his threatening and assuming to inflict several unstatuable and (before his time) unheard-of punishments upon several of the Fellows, for no other reason but because he heard they talked against his proceedings: And by his using violent and unworthy methods, whereby he has prevailed with some few of the College to espouse his separate interest, the peace of this Royal and ample foundation has not only for many years been wholly broken, but the statutes have been violated, and the goods of the College wasted, and many of the Fellows reduced to great necessity by his lessening the value of their fellowships, which were before but very small. Nevertheless, the Fellows and Members of the said College, out of a peaceable disposition, and being persuaded by the said Dr. Bentley's fair promises, which he constantly made upon his gaining every new advantage, that they should enjoy peace and quietness for the future, and out of respect to those that made him their Master, though they could not be wholly silent, they were unwilling publicly to complain to their superiours; till now again this last year the said Dr. Bentley not only making another exorbitant demand of profits to himself, but in order thereunto, endeavouring to make an alteration almost throughout the whole College in their dividends and dues, whereby they are maintained, and which they and their predecessors have for many years enjoyed and that in a partial manner, and by such methods as are before mentioned; We are necessitated at this time to petition and complain to your Lordship, promising within a

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convenient time to lay before you, in such method as you shall appoint, the several particulars, wherein the truth of what is here alledged will manifestly appear: Humbly craving, in due time, such sentence as to your Lordship's wisdom and justice shall seem meet."

Feb. 6, 1709.

WOLFRAN STUBBE, D.D. *and Vice-Master.*
P. COCK. *Sen. Fellow.*
GEO. MODD, *Sen. Fellow.*
EDW. BATHURST, *Sen. Fel.*
NAT. RASHLEIGH, *Sen. Fel.*
THOS. SMITH, D.D. *Sen. Fel.*
JOHN COOPER, B.D.
NAT. HANBURY, B.D.
JOHN LAUGHTON, *by his consent by letter.*
STEPHEN CRESSAR, D.D.
ABRA. JORDAN, M.A.
WILLIAM DRURY, M.A.
MAT. BARWELL, M.A.
JOHN COLBATCH, D.D. "*I desire that all matters mentioned in this petition may be referred to the cognizance and determination of my Lord the Bishop of Ely.*"
WILLIAM AYLOFF, L.L.D.
EDMUND MILLER, M.A.
JA. BRABOURN, B.D.
L. BRODRICK, D.D.
RALPH WELSTEAD, M.A.
RI. STOKES, M.A. *gave his consent by letter.*
WILLIAM WADE, M.A. "*I desire the same that is mentioned by Dr. Colbatch.*"
GRIFFITH WILLIAMS, B.D. "*I desire the same that is mentioned by Dr. Colbatch.*"
SAMUEL WHITE, M.A.
WILL. CHAMBERLAIN, M.A.
JO. CRAISTER, M.A.
EDM. STUBBE, M.A.
JO. PARIS, M.A.
THO. BLOMER, M.A.
CONYERS MIDDLETON, M.A.
JOHN FELTON, M.A.

Of the thirty names attached to this complaint, only the last eight were Fellows elected within the period of Bentley's mastership; of the rest of the juniors, some were attached to him by past obligations, others were so dependent upon his favour for their pupils, that they were neither requested nor wished to join in the accusation. However, there is found among the complainants the well-known name of Conyers Middleton. Being at that time a young man, he did not take a prominent part in the proceedings; and his fellowship became vacant a few months afterwards by his marriage. But the feelings of hostility to the Master originated by these disputes, sank deep into his mind, and made him subsequently the most determined and dangerous of his adversaries.

Conyers Middleton.

Feb. 10, 1709-10.

The Bishop of Ely having received this petition by the hands of Miller, forthwith transmitted a copy of it to the party accused; whereupon Dr. Bentley determined to bring the affairs of his College before the public, and to become in his turn the accuser of those who had presumed to arraign his conduct and seek his deposition. This measure, the policy and decorum of which are very questionable, was put

Bentley prints a letter to the Bishop of Ely.

into immediate execution. His statement of the case appeared in the shape of a 'Letter to the Bishop,' containing unmeasured invective against the subscribers, and asserting that the only real offence which he had given, was his successful endeavour to restore discipline, study, and good morals in Trinity College. He anticipates almost all the particular charges to be brought against him, and invariably takes credit to himself for his behaviour in those very instances. The characters of the subscribers he treats with unbounded contumely; representing them as a debauched and profligate crew, destitute of learning, industry, and principle; and the complaint itself he terms 'the last struggle and effort of vice and idleness against virtue, learning, and good discipline.' This language was every way unjustifiable, being grounded upon the fact of the disreputable lives of two or three among the thirty complainants; while the rest were persons to whom no reproach whatever could be attached, and some of them, as Dr. Stubbe, Dr. Smith, Dr. Cressar, Dr. Ayloffe, Dr. Colbatch, and Mr. Wade, ranked high among the most respectable characters in the University. The publication of such abuse and scandal, was not only indecorous, and unsuitable to a dignified divine, but plainly appeared the effect of resentment; and as such, was ill calculated to establish an opinion of his own innocence.

Attacks his prosecutors.

Criticizes the petition.

A considerable part of Bentley's pamphlet is occupied with cavils and exceptions against the form and language of the petition, which even if well-founded, could not affect the merits of any question at issue; since the present step was only preparatory to a formal and judicial proceeding, when the articles of accusation were to be definitely drawn up, and substantiated by evidence. Thus he urges that Edmund Miller, having been ejected from his fellowship, had no right to present or to subscribe the petition; that the signatures of all the Fellows above the number of the eight Seniors, 'which, with ostentation, *ad augendam invidiam*, are added to it, are so far from giving more force and weight, that they invalidate and void it.' He contends that by the words of the statute he ought to have been twice admonished by the Vice-master and Seniors, before a complaint was made to the Visitor; a form which, as the other party maintained, was required only in the

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first part of the enactment, and not in case of 'wasting the goods of the College, and violating the statutes.'

Politics of the Fellows.

One topic insinuated in his pamphlet was afterwards turned against himself with great effect: several of the Fellows were of tory principles, which at that time predominated in the University. Among them, the politics of the Master did not serve to render him more popular. 'If,' says he, 'in this age of parties and divisions, some few dislike me on that account, 'tis impossible to help it: excepting these, I do not want the good word and love of any, but of such wretches, whose commendations would be more scandalous than their railings: for no one can have favour of these, if he is not like them in his vices [12].'

Allusions to the late Master.

Another cause of his want of popularity, the contrast between himself and his predecessor, Dr. Montague, he alludes to in the most offensive and scurrilous terms: "Had I been of their party, had I herded and sotted with them, had I suffered them to play their cheats in their several offices; I might have done what I would, I might have devoured and destroyed the College, and yet come away with their applauses for a great and good Master [13]."

Distress of the petitioners.

He treats his adversaries with similar insult when speaking of that part of their complaint, which mentions that some of them are reduced to great necessity:

"But yet, my Lord, I own one truth that Mr. Miller has said here, and its the only one in the whole petition, that some of the Fellows (every one of them his subscribers) 'are reduced to great necessity.' But what, I pray, is the true reason of it? not the 'diminishing of their fellowships,' as our oracle avers; that is refuted above, to a demonstration. 'Tis not the 'lessening' of those, but the increasing of something else: I mean, *the price of claret*. For the advance of twelve-pence in a bottle repeated every day, must needs now exhaust a scanty fellowship, 'which was before but very small.' This is the grand article in their expenses, far above all other charges, of clothes, or (what are now forgot by them) books: for I dare pass my word, among all their debts and ticks there are none to the stationers." *Letter*, p. 62.

Defence of his conduct.

The general topics urged by him in defence of his conduct have been already noticed in our history of his College administration. The pervading charge, that he acted arbitrarily and without the con-

[12] *Bentley's Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, p. 12.

[13] *Ibid.* p. 64.

currence of his statutable advisers, he in some cases denies, but more frequently avows and justifies; contending that the statutes do not require their assent in all particulars: he admits, indeed, that custom was against him, but maintains that it was 'not custom but statute which he was sworn to observe,' and that no good measure could ever have been effected without the exertion of such magisterial and decisive authority. Of his scheme for 'dividends according to degrees,' he makes a clear and powerful defence; and as his conduct respecting this matter was confessedly the immediate cause of the prosecution, without which the other complaints would not have come before a Visitor, he turns this topic greatly to his advantage. As for the charge of excessive expenses in his own house, he founds upon it an ingenious argument against the Fellows, who had refused his proposition for taking away such grounds of complaint for the future, by an equitable and honourable composition.

Character of Bentley's pamphlet.

Upon the whole, however, the reader who is acquainted with Dr. Bentley from his other works, will be surprised and disappointed by the perusal of his 'Letter to the Bishop of Ely,' and will scarcely believe him to be the same writer who ten years before triumphed over the combined wits of Christ-Church. Notwithstanding the powerful and pointed sentences, the severe invective, and caustic ridicule interspersed in this piece, its general effect is such as to raise a prejudice against the author. The tone is not that of an innocent person, who feels unjustly criminated, but of a daring adversary, more intent upon carrying war into the enemy's quarters, than upon defending himself. The perpetual criticism of the words of the Petition is captious and misplaced, suiting neither the dignity of the writer, nor that of the personage to whom the epistle is addressed. In regard to his attack upon the prosecutors, it is even now disgusting to see such invectives against persons, whose station demanded the character of wisdom, gravity, and piety. Whatever might be the foundation of the scandal in particular cases, no provocation or resentment could justify his injuring the credit and interests of his society, by publicly vilifying its governors.

To avoid the indecorum of putting forth this pamphlet in Bentley's

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Pretended publisher.

own name, it was said in the title page to be 'published for general information by a gentleman of the Temple.' Prefixed to the book is an address from the publisher to the reader; where it is asserted that the Letter is printed from a copy given by the Master to a person of honour, which he 'accidentally met with,' and published 'because he thought it would be an inexcusable fault to conceal it.' The disguise, however, was so thin, that no one hesitated to consider the 'Gentleman of the Temple' a fictitious character, and to attribute the publication to Bentley himself. This preface is drawn up in worse taste, and exposed him to more ridicule than almost any of his productions; particularly, by a long enumeration of the scholars who had given to the world their high opinions of Dr. Bentley, from Spanheim and Grævius, down to Needham and Davies.

Replies to Bentley's Letter.

This publication immediately produced a host of replies from members of the College, who with exasperated feelings rebutted the accusations of their Master. Six or seven pamphlets appeared in rapid succession, two only bearing the names of their authors, Edmund Miller, and Thomas Blomer; the others were believed to be written by junior members of the society, who, having subscribed the petition, were indignant at a publication which censured 'the scandalous lives, insufficient learning, and seditious practices of most of the gang.' In all of them the Master's 'Letter to the Bishop of Ely' is taken to pieces and treated with unceremonious and unsparing examination. The deference claimed by his station and talent was banished by a recollection of the language of his own pamphlet: every defect in his character or administration is exhibited in a glaring and exaggerated light, and his whole conduct is charged as tyrannical, rapacious, treacherous, and unfeeling; while his designs are represented as still blacker and more odious. One of the accusations brought by Dr. Bentley against the petitioners, that of dullness, was refuted at once by the answers which his 'Letter' called forth: we find in them a great deal of scholarlike writing, mixed with no common powers of witty and caustic raillery. The quaint and obsolete expressions which occur in all his writings, and the occasional ruggedness of a style which he allowed himself no time to polish, afford an unfailing topic of ridicule

to the young scholars by whom he was assailed. Miller examined every sentence of his 'Letter' with industry and care; and having access to the different College books, he encountered in detail his assertions respecting statutes, precedents and accounts, with much accuracy. Being perfectly master of the subjects in dispute, and relying upon facts and arguments, he was the most formidable of Bentley's adversaries. That Miller was in reality a turbulent and factious man there is every reason to believe; and he probably rejoiced at being appointed to conduct the prosecution: but the violence of the Master's behaviour and language had given him an advantage in the appeal now made to the public, which he did not fail to improve. Blomer's 'Full View of Dr. Bentley's Letter' is a piece of great and well sustained humour: with all the exuberances of juvenile wit, unchecked by any forbearance, it has the effect of holding up the Doctor's performance as well as his character in a ridiculous light; and it is probable that all the witty attacks of Swift, Arbuthnot, and Pope, never occasioned him so much annoyance as he must have felt at the perusal of this effusion [14].

Miller.

Blomer.

The other pamphlets written in reply to Bentley were anonymous: but it was understood at the time that one called the 'True State of Trinity College,' was the joint production of White and Paris, two Junior Fellows among the petitioners; and that 'A True and Impartial Account of the Differences between the Master and Fellows,' which did not appear till 1711, was written by Paris, who had in the mean time experienced the especial resentment of the Master, by whom he had been deprived of a pupil. The reason alleged for this act of rigour was, that 'he had countenanced and encouraged the young man in dissipation:' a charge which was denied at the time, and which, from his respectable character in after life, we are prone

White.

Paris.

[14] The title is "*A Full View of Dr. Bentley's Letter to the Lord Bishop of Ely, in a Discourse to a Friend, wherein the whole strain of that celebrated piece throughout is fairly, familiarly, and largely considered.*" By Tho. Blomer, M.A. *Fellow of Trinity College, in Cambridge.* London, 1710. The four mottoes of this pamphlet are—*Quid me alta silentia cogis Rumpere, et obductum verbis vulgare dolorem.—Longa est injuria, longæ Ambages, sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.—Nec servire ulli posumus, nec imperare desideramus.—Decimo demum pugnavimus anno.*

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to disbelieve. These pieces are keen and witty *jeu d'esprits*, attacking the Doctor's conduct with invective, and his defence with ridicule. Two other anonymous publications arising from Bentley's 'Letter' and the College feud, were attributed to Partridge, a scholar of Trinity, and are to be noticed as testifying the effect produced upon the minds of the young men by the disputes of their governors: all wholesome respect to character and authority was destroyed, and the bands of discipline appeared to be dissolved [15].

Partridge.

Ashenhurst.

In all these publications we find Bentley's friend Ashenhurst treated with extreme severity. Not only the prominent character which he sustained in the quarrel, as the Master's active minister, but the belief that he was a tale-bearer and traducer of his brethren, marked him as the object of odium and resentment [16]. And this he was soon in danger of experiencing to his cost; for having in conversation upon the politics of the day unguardedly said to Mr. Craister, a brother Fellow, that 'the Queen was a superstitious canting woman,' it was suggested that these words amounted to the crime '*læsæ majestatis*,' and as such were punishable by expulsion from his fellowship: whereupon an official application was made by the Vice-master to Dr. Bentley, calling upon him to convene the party accused before the Seniority, and to hear evidence upon the complaint. The Master being aware that the real cause of the accusation was Ashenhurst's devotion to his interests,

[15] The title of the first of these pamphlets is, *Some Considerations humbly offered to John Lord Bishop of Ely, on the book entitled 'The Present State of Trinity College, in Cambridge, by Dr. Bentley.' By a Master of Arts and Fellow of the said College*, 1710. The same writer published a second Letter to the Bishop of Ely, dated June 21, 1710, called *The Rights of the Scholars of Trinity College Asserted.* It appears clear from p. 67 of this pamphlet, that notwithstanding his assumed title, the author was really an undergraduate. In attributing them to Partridge, I follow the authority of Dr. Rud, the author of the MS. Diary, to which I frequently refer. He was one of the tutors; and has noted the names of the supposed writers in his collection of these various tracts, now in Trinity library.

The only piece of information to be gathered from the last pamphlet is, that the price of an Undergraduate's gown in the year 1710 was four pounds.

[16] See *The True State of Trinity College*, p. 66. 68. *Some Considerations*, p. 23. *A True and Impartial Account*, p. 26. Thirlby, in *The University of Cambridge Vindicated*, p. 12, describes Ashenhurst as 'the greatest plague and nuisance of the University:' *monstrum nulla virtute redemptum A vitiis:* and says, 'that he insinuated himself into the acquaintance of all youth of rank and fortune, in order to debauch their principles.'

would not listen to the representation; and by this refusal incurred fresh outcry, as acting inconsistently with his former conduct, when he had joined the other Heads in punishing Dr. Tudway, the Professor of Music, for uttering words disrespectful to her Majesty [17]. But the loyalty of Dr. Stubbe would not suffer him to rest: he wrote two letters to the Vice-Chancellor, calling upon him to investigate the affair according to the statutes of the University. That officer, overcome by his importunities, cited the accused party before the Heads, and proceeded to a regular trial of the offence. Craister deposed, that being in company with Ashenhurst at the Cock tavern in Westminster, in the month of February, the latter observed that 'Mr. Harley went still to court, and had the Queen's ear; that he knew how to please and tickle the Queen; for, said Ashenhurst, the Queen is a superstitious canting woman.' A few days afterwards another court was held, when the culprit made his defence, a copy of which is preserved, along with other particulars of this cause, in the archives of the University. It is a masterly piece, bearing internal evidence of the hand of Dr. Bentley, and displaying that legal acuteness, which was subsequently so conspicuous in causes where he was himself engaged. It demonstrates that this paltry proceeding originated in the College disputes, and the part which Ashenhurst had taken in favour of the Master. After all, no judgment was pronounced: either the prosecutors were ashamed to press the case further; or it was found that the want of two witnesses to the fact prevented their establishing the point, in a court where the civil law prevailed [18].

July 5. Trial in the Vice-Chancellor's court.

[17] The crime of Tudway was a bad pun reflecting on the Queen, or rather on the ministry. He said in company, that though her Majesty had refused the address of the Hertford burgesses, yet had it been from Daniel Burgess (the celebrated dissenter) it would have been received. For this he was convicted, on the 20th of July, 1706, before Dr. Fisher, the Vice-Chancellor, and eight other Heads, at Sidney Lodge, of 'having uttered words highly reflecting on the Queen and her administration,' and sentenced to be suspended *ab omni gradu suscepto et suscipiendo*, to be deprived of his organist's place at St. Mary's, and his professorship in the University: and the execution of this sentence was published by the Vice-Chancellor at a Convocation on August 20. On the 10th of March following, Tudway, having first subscribed a most humble and penitential apology, was released from his suspension.

[18] It was attempted to remedy this deficiency, by the testimony of a worthless pupil, who had once heard Mr. Ashenhurst speak of the Queen as 'a weak, silly woman.'

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Public opinions on these quarrels.

The whole of these extraordinary disputes occasioned in the public mind great surprise and sensation. Curiosity was excited and kept alive by the details of a feud, which involved the credit of one of the first literary characters, and one of the first societies in the world. But all friends of the University were shocked at a proceeding which, whatever might be its result, brought disgrace upon the academical character; and churchmen were afflicted to behold a learned divine engaged with his Fellows in an unseemly contest of mutual invective. A correspondence, given in the note, between Dr. Atterbury, then Dean of Carlisle, and Dr. Colbatch, may serve as a specimen of the feeling which, we are told, was generally produced by this controversy[19].

[19] "Reverend Sir, *Chelsea, May* 27, 1710.

"I was at Oxford when your letter came. I hope the person at London, you directed to search the Paper-Office, has found the piece I directed you to: and that it is to your purpose. You may depend upon it, 'tis there; though the officer (Mr. Delafay) may happen in his first search to overlook it. I am heartily troubled at the imprudent and unchristian steps taken towards calling in the world to judge of the differences in your College, and the occasions of them; which ought to have been lodged with the Visitor only, and there for ever buried—as it is plain that you, Sir, from the manner of your subscription, thought from the beginning; and it is extremely to be lamented that so contrary a course should be taken. Could I contribute any thing towards preventing the mischief which this unhappy dispute may bring upon the College, you may depend upon my best services, if I can afford them with that secrecy, which in such an affair as this, I desire carefully to observe. For it becomes not me to intermeddle in such affairs, nor would I upon any account in the world, be known to do it. I doubt not your being just to me in that particular, and I am with much esteem and truth,

Reverend Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

"*To the Reverend Dr. Colbatch.*" Fr. Atterbury."

"Reverend Sir, *Trinity College, June* 6, 1710.

"I beg your pardon for not sooner answering the last letter I had the honour to receive from you. The reason of this delay was my expecting an account of the MS. from Mr. Miller, at least in the book he hath now published. He having had timely notice sent him, and promised that the Paper-Office should be searched for it. But whether or no he hath done what he promised, I cannot yet learn; I am sure he hath made no use of the MS. in his book, but given sufficient cause to fear that this quarrel of ours will be carried on further still, with the same spirit and in the same manner as it was begun; there being an inexhaustible magazine of scandal on both sides, which both parties seem resolved to make the most of, without considering the advantage they are giving to the common enemy; so that, should the Royal Visitation, which seems now unavoidable, and is, indeed, the only means of reducing us into order, be managed by men of the same stamp with those that were so shamefully baffled in a late attempt,

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Dr. King's Horace in Trinity College.

Another of Bentley's old adversaries, Dr. King, had feelings of a different kind on this occasion. He had smarted severely under the castigation which he received for interfering in the Phalaris controversy, and had continued to discharge his spleen in the 'Dialogues of the Dead,' as long as he could interest readers with that topic. After ten years' interval, he was overjoyed to find that he could assail his old enemy on a more attackable ground than that of criticism. The publication of Miller's 'Remarks,' put him into possession of the details of bread, beer, and fuel, consumed in Bentley's Lodge. On this foundation King built a piece of humour, entitled 'Horace in Trinity College.' It was printed in what he called his 'Useful Miscellanies;' the fiction supposes Horace, in fulfilment of his well-known prophecy, *Visam Britannos hospitibus feros,* to visit Britain, and take up his abode in the Master's Lodge of Trinity College, where he gets immensely fat *(Epicuri de grege porcus)* by the good cheer maintained at the expense of the society. This banter is interlarded partly with quotations from Horace's works, and partly with Miller's extracts from the College account books. Perhaps the most laughable matter in the

possibly they may find a way to retrieve a lost game. I can hardly doubt but that the first design of printing was to give them an occasion to follow the blow. The only hope left us is, that the power is now falling into better hands, in which case I doubt not but we shall find the effects of your great kindness to our society, and zeal for the public good. I am with all possible respect,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

"*To Dr. Atterbury, &c.*" J. Colbatch."

"Reverend Sir, *July* 15, 1710.

"I readily agree with you as to the consequence of this quarrel and the dirty way of managing it, which both sides, I find, equally fall into. I am sorry to see such hints as are scattered in Mr. Miller's book, about the exorbitant stipends of the several Masters of Colleges, and the too great number of Fellows obliged to take Orders: their informations look further than your own College, and seem to call for a General Visitation, or an Act of Parliament to set right these disorders. There are those who will be ready to improve this quarrel, till it grows ripe for such an interposition. Whatever happens, you may depend upon all the little services I am able to do, either to the body in general, or to you, Sir, in particular: for I am, with a sincere respect,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

"*To the Reverend Dr. Colbatch,* Fr. Atterbury."

Casuistical Professor and Fellow of Trinity College, in Cambridge."

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piece is the representation of a medal, bearing on one side a figure of Horace, with a cup of audit ale in one hand, some college rolls in the other, and an immeasurable rotundity of person; and on the reverse *E Promptuar. Col. Trin. Cant*[20].

Bentley again writes to the Bishop of Ely.

Shortly after the publication of his 'Letter,' Dr. Bentley held a conversation with the Bishop of Ely, and learnt, much to his dissatisfaction, that his Lordship was not convinced by his arguments of the informality of the Fellows' proceedings, but thought that the provisions of the statute had been sufficiently complied with. He immediately addressed another letter to the prelate, repeating and urging his exceptions against the form and signatures of the Petition. This shall be preserved in a note, as a specimen of the ingenuity and subtilty exhibited by our critic, for the first time, in a legal argument; this instance is the more remarkable, as the point which he laboured to maintain appears to a common apprehension perfectly untenable[21].

[20] In the edition of King's works, 1776, this piece is found in vol. iii. p. 24, entitled '*Some Account of Horace's Behaviour during his Stay at Trinity College, Cambridge; with an Ode to entreat his departure thence. Together with a Copy of his Medal taken out of Trinity College Buttery. By a well-wisher to that Society.*'

[21] *To the Right Reverend Father in God John, Lord Bishop of Ely.*

"My Lord,

"In the conversation your Lordship honoured me with yesterday evening, I perceive your Lordship inclined to that opinion, that in the 40th of our College statutes, the clause beginning with *Porro* is wholly to be separated from the preceding, and gives room for any accusers of the Master above the eight Seniors mention'd in the clauses before. Now I humbly conceive that that opinion is clearly refuted from the statute itself, upon these following considerations:

"1. In the prior clauses, the Seniors not till after two admonitions can accuse the Master to the Visitor, *si in suo officio obeundo admodum negligens aut dissolutus repertus fuerit, aut de inhonesta vitæ ratione aut incontinentia suspectus.* In the latter clause the same crimes, before mentioned in general terms, are expressed in particular. The *negligens et dissolutus in officio* is specified by *Dilapidatio Bonorum Collegii et violatio Statutorum ejusdem:* those being the main branches of his office *quatenus* Master, as appears by his oath in the said statutes. Again, the *Inhonesta vitæ Ratio* and *Incontinentia* are particularised in those special crimes, *Hæreseos vel læsæ Majestatis Crimine, Simonia, Usura, Perjurio coram judice commisso, Furto notabili, Homicidio voluntario, Incestu, Adulterio, Fornicatione.* Now, my Lord, if the last clause allow'd of all accusers whatsoever, the Seniors would be under more difficulties than any other persons; which is absurd; for they, for the same crimes, cannot accuse till after two admonitions, which any others may do without that previous condition: or if the Seniors too are allowed by the last clause to accuse at large, the prior clauses will be found wholly useless and impertinent.

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John Le Clerc.

During the progress of this feud, Bentley could so far abstract his mind from a business which vitally affected all his worldly interests, as to compose one of the ablest and most perfect of his works, 'The Emendations of Menander and Philemon.' The celebrated John Le Clerc was now in the full career of literary ambition: in his countless publications he not only appeared as a theologian, philosopher, scholar, and critic, but pretended to the foremost rank in those different departments. He seems to have been the first person who understood the power which may be exercised over literature by a reviewer. He had formerly been the principal writer of the *Bibliotheque Universelle*, and for two or three years past had published the *Bibliotheque Choisie*, a quarterly journal, which examined most new publications. Such an adept was he in the science of reviewing, so skilfully did he distribute his praises and censures, and understood so well the method of interposing his own judgment on some of the leading subjects, that he maintained an air of superiority upon every topic, and by an absolute system of terror, made himself a despot in the republic of letters. Being a man of great capacity and surprising exertion, he executed

His skill as a reviewer.

"2. Again, my Lord, the words of the latter clause being only these, *Examinatus et legitime convictus*, 'tis plain that examination and conviction supposes the accusers mention'd before, and no other; for otherwise it would have been added, *a quocunque accusatus*; but at present, there being no word at all of accusation, this clause must necessarily relate to the accusers named before, or else the Visitor himself might examine the Master without any accuser; which is absurd and unreasonable.

"3. Again, my Lord, if the latter clause be totally disjoin'd from the former, any person, though no member of the Society, may summon the Master before the Visitor; a thing unheard of in any College in England; and I may add, my Lord, that in King Edward's statute (the same number, 40) about the expulsion of the Master, the Seniors alone are appointed accusers, and no other: neither is there any thing there ambiguous, or in the least capable of another interpretation.

"Upon all which, my Lord, I humbly crave leave to insist and protest again (for fear of bringing so dangerous a precedent upon my successors) that all the present proceedings, and what shall follow on the same foot, are null and void *ipso facto*: and I admit them, or give answers to them, only to clear myself in your Lordship's opinion and the world's, without any acknowledgment of this proceeding as judicial or legitimate.

"I am, with all humility and sincerity,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"RI. BENTLEY."

"*At her Majesty's Library, March* 25, 1710."

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Is anxious for reputation in scholarship.

many voluminous works of dissimilar natures. He was at this time regarded as the leader of the Arminian divines in Holland; he was likewise eminent in natural and moral philosophy; he had left scarcely any department of modern literature untouched; but all would not satisfy him, unless he could establish a reputation for classical scholarship. Unfortunately, he had been ill-grounded in the Greek language, was imperfectly acquainted with the elements of its grammar, and had acquired the little knowledge which he possessed at an advanced age, with the view, as it would appear, of becoming in every respect a parallel to the incomparable Grotius. In an evil hour he undertook an edition of the Fragments of the comic poets, Menander and Philemon; a work requiring not only an extensive familiarity with classical authors, but peculiar judgment and tact, and, above all, an accurate acquaintance with the comic metres. In all these respects, Le Clerc was deficient: in the last particular, he had not the information which might have been derived from the poorest grammar-school in Europe: the total extent of his metrical theory seems to have been, that an iambic verse ought to consist of twelve syllables; but of the difference between a spondee, iambus, and trochee, he had no very distinct notion, and appears never to have troubled himself with such inquiries. How he could have ventured upon this undertaking, conscious as he must have been of his own unfitness, and aware of the danger of exposure, is perfectly amazing: there seems hardly any way of accounting for such unexampled presumption; unless we suppose that he had got into his possession the manuscripts of some deceased scholar, who had begun an arrangement of these Fragments, upon the accuracy of which he placed undue reliance [22].

Publishes the fragments of Menander and Philemon.

Grotius having employed himself on his Stobæus, as well as his *Excerpta* from the Greek Dramatists, to beguile the hours of impri-

[22] This was the conjecture of his enemy, Peter Burman: "Suspicio præterea non vana mihi, dum excutio hæc fragmenta, nata fuit, in manus hujusce vulturii incidisse quasdam schedas viri alicujus doctissimi, qui ante nostrum his fragmentis jam colligendis operam dedit. Dubitaveram etiam vehementer, an non cum eo communicata fuerint horum Comicorum fragmenta olim a Theodoro Cantero collecta, qui ingens patriæ meæ lumen et decus fuit, et quæ olim Cl. Francius possedit, nunc vero auctione publica ejus libris divenditis in Amstelædamensis cujusdam incolæ manus pervenerunt." *Burmanni Præfatio.*

sonment in the castle of Louvestein, Le Clerc determined to reap glory by treading the same field. His own account of the undertaking, that he had always felt great delight in these remnants of Greek comedy, and had collected and transcribed them for his own convenience and amusement, is unquestionably fictitious; since his knowledge of the language was never sufficient to enable him to derive the least pleasure from their perusal. The collection consists of fragments copied from the two volumes of Grotius just mentioned, and those pointed out in the indexes of Meursius and Fabricius; to the latter of whom he omits to mention his obligation. It seems hard to pronounce of any book, drawn up by a man of learning, that it contains nothing new which is useful or instructive; but Le Clerc's compilation deserves that and even severer censures. Instead of improving the collections of Grotius, he either implicitly follows him, or in deserting him, he seldom fails to commit some enormous error. He undertakes to give the notes of his great predecessor entire; but in violation of this promise, the reader finds them mutilated. He prints the words of the poets mixed up with those of the prose writers by whom they are quoted, and arranged in lines of twelve syllables, intended to look like iambic verses. Many of the fragments he alters, by the insertion, omission, or substitution of words, without apprising the reader of the change; and thereby does all in his power to prevent the true reading from being discovered. In short, he accumulates every fault, which a person destitute of all qualifications for his task can be supposed to commit. This work, the demerits of which have never been paralleled, is dedicated to the Earl of Shaftesbury, author of the 'Characteristics,' who had formed an acquaintance with Le Clerc, and was an admirer of his latitudinarian principles. It was published in the latter part of 1709; and Bentley immediately taking it in hand, wrote his celebrated 'Emendations' on 323 passages of the Fragments, in which he exposed the ignorance and presumption of the editor with the keenest irony; giving at the same time his own corrections, conceived in his happiest style, and for the most part certain and irrefragable. He says of this, as of the generality of his works, that it was composed *extempore*, and finished on the 13th of December. Some doubt has been insinuated respecting the

Excessive demerits fo this book.

Bentley writes his Emenda-tions.

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truth of this assertion; as he certainly did not send it for publication till March or April following: but the reader, who has seen in what way his time and his mind were occupied in the interval, will easily believe that he could not have found leisure to revise, or even bestow a thought upon Greek fragments[23]. The work itself does not indicate much labour or research; it evidently proceeds from a person familiar with the subject, secure in his positions, and satisfied with exposing the worthlessness of Le Clerc's edition, and the intolerable presumption of the editor.

Bentley's reported motives.

Tradition has recorded two motives which induced Bentley to criticise this publication. It is well known that there had formerly existed a scheme, which appears to have originated with Locke, for bringing over Le Clerc to England, and providing for him in the Church[24]. His heterodox opinions, approaching to Socinianism, must have long put an end to any views of that description. A report, however, prevailed that Lord Halifax still meditated giving him a home and provision in this country; and Bentley's own place of Library Keeper was thought of, as well calculated for that purpose: and this was believed to have determined our critic to prove, that in ancient literature at least, he was a mere pretender[25]. The other story has a greater air of probability: it is said that Bentley was dining in a company at Lambeth Palace, where the merits of Le Clerc, and the idea of importing him into this country, happened to be the subject of conversation. His principles were allowed to be dangerous, but all parties agreed in the praise of his universal learning; and his publication of Menander and Philemon, which had just appeared, being alleged as a new proof, Bentley alone ventured to dissent from the general applause; and his 'Emendations' were written in support of his

[23] This insinuation is from his friend Dr. Hare, to whom the Emendations were sent, who says, in his *Epistola Critica*, p. 6, (*not.*), "*Scriptæ hæ Emendationes* OPERA EXTEMPORALI *et finitæ Idibus Dec.* 1709. Vid. Burmann. præfat. p. 6. ad quem mense demum Aprili sunt transmissæ."

[24] See the correspondence between Locke and Molineux.

[25] This account is given by Bishop Newton, in his Life, p. 30. A similar story is told in some manuscripts of Mr. George Ashby, in possession of Sir Thomas Cullum, Bart.

opinion[26]. Whatever foundation there may have been for these anecdotes, we know that the Doctor considered himself ill used by Le Clerc, in a critique of his Notes on the Tusculans in the *Bibliotheque Choisie*; and on that account had no disposition to spare the reviewer[27]. But independently of other motives, it was of importance to the interests of literature to expose the arrogance of this pretender, who was assuming the character of dictator in a department where he had not the slightest right to interfere; and the peculiar acquirements of Bentley pointed him out, as the scholar most competent to pronounce the censure of the learned world on the presumptuous intruder.

It was determined that a mystery should attend the birth of this produce of Bentley's genius. Either not having leisure to superintend the publication himself, or choosing that it should come before the world anonymously, he sent it to be published in Holland, the country where Le Clerc resided, and where it was sure to excite greatest sensation. Of all the Dutch scholars whom this self-elected arbiter of literature had made his enemies, there was none so exasperated against him as Peter Burman of Utrecht. In addition to the common offence which Le Clerc had given, by decrying the plodding and laborious line of scholarship, Burman had a peculiar and personal cause of resentment. Finding his craft constantly attacked by the Swiss reviewer, he defended himself in the preface to an edition of Petronius Arbiter, with warmth and indignation; and added something more than general censure; an exposure of many gross errors committed by Le Clerc, particularly in Latin prosody. The latter replied by a virulent article in his journal, which went beyond the field of literary contest, and impeached the moral character of Burman, on the ground of his writing commentaries upon so licentious an author as Petronius. This produced a furious rejoinder, called *Le Gazettier Menteur*, a little book which Burman chose to write in French, although a foreign

Sends the book to be printed in Holland.

Peter Burman.

His feud with Le Clerc.

[26] Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 244: he found this anecdote in a paper of memoranda by Dr. Michael Lort, Greek Professor at Cambridge. The latter gentleman having lived some years in Trinity College, in daily society and intimacy with Dr. Walker, and other friends and contemporaries of Bentley, about whom he was much interested, enjoyed opportunities of hearing authentic anecdotes respecting him.

[27] This appears from Bentley's letter to Le Clerc, shortly to be mentioned.

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language, that it might be legible to all the readers of the *Bibliotheque*; wherein he makes out a very strong case against Le Clerc, and the arrogance of his pretensions to universal scholarship. This quarrel, which ceased only with their lives, had just reached its height, when Burman received, he knew not from whence, the welcome and unhoped for present of Bentley's 'Emendations,' written under the name of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*. The idea of such a title seems to have been taken from Le Clerc himself, who had given in his journal a censure of Gronovius's Arrian, pretending to come from an Oxonian, who subscribed himself *C. Veratius Philellen.* As a further disguise, Phileleutherus takes occasion to speak of Bentley in terms of commendation; lamenting, however, the rough treatment which he had lately given to Gronovius. But in spite of all deception, the internal evidence of Bentley's style, and his peculiar metrical skill, with which no one could compete, must have immediately discovered the real author. The packet was accompanied by no other communication to Burman, than a permission to publish it with a preface of his own[28]: a leave of which he availed himself with the greatest good-will, insulting over his fallen adversary, with as much triumph as if it had been his own, and not another's hand by which he was overthrown. While the book was in the press, Burman selected a bundle of Le Clerc's errors unnoticed by Phileleutherus, and made a display of them in the preface; with the consoling assurance that six hundred more might still be discovered.

The secret of this production was not duly kept even till its birth:

[28] The title of the book is "*Emendationes in Menandri et Philemonis Reliquias, ex nupera editione Joannis Clerici: ubi multa Grotii et aliorum, plurima vero Clerici errata castigantur. Auctore* PHILELEUTHERO LIPSIENSI:"

Est genus hominum, qui esse primos se omnium rerum volunt,
Nec sunt.——TER.

The inscription in Bentley's own hand was, "Hæc edantur a Cl. Petro Burmanno, qui præfationem, et, si velit, dedicationem præmittat: scriptæ hæ emendationes opera extemporali, et finitæ Idibus Decembribus anno MDCCIX." He added also, "Clericus omnia Menandri loca ex Alberti Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca sumpsit, Dramata scilicet ex Menandri, qui ibi legitur, catalogo, loca sine Dramatis nomine ex indicibus Scholiastarum et aliorum Scriptorum ibidem; neque tamen unquam Fabricium laudat."

a report was circulated, that Burman was about to publish something written by Bentley against the editor of Menander. This was owing to the indiscretion of his friend Dr. Francis Hare, who was then in Holland as Chaplain General to the army of the Duke of Marlborough, and to whom the conveyance of the parcel was committed. He put it into the hands of Johnson a Scotch bookseller at the Hague, to be forwarded to Utrecht; but forgetting or disregarding the caution of secrecy, declared that he had received it from Dr. Bentley. Alexander Cuningham, the future antagonist of our critic, who also resided at the Hague, having learnt these tidings from the bookseller, apprised Le Clerc, with whom he was intimate, and propagated the news with much industry [29]. The unfortunate editor, alarmed at the report of his having fallen into such hands, first made an indirect attempt to discover the truth, and then addressed himself to Bentley, calling upon him to contradict, by the first post, the report of his having written the forthcoming book, as an enormity unbecoming a Christian and a divine: at the same time, he denounced his resentment and hostility, if he did not immediately clear himself of the charge; and added that silence would be considered a confession. To this menacing epistle, the Doctor immediately returned an answer; which, perhaps, Le Clerc found more difficult to digest, than even the public castigation that followed. Copies of both letters have been preserved, and nothing more strongly exemplifies Bentley's clear, powerful, and caustic style, or his acute talent in disputation. Without indulging the least invective, he exposes the arrogance of Le Clerc's pretensions; his presumption in first undertaking a work, to which he knew himself to be every way unequal, and then expecting that no one should venture to censure the

Dr. Francis Hare.

Alexander Cuningham.

Le Clerc writes a threatening letter.

July 1. Bentley's reply.

[29] These particulars were told to Bentley in a letter from Burman.—In Phileleutherus's dedication of the 'Remarks on a late Discourse of Freethinking,' addressed to Hare, he alludes ironically to his want of secrecy respecting this commission:

"*To My very Learned and Honoured Friend* F. H. *D.D. At London, Great Britain.*

"Sir,

"Your many and great civilities to me since our first acquaintance in the Low Countries, and the kind office you then did me in conveying my Annotations on Menander to the press; but above all your taciturnity and secrecy, that have kept the true author of that book undiscovered hitherto, if not unguessed; have encouraged me to send these present REMARKS," &c.

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performance; his childish precipitation in complaining of a book which he had not seen, and of the contents of which he could know nothing; and the insufferable insolence of his threatening language. The letter, however, contains a fair acknowledgment of his general merits; and though it refuses either to confess or deny the authorship of the 'Emendations,' since the inquiry had been made with menaces, yet it promises in conclusion, that if, after the book was published and had been read by both parties, any question were put to him, he would answer without reserve. Le Clerc, however, was satisfied with this reply, and never requested any further epistolary favour from Dr. Bentley.

Bentley's Emendations.

When the 'Emendations' appeared, the real Phileleutherus was immediately detected; it being agreed on all hands, that there was but one scholar living capable of producing them. The book was read with such avidity by the learned, that in the course of three weeks, not a single copy remained unsold: an occurrence which though common in the effusions of a popular novelist, or a party pamphleteer, is unexampled in the case of a classical publication. This performance is too well known among scholars to need any further commendation; but I shall mention, as a peculiar proof of its merit, that though it consists principally in the exposure of the errors of an ignoramus, yet its learning and spirit are such, that the repeated perusal, far from surfeiting the reader, never fails to convey fresh interest and amusement.

Gronovius.

The first combatant whom this publication called into the field, was Gronovius. He had been sufficiently irritated by the severe treatment he experienced in the 'Notes on the Tusculans;' and was now provoked almost to madness by Bentley's correction of one of the fragments of Menander (omitted by Le Clerc), which is contained in *Stephanus Byzantinus De Dodone*, a book published by himself eighteen years before. In correcting the errors committed by Gronovius in this fragment, he spoke of him with a perpetual sneer, disguised in the civilest language, which, perhaps, proved more unpalatable than open abuse. But this veteran editor was engaged at the same moment in a literary feud with Le Clerc, who had handled him roughly in his *Bibliotheque*. Such opposite impulses of resentment would have pre-

vented any other person from meddling at all in the dispute: but Gronovius was too passionately fond of literary warfare to be deterred by an awkward position of circumstances: he immediately printed a small volume, divided equally between the abuse of Bentley, and the abuse of Le Clerc. The very title indicates the temper in which it was composed—*Infamia Emendationum in Menandrum nuper editarum.* The greater part of the attack upon our critic consists of an angry and bitter contest respecting the fragment of four or five lines just mentioned. His spirit of invective is terrible; and, as if to increase the disgust of the reader, it is expressed in a harsh and unpolished style. Grey hairs, instead of softening the mind of Gronovius, seemed only to have added rancour to his resentments; and more than forty years perseverance in editing the classics had failed to humanize his manners. From Bentley he turns to the discomfited Le Clerc, at the exposure of whose ignorance he exults; and being convinced that he could never more be formidable as a censor of other scholars, he kicks and tramples upon him without forbearance or compunction. To the letter from the supposed Oxonian, *Philellen*, he replies under the name of his correspondent, *M. Lucilius Profuturus*, in a strain of insolent retaliation. Of this performance I have nothing more to remark, except that it has become deservedly scarce.

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Infamia Emendationum, &c.

Le Clerc being totally incompetent to defend himself against the strictures of Phileleutherus, was obliged to look abroad for assistance. A review of the controversy appeared at Leipsic in the *Acta Eruditorum,* written by Stephen Bergler, the future commentator on Alciphron and Aristophanes. Of all the writers who engaged in the controversy on Menander, Bergler was, with the exception of our hero, the best Grecian. He was friendly to Le Clerc, in whose favour he says all that the case would admit; and though he finds a few defects in Bentley's 'Emendations,' he owns candidly his superiority to himself, as well as to all persons alive, in that description of knowledge.

Bergler.

Jan. 1711.

It would have been better for Le Clerc to have rested satisfied with this judgment, and to have drawn the public attention no further to a matter so injurious to his literary character. But, unfortunately, he received as a present a collection of notes on Menander, decrying the

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De Pauw.

publication of Phileleutherus, and reviling him in the worst terms of insult and invective. This was the production of the notorious John Cornelius de Pauw of Utrecht, a person who had justly been considered the pest and disgrace of letters. He was then in the beginning of a career, which he continued for at least forty years, abusing most other scholars, and boasting of his own merits, with offensive arrogance. His learning was, I think, more extensive than has been generally allowed; but it was without accuracy, and so destitute was he of judgment and taste, that his critical writings have little or no value. This however constitutes but the smallest part of his demerits: all his writings prove him to be devoid of candour, good faith, good manners, and every gentlemanly feeling: and while he unites all the defects and bad qualities that were ever found in a critic or commentator, he adds one peculiar to himself, an incessant propensity to indecent allusions. Such was the principal ally whom the great philosopher could find in the hour of his distress. Le Clerc's good sense should have made him reject such assistance, which so far from being a support to a weak cause, would have injured the strongest: but soreness and vexation overcame his better judgment, and made him catch at an opportunity of being revenged on Bentley. Nevertheless it is plain from one or two passages in his preface, that he was really ashamed of his auxiliary. The report of Bentley's College quarrel, and the accusation of his rapacity having reached Holland, the name assumed by De Pauw was *Philargyrius Cantabrigiensis,* an obvious insult, for which the controversy in hand afforded no excuse: and the whole title of the book was a parody of that of Phileleutherus[30]. Le Clerc, in a long preface, labours to gloss over the enormous demerits of his own performance. But the defence is so inadequate, as only to prove the justice of the castigation which he had sustained. He offers many common-place observations upon the difficulty and uncertainty of restoring corrupt fragments; but that

Philargyrius Cantabrigiensis.

Le Clerc's defence.

[30] *Philargyrii Cantabrigiensis Emendationes in Menandri et Philemonis Reliquias ex nupera Editione Joannis Clerici. Ubi quædam Grotii et aliorum, plurima vero Phileleutheri Lipsiensis errata castigantur. Cum Præfatione Joan. Clerici. Amstelodami.* 1711. The motto is the same as that of 'Phileleutherus.'

was the very reason which made his presumption in undertaking such a work the more insufferable. In reply to the charge of gross ignorance of metre, he asserts that when he divided the quotations into lines resembling Iambics in nothing but in length, he was aware of their unmetrical state, but thought it better to do this, than to alter the words found in the books where they are quoted: a defence which leaves unnoticed the heaviest censure of all, namely, that he *had* frequently altered the quotations, without even apprizing the reader; and thereby produced a large portion of those unmetrical lines for which he apologized. To Bentley and Burman, whom he designates by the respective titles of Thrasonides and Giton, Le Clerc's defence must have been a triumph. As for De Pauw, his performance is so worthless, and his style so disgusting and execrable, that scarcely any one can read three pages of it, unless it were with the temper of his enemy Dorville, who, when composing the *Vannus Critica*, hunted out with avidity all the faults of this unhappy critic. The real *Philargyrius* continued many years unknown: he was, I find, supposed to be Olearius of Leipsic, the editor of Philostratus; till at length De Pauw acknowledged the precious production as his offspring [31]. The book concluded with a set of trifling and puerile notes by Salvini the Florentine Professor. Such was the triple alliance, which undertook to chastize the temerity and overthrow the credit of Dr. Bentley!

Salvini.

[31] There is in the possession of my learned friend Dr. Maltby a copy of *Phileleutherus* and one of *Philargyrius*, bound together in a volume, formerly belonging to Dr. Davies, President of Queen's College, and editor of Cicero, who has written the following note in the title page of *Philargyrius*: "Auctor hujus Libri Gottefridus Olearius, qui Philostratum edidit. Hoc mihi dixit Abr. Gronovius, Jac. Fil. At Bentleius a J. Corn. de Pauw hoc opus elaboratum esse contendit." That Bentley was right in his opinion is placed beyond a doubt by De Pauw's own confession in his preface to Phrynichus, as well as in other publications. Bentley never bestowed any notice upon this book except the following allusion in his long note on Hor. Art. Poet. V. 441, where speaking of Gronovius, he says, "Nam quod rursus nupero libello me oblique impetivit, *ut et alter nescio quis*, uterque sane operam et oleum perdiderunt: nondum enim eorum ictus tanti facio, ut iterum a me vapulent:

"*Multo majoris colaphi mecum veneunt.*"

CHAPTER X.

Great political change in 1710*—Vacancies of senior-fellowships in Trinity College—Fifty-four articles of accusation presented against Dr. Bentley—Account of Laughton, the Proctor—He disturbs a party of the representatives and their friends at the Rose tavern—Politics at Cambridge—General election—Expulsion of Professor Whiston—Barnes's edition of Homer—His quarrel with Bentley—His death and character—Bentley makes interest with the Queen for protection against his prosecutors—The Bishop of Ely requires his answer to the articles—Bentley presents a petition and complaint to the Crown—Question of the Visitor of Trinity College—Government stops the proceedings of the Bishop—Opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General—Bentley throws himself on the protection of the Lord Treasurer—His change of party—Questions submitted to the Queen's counsel—Extraordinary efforts of Bentley to finish his Horace—Dedication to the Earl of Oxford—Preface—Theory of the 'Tempora Horatiana'—Excellences and faults of Bentley's Horace—Numerous publications ridiculing the book—John Ker's attack on his Latinity—Le Clerc's Review of his Horace-Atterbury's compliments of the work—Another edition at Amsterdam.*

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Change in the Queen's ministers.

A CONSIDERABLE time intervened before the design of the Fellows of Trinity College to prosecute their Master for malversation, could be put into execution. The delay seems partly owing to the professional avocations of Miller, the conductor of the proceedings; and partly to the overwhelming interest which the political events of the year 1710 exercised over the minds of all persons in the kingdom. The impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell caused an uncommon ebullition of spirits, and threw the country into an agitation as great as almost any event recorded in our history. The flame excited by these proceedings proved the main cause of the great ministerial revolution which ensued, whereby the powerful government of Lord Godolphin and the Whigs was overthrown, and the High Church party, under the lead of Harley and St. John, were admitted into the councils of the Queen.

To Dr. Bentley this great and unexpected triumph of the Tories seemed highly inauspicious; particularly as he had been endeavouring, in his pamphlet, to represent the opposition which he met with in his College as the fruit of his attachment to the Whig interest. It was now concluded that he could expect no favour and no quarter from

those who had obtained the ascendant: and the circumstance of the mastership, when vacant, being in the disposal of Government, contributed to render his situation alarming. It may be noticed, as a curious fact, that his three opponents, Atterbury, Smalridge, and Freind, by whom the Phalaris controversy was conducted, had confederated to produce the popular defence of Dr. Sacheverell, and were the first persons to experience the patronage of the new ministry. To complete the coincidence, his old enemy, Dr. Swift, who was strongly prejudiced against him, became the intimate companion and confidant of the two leading members of the cabinet. But threatening as this aspect of affairs might seem, the address, or good fortune of Dr. Bentley, carried him safely, if not triumphantly, through all perils.

Bentley attempts to divide his opponents.

His first endeavours were to break the confederacy of his Fellows, and by alternate promises and threats, to induce some of them to withdraw their names from the prosecution. Among other endeavours to procure the acquiescence of his College council in the schemes detailed in the last chapter, he had offered successively to the ninth and tenth Fellows, an immediate admission to the rank and profits of the Seniority, on condition of compliance with his propositions. With this object he attempted to vacate the place of Mr. Hawkins, the oldest of the body, who had for many years laboured under mental malady, and was then the inmate of a private madhouse; alleging, that he was incapable of discharging the duties of a Senior [1]. It was of course remarked, that his removal from the number of the eight, supposing the reason to be valid, ought to have taken place long before, and not have been reserved to answer a particular purpose; and the Board, conceiving this to be an attack upon their freeholds, declared their dissent; or, to use the Master's sarcastic expression, 'the majority of the Seniors were not willing to part with him out of their number.' However, about June this year, Hawkins died. The statutes direct, that within nine days after the vacancy of a senior-fellowship, a successor shall be

Hawkins.

Vacancy in the Seniority.

[1] *True State of Trinity College*, p. 80. John Hawkins was the contemporary of Dr. Barrow; was elected Fellow in 1650; became B.D. in 1661. His grace for the degree of D.D. passed in College in 1680; but he did not proceed to its completion. He had been a member of Trinity under *ten* Masters.

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appointed by the Master and remaining seven; and they moreover enjoin, that the next in standing shall be chosen, unless there exist some weighty objection, considered by the Master and major part of the Seniors a sufficient cause for his rejection. Accordingly, at the meeting held within the time, the Seniors unanimously chose Mr. Cooper, the next in succession, one of the prosecutors; but the Master refused to admit him, alleging, that he wanted every qualification required by the statutes, in which the members of this College council are described as *octo viri et gravitate et prudentia præstantes.* Whatever might be his objections against the qualifications or character of Cooper, it was clear that in this refusal he was actuated by feelings of interest or revenge; since this was the same individual to whom he had offered a senior-fellowship a few months before. Before the end of the year Cooper was admitted by the Seniors, in the Master's absence. The only fruit reaped by Dr. Bentley from this demonstration of power, was, that it became an additional item in the articles of accusation, which were immediately afterwards exhibited to the Bishop of Ely; and his conduct in this particular may, perhaps, be considered as among the most serious in the catalogue of his alleged malversations [2].

Fifty-four articles of accusation against Bentley. July 11, 1710.

The accusation was now presented in form, comprising no less than fifty-four articles, and subscribed not only by the same names as the petition, but by seven other Fellows, making the complainants a clear majority of the College [3]. These numerous charges embraced almost every act of Dr. Bentley's administration, and every particular of his conduct since his admission to the mastership. The material questions have been already laid before the reader, and their merits impartially

[2] Bentley's defence in this particular was, that Cooper was addicted to intemperance: this was denied by the opposite party, who stated that he was as sensible a man as any in England.

In October this year another senior-fellowship became vacant by the death of Mr. William Mayer; but the Master being absent in town, his deputy did not dare even to give notice of the vacancy: at length, on the 26th of December, the Seniority having met to vote a dividend, Mr. Cooper protested against the validity of any proceeding, till the body was completed by filling up the vacancy. This being a sound and tenable objection, they admitted Cooper into the first vacancy, and then proceeded to elect Hanbury, the next in order, into that occasioned by the death of Mayer. *Rud's Diary.*

[3] The additional names were, Thomas Pilgrim, Thomas Hill, John Williams, David Fleming, Robert Johnson, William Smith, and Alexander Burrell.

discussed. Miller, by whom the articles were drawn up, had been careful to turn into an accusation every particular for which Bentley had, in his printed pamphlet, assumed merit to himself. Several of the articles are frivolous, charging the Master with violations of statute in cases, where an adherence to the literal enactment was scarcely possible: others made it criminal in him to have meditated and proposed measures, which were never carried into execution: many more contained charges of negligence, which, though culpable, called for censure or admonition, rather than expulsion. But when all the complaints of this description have been set aside, there remain some of serious import, and such as demanded the cognizance of a judge.

As it is directed that the accused Master shall be 'examined' on each charge, it was thought right that the articles should be put into the form of questions, addressed to the party arraigned, which gives them a quaint and even ludicrous character. It was also resolved to engage the public as a party against the Doctor: accordingly the whole accusation, as soon as it had been presented to the Bishop, was published in a pamphlet, along with those parts of the College statutes, which he was accused of having violated [4].

Delay in the proceedings.

The powers of a Visitor enable him to hear a complaint in a summary manner: yet such was the caution of Bishop Moore, that it was not till after long delays that any further step was taken in this affair, on the decision of which the peace and settlement of Trinity College depended. He first sent a copy of the articles to the Master, who appears to have taken no notice of them whatever; and thus the affair was suffered to slumber for three months longer. In the meantime some other matters occurred at Cambridge, which, though not directly affecting the subject of these memoirs, are somewhat connected with his history, and will be interesting to the reader, as exhibiting the state of feeling and parties in the University at this eventful period.

August.

[4] The title of this book is, '*A true Copy of the Articles against Dr. Bentley, exhibited to the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Ely, by many of the Fellows of Trinity College in Cambridge, together with the College-Statute* De Amotione Magistri, *and several other Clauses of the College Statutes, with references to the Articles. London*, 1710.' The Articles themselves, along with the Master's answers to each, will be seen in the Appendix.

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Laughton, the Proctor.

The Senior Proctor was Mr. Richard Laughton, the tutor of Clare Hall, a man of learning and virtue, whose exemplary attention to his pupils had elevated his College to a high rank in public estimation, and was the theme of universal applause. As Proctor, he had been indefatigable in repressing the licence of young men, and restoring the ancient discipline of the University: in particular he had put down some clubs, and constantly dispersed the parties at taverns, which, according to the practice of that day, used to be kept up till a late hour. He had likewise curbed the licence of the tripos, and forbidden any personal reflections on the senior members of the University; whereby it was foretold, that the spirit of that exercise would be altogether destroyed, *sublato jure nocendi*; a prediction which we may observe, by the bye, has not been verified by the result. Mr. Laughton had supplied to Dr. Bentley a testimony under his hand, of the good conduct and good discipline which he had observed among the students of Trinity; a document which the latter took care to insert in his 'Letter to the Bishop of Ely.' But it unfortunately happened that this valuable member of the University was a violent party-man; and he appears to have suffered such feelings to overpower all sense of discretion, as the following anecdote will too plainly prove.

Party at the Rose. July 3.

The representatives of the University, the Hon. Arthur Annesley, and the Hon. Dixie Windsor, had come as usual to visit their constituents at the Commencement, and happened to be passing the evening in a select party of friends at the Rose tavern. The company who, like the two members, were all in the tory interest, consisted of about ten persons, among whom were Sir John Cotton, member for the town of Cambridge, a baronet of the oldest family in the county; Thomas Paske, LL.D. of Clare Hall; Mr. Gooch, of Caius; and Mr. Middleton, of Trinity College: the two last of whom will make a prominent figure in a future part of this history. About ten o'clock the party was surprised at the unceremonious entrance of Mr. Laughton, preceded by a lictor, and followed by a number of under-graduates, as his body guard. He immediately ordered the whole company to leave the house, and disperse to their respective colleges. Whether in this procedure he acted from error or design, may admit of a doubt; but as

no person of the company was *in statu pupillari*, and amenable to his authority, there was no pretence or excuse for his interference. This strange visitation provoked much laughter; and the Proctor having intimated that he would not quit the room till the party had dispersed, he was invited by some to take his seat at the table; others begged that he would dismiss his myrmidons; one gentleman proposed to him the toast they were drinking, and that toast was 'Doctor Sacheverell.' Laughton's political feelings now combined with a sense of slighted authority to resent this affront, and he left the room with expressions of great indignation. But being a person not easily daunted, within an hour he again burst upon them, and summoned them to depart: the rudeness of his behaviour excited only merriment; at twelve o'clock he made them a third visitation, at which time they had called for their reckoning. But the Proctor's wrath did not end with the evening: he drew up a formal complaint against the parties, which he presented to the Vice Chancellor and Heads, demanding satisfaction for the affronts put upon him in the execution of his office, and calling for the punishment of the tavern-keeper, Alderman Langham, as the harbourer of such lawless revellers.

No words can place the folly and indiscretion of Mr. Laughton's conduct in a stronger light than his own account of the transaction, which, unfortunately for him, found its way into print[5]. His complaint, being the mere effusion of temper, met with no attention from the superiors of the University; though the Vice Chancellor, Dr. Roderick, Provost of King's, was considered of the whig party as well as himself. This anecdote may serve as a proof how dangerous it is to indulge in the heats of faction, by which even the best and most gifted men may be led into the commission of extravagancies. The

[5] An account of this absurd story, along with the Proctor's more absurd representation of it, will be found in *The University of Cambridge Vindicated*, p. 18; a pamphlet written at the time by Styan Thirlby: it was brought forward again in print by Arthur Ashley Sykes, in the year 1719, with the view of reflecting on Doctors Gooch and Middleton; the latter of whom, in his *Remarks on the Case of Dr. Bentley farther stated*, gives a very full detail of the business, and a very satisfactory refutation of the only real charge laid against the party at the Rose, that one of them (Dr. Paske) appeared to have drunk to great excess by the tone and accent of his voice. Their reckoning, when they separated, did not amount to 1*s.* 6*d* a head.

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gentleman of whom we are speaking, was not only a good disciplinarian and good instructor, but deserves the praise of having taken the lead in making the study of the true system of philosophy universal at Cambridge: for by choosing the Principia of Newton as the predominant subject both of the exercises in the schools, and the mathematical examination for degrees, he enforced among the students the general attention to that immortal work, which has from his time never ceased to distinguish the University of Cambridge [6].

Politics at Cambridge.

No sooner were the whigs dismissed from the government, than addresses of thanks to her Majesty poured in from all parts of the country; among which that from the University of Oxford was conspicuous. On this occasion Cambridge did not follow the example of the sister University: but as High Church feelings predominated there, though with a more moderate tone than at Oxford, much dissatisfaction was felt at the omission, which was generally attributed to the Vice Chancellor. The eccentric Styan Thirlby, then an undergraduate of Jesus College, published a violent and intemperate pamphlet on this occasion; showing his rancorous and hot-headed temper, which age and experience did not mollify. He abuses Bentley without measure or decency; having already contracted that dislike of him, which displayed itself some years afterwards in his edition of Justin Martyr [7].

General election.

The new ministry lost no time in availing themselves of their popularity, by a dissolution of Parliament. Mr. Annesley, one of the representatives, being just removed to the House of Peers by the death of his brother, the Earl of Anglesea, a contest took place at the general election, which displayed the prevalent politics of the University.

[6] This fact is testified by Sir William Browne, at that time Mr. Laughton's pupil, in his speech to the Royal Society, Nov. 19, 1772. See *Nichols's Lit. Anecd.* vol. iii. p. 323. The subject of the introduction of the study of Newton's works at Cambridge is clearly and distinctly treated in a paper in the *Museum Criticum*, vol. ii. p. 514; in answer to some unaccountable misstatements published by Professor Playfair.

[7] The title of this worthless tract is, "The University of Cambridge vindicated from the Imputation of Disloyalty it lies under on the account of not Addressing: as also from the malicious and foul Aspersions of Dr. B——ly, *late* Master of Trinity College: and of a certain Officer and *pretended Reformer* in the said University. Written by the Author. London. 1710."

Though there were four tory candidates, each standing on a separate interest, no whig ventured to come to a poll; and the senior Proctor, just before the expiration of his office, had the mortification of pronouncing Mr. Windsor, and Dr. Paske, two of the party at the Rose, to be the elected members of the University[8]. In this contest it does not appear that our Doctor took any part: he was in fact absent from Cambridge at the time. Oct. 5, 1710.

Expulsion of Professor Whiston. Oct. 30, 1710.

The next event was the prosecution of Professor Whiston for the publication of Arian doctrines. He was twice convened before the academical court; and remaining obstinate in his resolution to propagate opinions hostile to those of the Church, was banished from the University by the sentence of the Vice Chancellor and eleven Heads. In these proceedings the Master of Trinity took no share: he entertained for Whiston a personal regard; and while he pitied his perverse judgment, he respected his sincerity, and appears to have been always ready to render him service. In the following year, when Whiston dedicated to the two Houses of Convocation the 'Historical Preface to his Primitive Christianity Revived,' thereby compelling that body to notice the work, and inviting its censures, Bentley went to him, and endeavoured to persuade him not to court the ruin of himself and his family by perseverance in such a headstrong course. But his arguments, like those of other friends, were as vain as if addressed to the winds; so thoroughly was he persuaded, that he should shortly bring over the whole nation to his own theory of 'Primitive Christianity[9].'

Notwithstanding the banishment of Whiston, the Heads of Colleges did not proceed to appoint a successor to the Lucasian professorship for more than a year: intending, no doubt, to give him an opportunity, by a timely recantation, to resume his station in the University; and

[8] The numbers were: for Mr. Windsor, 201; Dr. Paske, 149; Mr. Shaw, 93; Mr. Gill, 64. *Rud's Journal.* Thirlby says, that a whig who canvassed could not get more than ten votes. Of course, this was not literally the fact.

[9] *Whiston's Life*, vol. i. p. 131. The account of the proceedings against him in the University is given by Whiston at great length, in his appendix to an Historical Preface to *Primitive Christianity Revived*, in 1711.

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for this forbearance it is probable that he was indebted to the friendly interference of Dr. Bentley [10].

Barnes's edition of Homer.

In the latter part of 1710, Joshua Barnes gave to the world his edition of the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, with a dedication of the former to the Earl of Pembroke, and the latter to Hyde Earl of Rochester, the Queen's uncle. This work was published by the editor in a fit of wrath, great as that of the hero of the Iliad himself: and the object of his resentment was Dr. Bentley. It was no secret that our critic entertained contempt for the Greek scholarship of the Professor, whose deplorable want of judgment, and critical accuracy, as well as warmth of temper and childish irritability, exposed him to unceasing ridicule; from which not even the fame of extensive learning, undeniably his due, afforded him protection. The success of Barnes's innumerable publications not having been such as to prejudice the booksellers in his favour, no one of that fraternity could be found to undertake the cost and risk of the Homer. But the Professor had married a widow with a handsome jointure; a large share of which he devoted to this expensive publication, or, to use his own term, he entrusted his whole fortune *huic uni Homericæ navi* [11]. He was anxious to dedicate this his great work to the Queen: but the compliment was declined, owing, as he believed, to the disparaging representations of Bentley. What foundation he had for this suspicion, cannot be determined. It seems highly probable that Queen Anne, who was in the habit of conversing with her chaplains, might have asked the Doctor for his opinion as to the forthcoming publication of Barnes; and if so, it is certain that his representations would not come up to the Professor's own notion of himself. But that he had deliberately done him an ill-natured turn, is very unlikely. Barnes's

His resentment against Bentley.

[10] The vacancy was filled up Nov. 19, 1711, when Nicholas Saunderson, A.M. of Christ College, the mathematical prodigy, who had been blind from his infancy, was elected Lucasian Professor, by a majority of the votes of *six* Heads against *four*. His opponent was Christopher Hussey, Fellow of Trinity College, who was supported by Dr. Bentley. Saunderson delivered his inaugural speech on the 21st of January, following.

[11] The story is well known of Barnes having, as it is said, overcome the scruples of his wife, as to the employment of her money for this purpose, by persuading her that the author of the Iliad was no other than King Solomon.

preface exhibits a pitiable specimen of rage and mortified vanity: the poor fellow complains in the bitterest terms of envy and neglect; and particularly of one '*Zoilus*,' one '*homo inimicus*,' whom he charges with impudence, arrogance, and malignity without measure. That all this indignation was levelled at Bentley there could be no doubt. Barnes, who had no notion of true criticism, held in aversion and contempt the new school of scholarship, which he saw superseding that in which he had been educated. He boasts with the most childish vanity, of his own unrivalled learning, and his acquaintance with Homer for above forty years; talks of the countenance he had received from the great men of former days, Sancroft, Gunning, Beaumont, Barrow, and Duport; while in allusion to Bentley, he says, "*Quantum ad Græcarum Literarum cognitionem spectat, nondum illorum virilitas meam assecuta est pueritiam.*"

One cheering topic alone presented itself to the Professor. The change of ministry took place just at the time when he was writing the dedication of the Odyssey to Lord Rochester, who was himself made President of the Council. Barnes's exalted notion of monarchical power and divine right, had formerly made him the panegyrist of King James II. and Lord Chancellor Jefferies: he now hailed the accession of the new ministry as the harbinger of better times; and there was not raised a louder song of triumph in the whole kingdom at the discomfiture of the whigs, than that which burst forth from the editor of Homer.

Bentley's letter to Davies.

Dr. Bentley no sooner saw the publication, than he wrote to Mr. Davies, who was a friend of Barnes, lashing the vanity and arrogance of the Professor, in terms as severe and unsparing as possible. This epistle, though not intended to be communicated to any except Barnes himself, has been preserved, and exhibits the most complete specimen that exists of the Doctor's vehement and overwhelming style, when writing without premeditation, and actuated by feelings of anger; and as such, although it is already in print, I cannot forbear giving it to the reader [12]:

[12] This letter was found, after Davies's death, by his successor in his parsonage-house at Fen-Ditton, and was first published in the Monthly Review for March 1756, vol. xiv. p. 202, at the end of a critique on Musgrave's edition of the Hippolytus of Euripides.

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" Dear Sir,

" After you left me this morning, I borrowed of Dr. Sike Mr. Barnes's new edition of Homer, where I was told that I should find myself abused. I read over his dedications and prefaces, and there I found very opprobrious words against enemies in general, and one *Homo Inimicus* in particular; which I cannot apply to myself, not being concerned in the accusation. But if Mr. Barnes has, or does declare in company, that he means me by those expressions, I assure him I shall not put up such an affront, and an injury too; since I was one of his first subscribers, and an useful director to him, if he had followed good advice. He struts and swaggers like a Suffenus, and challenges that same enemy to come *aperte*, and shew him any fault. If he mean me, I have but dipped yet into his notes, and yet I find every where just occasion of censure.

Iliad Ξ. v. 101. Ἀλλὰ ἀποπτανέουσιν ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης.

Thus all editions have it; but in this, we have it in the very text

Αὐτὰρ ἀποπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης—and this noble note added; αὐτὰρ, *ita omnino pro* ἀλλὰ *ut olim*. So we have αὐτὰρ clapt in *pro imperio*, only to avoid the hiatus of two vowels ἀλλὰ ἀ——Now for this interpolation alone, his book deserves to be burnt. Let us examine into the passage a little; what is ἀποπτανέουσιν? He translates it *respicient*; but says not one word to explain it. His friend Eustathius, to whom he owes the better half of his notes, knows not what to make on't; whether it be ἀπ-ὀπτανέουσιν, from ὀπταίνω, ὄπτω, i. e. ἀποβλέψουσιν; or ἀπὸ-πτανέουσιν, from πτῶ, πταίνω, φοβοῦμαι, i. e. πτήξουσιν, or from πέτω, πταίνω, i. e. πετασθήσονται. But whoever heard of either ὀπταίνω or πταίνω? where does our Professor find either of them? He's wholly mute upon this word, which is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον: and yet the wretch would venture blindfold to put in αὐτὰρ. But the true reading is thus:

Ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης.

Ἀποπαπταίνω. fut. παπτανῶ, Ionice παπτανέω. παπταίνω comes forty times in Homer; and if he had been, as he thinks himself, *Mæonides sextus pavone ex Pythagoreo*, he might have found out the emendation, which is clear *per se*; but I will prove it so by authority. Etymol. in Ἀποπτάμενος. πετῶ πεταίνω, καὶ παπτανῶ παπτανοῦσι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς προθέσεως ἀπὸ, ἀποπτάνουσι; so it is printed indeed, but it is evident that he writ it ἀποπτανέουσι, and had respect to this place, as Sylburgius well observes. Again, Hesychius in the right series between ἀπόπαξ and ἀπόπαρ has it thus; Ἀποπτανέουσιν, περιβλέψουσιν ὅπως φύγωσιν. correct ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, περιβλέψουσιν: he means this very passage, as appears by the scholiast, ἀποπτανέουσιν· ἤτοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἀποβλέψουσιν, ἢ ἀλλάχοσε, ὅ ἐστι, ψεύξονται. What says our Professor to this jobb? Ἔργον Ὁμηρείοιο τόδ' ἔπλετο Βαρνεσίοιο, to foist in αὐτὰρ of his own head, and so, *quantum in se*, extinguish the true reading for ever, which while Ἀλλὰ was preserved in the text, might some time be retrieved [13].

[13] Dr. Bentley mentioned this emendation afterwards to his friends. His nephew, Thomas Bentley, writing to him from Rome, in 1726, says: " There are two or three Homers here, (manuscripts) that have better readings than are in Barnes's edition. In the best of them I looked at that fine emendation of yours, ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, &c. I found it exactly and plainly so, and a scholion upon it; for there's a large scholiast different from Didymus." Dr. Sam. Clarke had also heard of this correction, which is accordingly printed in the text of his Homer.

I dipped into his second volume, and there I found this learned correction: Od. Λ. v. 546, p. 307. Agamemnon, says the scholiast, to judge fairly whether Ajax or Ulysses deserved Achilles's armour, *αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Τρώων ἀγαγὼν ἠρώτησεν, ἀπὸ ὁποτέρου τῶν Τρώων μᾶλλον ἐλυπήθησαν· εἰπόντων δὲ Ὀδυσσέα*, he gave the armour to him.—Here our Professor corrects it, *ἀπὸ ὁποτέρου αὐτῶν οἱ Τρῶες*, and thus acts Thraso in his note; *Ita emendo, sensu postulante; quique hoc valent, ad hos provoco.* Impertinence! to appeal to men of sense here; as if it required much sense to know, that Ajax and Ulysses were not Trojans. The business is to correct the place neatly; that is, truly, as the author wrote it; which he has not done, but has gone clumsily about it. I'll give him the true lection with altering half a letter; *ὑπὸ ὁποτέρου τῶν Ἡρώων*, '*from which of the two heroes* they suffered most.' This is clear and neat. But our Professor, besides his botching in the words, has sullied even the sense; for the captives were not asked, what all the Trojans, *οἱ Τρῶες*, thought, but what they themselves thought.

Again, over the leaf, p. 309. v. 576, I find this worthy note: the poet had said of Tityus, Ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα. Upon which the scholiast, *Πλέθρον· ἕκτον μέρος σταδίου—ὥστε τοῦ Τιτύου τὸ σῶμα κατέχειν τόπον ἐνὸς ἡμίσους σταδίου.* So all former editions. One *πλέθρον* being $\frac{1}{6}$ of a stadium, 9 *πλέθρα* make one stadium and $\frac{1}{2}$. Now comes our learned Professor's note. *Cum πλέθρον sit sexta pars stadii, et Tityus occupet novem πλέθρα, sequitur illum spatium occupare non unius dimidii, sed unius stadii et dimidii. Quare inter ἑνὸς* and *ἡμίσεος addendum erat τὸ καί.* Here is your *Professor emeritus*, that has made Greek his study *per annos quadraginta*, to whose *pueritia* other people's manhood cannot reach. Now to pardon him his silly interpolation of *ἡμίσεος* for *ἡμίσους*, and so making the scholiast write Ionic; it's plain he thought *ἑνὸς ἡμίσους* signified *one half*, and not *one and a half*; a piece of ignorance for which he deserves to be turned out of the Chair; and for which, and many others like it, *si magis me irritaverit*, I, as his principal elector and governor, may call him to account. What? he that in his preface has bragged of perusing Pollux, Suidas, Etymologus, not to know what all of them teach us! *ἓν ἥμισυ τάλαντον* says Pollux, *liber* 9, is *Τρία ἡμιτάλεντα*, one talent and a half, not one half talent, as this booby would think it. So in those Lexicographers, and authors *passim*, *δύο ἥμισυ, τέσσαρα ἥμισυ, ἓξ ἥμισυ*, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$; *δεκαδύο ἥμισυ* $12\frac{1}{2}$, not twelve half, I hope. A fit man, indeed, *per annos* 15 *in Græca Cathedra celeb. Academiæ sedere!* From thence I dipped in his fulsom *ἐπίλογος*, enough to make a man spew that sees the vanity and insolence of the writer, where I meet with these verses,

"Δὴ τότ' ἐγὼ, τρίγλωσσος ἐὼν καὶ ἀοίδιμος ἀνὴρ,
Εὐπραγίης τ' ἔλαχον καὶ τιμῆς κυδιανείρης.

But what a shame it is, for a man that pretends to have been *a teneris Unguiculis* a great grammarian and a poet, not to know, that the second syllable of *εὐπραγίης* is long?

Sir, I write to you as a common friend, and desire you to shew Mr. Barnes this letter; but not to let him keep it, nor transcribe it. If it be true, that he gives out, that he means me by those villainous characters, I shall teach him better manners towards his elector. For though I shall not honour him so much as to enter the lists against him myself, yet in one week's time, I can send a hundred such remarks as these, to his good

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friend Will. Baxter, (whom I have known these twenty years) who, before the parliament sits, shall pay him home for his Anacreon. But if it be otherwise, that he did not describe me under those general reproaches, a small satisfaction shall content me; which I leave you to be judge of: for I would not, without the utmost provocation, hurt the sale of his book, upon which he professes to have laid out his whole fortunes. Pray let me hear from you as soon as you can.

Trinity College, Saturday Evening. "I am, &c."

Barnes's death and character.

What satisfaction Barnes ever made for his rude behaviour, we are not informed: he was approaching that period when rivalries and jealousies lose their powers of annoyance. The sale of his Homer not answering his expectations, he wrote in the course of 1711 three letters to the prime minister Harley, supplicating some preferment, in reward of his long and brilliant career in literature[13]. But such a mark of Royal favour, if ever intended, was postponed too long: for in the following year, poor Barnes was relieved by death from all his anxieties and distresses. As we shall have no further occasion to mention this Professor, we may just remark, that however deficient he was in the qualifications of a critic, his labours have been too much decried, and the credit justly due to them has been refused; and that in truth, his edition of Homer, with all its faults and imperfections, is a more useful one to the reader than any which had preceded it; nay more, there was no edition published for ninety years after it, which upon the whole deserved the preference of a scholar. In paying this tribute to Joshua Barnes, I am only performing an act of justice: though if the dead had any feeling for such matters, it would not, I fear, be sufficient to appease the offended manes of my indefatigable and warm-spirited predecessor.

Dr. Bentley's interest with the Queen and the ministry.

We must now revert to the affair of the College prosecution, which on a sudden assumed a new and curious complexion. Dr. Bentley having in vain endeavoured to terminate this business by breaking the confederacy of his Fellows, betook himself to other measures; and laboured to procure the interposition of the Crown in his favour. The change of ministry, disastrous as it was to the party which he had

[14] These three letters have been preserved in the Harleian Collection; Br. Mus. 7523. They are dated April 24, 1711, June 4, 1711, and Oct. 16, 1711. The second letter is one of congratulation to the Lord Treasurer on his earldom.

hitherto espoused, did in fact afford him the opportunity of making immediate interest at court. It happened that Mrs. Bentley was related to Secretary St. John, and also to Mr. Masham, the husband of the favourite, who had supplanted the Duchess of Marlborough in the good graces of her sovereign. Through the interference of these personages, particularly of Mrs. Masham, the circumstances of the dispute in Trinity College were represented both to the Queen and Mr. Harley in a light favourable to the Master. Her Majesty, who had long been acquainted with Bentley, entertained a high opinion of him: at the same time her strict feelings were shocked at the scandal attached to the characters of certain individuals among his prosecutors. That his administration had conferred several benefits upon the College, even his enemies could not deny: and whatever might be the other charges now brought against him, the indisputable fact, that the prosecution originated in his new scheme respecting the College revenues, operated upon unprejudiced minds in his favour. At first sight there was nothing unfair in his proposals; and the dislike entertained for them by the Fellows, though a good reason for their abandonment, appeared no ground for the expulsion and ruin of the proposer. The matter was represented in such a light to Mr. Harley, that he expressed a wish to have the dispute settled, and a provision made against similar dissensions for the future: and the Master was invited to suggest a mode for accomplishing the pacification of his College. Bentley immediately proposed that a Royal Letter should be sent to the College, deciding each of the questions under controversy: at the same time he offered the draught of such a paper, wherein the Queen, as representative of the founder, was to decide that point of the statutes which affected Mr. Miller's fellowship, agreeably to the Master's interpretation; the College was commanded to adopt a scheme of dividends according to degrees, and to give a pecuniary compensation in lieu of the customary allowances to the Master; in order to remove all questions arising from the Bishop of Ely being named as Visitor in the 40th chapter of the statutes, the letter decreed that this chapter (*De Magistri, si res exigat, amotione*) should be repealed and annulled; and in conclusion, the Master was

Attempt to procure a RoyalLetter in his own favour.

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strictly enjoined to restrain and chastize all licence among the Fellows, and in so doing was promised the Royal aid and countenance.

Nov. 10, 1710.

This sketch was transmitted through a private hand to Harley, amongst whose papers I find it in Bentley's own hand-writing [15]. The design was bold and enterprising: had he succeeded in obtaining the Royal *fiat*, all his plans would have been at once effected; and he would have been delivered from the uneasiness and peril of this prosecution, as well as all future attacks upon his authority. But he was not aware of the cautious and balancing policy of the Minister; which would never have allowed him to enter so absolutely into the views of one party in a controversy.

Bishop Moore requires an answer to the articles.

This attempt at a *coup de main* does not appear ever to have been known to the prosecutors: but it is probable, from a comparison of dates, that Bishop Moore did obtain some intimation of the project. Dr. Bentley's communication was forwarded to the Minister by Mr. Thos. Sclater of Gray's Inn on the 10th of November, and on the 21st he received a letter from the Bishop, peremptorily requiring an answer to the articles preferred against him by the 18th day of the following month. Bentley at first declared his intention of appealing to the Convocation, of which he was a member, against the mandate of the Bishop: but no sooner was the design known in the College, than the Fellows subscribed a petition to the Convocation, praying that they would not interfere in the proceedings, and Mr. Ralph Blomer, a former member of the society, undertook to support the petition with a smart oration against the Master [16]. Hereupon Bentley changed his plan of operations, and brought his case under the immediate cognizance of Government, by a petition to the Queen, which represented that her Majesty was the real Visitor of Trinity College; that the Bishop of Ely, in assuming the visitatorial style and functions, was invading the rights of the Crown; that the Master felt it his duty

Bentley petitions the Queen against the Bishop's jurisdiction.

[15] This proposed draught of a Royal Letter was accompanied by the copy of a letter actually sent to the College by King James I., upon a different subject, the language of which it imitates and parodies as closely as possible. They are found together among the Harleian papers in the British Museum.

[16] Rud's Manuscript Diary.

to resist all such illegal pretensions, and accordingly threw himself upon the Royal protection.

The points now for the first time mooted by this petition are entirely of a legal nature, and seem to lie in a small compass; but are in fact so nice and questionable, that they continued for a number of years to baffle the skill and ingenuity of the ablest English lawyers. It would perhaps not be easy to name a question upon which professional men have found it more difficult to arrive at a satisfactory decision, than that of the visitatorial jurisdiction over Trinity College. The case, however, when divested of all technical niceties, sounds to unlearned persons simple and intelligible.

Case of the Visitor of Trinity College.

Trinity College was founded by King Henry VIII. in the last year of his reign. That Monarch, dying shortly afterwards, enacted no statutes for its government; but his son Edward VI. did give a body of statutes, in the 46th chapter of which the Bishop of Ely is declared to be General Visitor of this Royal foundation. In the reign of Philip and Mary, a new code of statutes was prepared to supersede those of King Edward, in which the enactment respecting the Visitor was omitted: however, as they were never completed, or received the Royal sanction, their history does not materially affect the case. Queen Elizabeth in the second year of her reign, issued a new body of statutes, to which the Great Seal was affixed by Lord Keeper Bacon. This is the code by which the College has ever since been governed, and which all the Masters and Fellows have been sworn to obey. These statutes being for the most part a revision of those of Philip and Mary, with such alterations as the establishment of the reformed religion rendered necessary, omit altogether the chapter *De Visitatore*; however, in the 40th chapter, which we have already recited at length, they do incidentally style the Bishop of Ely *Visitator*, and enjoin that all complaints against the Master shall be referred to his decision. Here then lay the difficulty. It was contended on one side that, the statutes of Elizabeth having superseded those of Edward, the appointment of the Bishop as Visitor was repealed, and that the visitatorial power had reverted to the Crown, as representative of the founder. On the other hand, the mention of the Bishop in the 40th chapter, militated with

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this opinion, and seemed to imply that in the view of the compilers of the statutes, he still continued the Visitor. At all events it was maintained that the latter enactment gave him the power to hear and decide complaints against the Head of the College; though his jurisdiction over the rest of the society might be disputed.

The practice appeared to confirm the opinion that the Crown was General Visitor. Several 'King's Letters,' altering, explaining, or adding to the statutes, had been from time to time accepted and obeyed by the College, as possessing an authority equal to the statutes themselves. While it could not be found that any Bishop of Ely, during the whole space of 150 years since the 2nd of Elizabeth, had exercised the visitatorial jurisdiction. One solitary instance only could be produced, previous to the present, in which an application had been made to a prelate of that see, in the character of Visitor of the College; and that had come from no other than Bentley himself, who in the year 1703, upon some dispute respecting the extent of the Master's power at elections, had appealed to the late Bishop Patrick as Visitor. That prelate was ignorant that he possessed a jurisdiction over Trinity College, and was unable to find in the records of his diocese, any trace of such a claim on the part of his predecessors. But a copy of the statutes being shown to him, he signified his opinion upon the point in dispute in a private letter to the Master, declaring, however, that he could give no positive judgment till the case was judicially brought before him. This anecdote, as may be supposed, was frequently adduced against Bentley: but it proved nothing more than that he formerly apprehended the Bishop to be General Visitor; nor could it have any weight in a question, which was purely one of law, and was now to be submitted to the highest legal authorities [17].

Petition referred to the Attorney and Solicitor General.

The Master's petition met with the immediate attention of her Majesty; and a letter was written by Mr. Secretary St. John to the Attorney and Solicitor General, requiring them to examine the allegations, and to report their opinion thereon with all convenient speed: at the same time the Attorney General was directed to signify to the

[17] *Vindication of the Lord Bishop of Ely's Visitatorial jurisdiction over Trinity College.* 1732. P. 33.

Bishop of Ely, that the Queen had taken the affair into her own cognizance, and enjoin his Lordship to stay all further proceedings till her Majesty's pleasure was known. Bishop Moore, in his reply, expressed much satisfaction that the question was referred to such able and impartial judges, and willingly submitted to her Majesty's pleasure in suspending the proceedings; intimating, at the same time, his confidence in her wisdom and goodness, that she would never deprive him of any right belonging to his see[18].

The Bishop's proceedings inhibited.

Sir Edward Northey, and Sir Robert Raymond, who filled the offices of Attorney and Solicitor General, fixed the 2d of January, 1710-11, for hearing all parties concerned in this affair; and many successive hearings took place at the Attorney's chambers, where Sir Peter King, the future Lord Chancellor, appeared, jointly with Mr. Miller, as counsel for the Fellows[19]. So numerous were the points for inquiry, and such the anxiety of the law-officers to obtain a clear view of the question, that five months elapsed before they made their report to the Government. This document contains a full, comprehensive, and impartial statement of every fact bearing upon the case, and is consequently of high importance: but, in conclusion, the Attorney and Solicitor deliver their own opinion with caution, and in reference not so much to the general question of the visitatorial power, as to the particular position in which Dr. Bentley was placed. Whether all the enactments of King Edward's statutes were repealed by those of Queen Elizabeth, they do not pronounce; but, instead of so doing, they take a dilemma, and intimate their belief, that either by the old statutes, or by the 40th of Elizabeth's, the Master *is* subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ely: adding, however, that if either her Majesty or Dr. Bentley thought fit to contest this opinion, a prohibition to the Bishop's proceeding might be moved for in any of the courts of law, and thereupon the matter might be argued, and receive a judicial determination.

Report of the Attorney and Solicitor General.

May 29, 1711.

This disposal of the question by Sir E. Northey and Sir R. Raymond, was by no means agreeable to the Master: since, instead of

[18] See Appendix, No. I.

[19] Dr. Bentley's counsel on this occasion were Mr. Mead and Mr. Lutwich. *Rud's Diary.*

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interposing the protection of the Crown in his favour, they only gave him permission to dispute, if he pleased, the authority of the Bishop by a litigation, and that too in opposition to their own declared opinion.

Bentley applies directly to Lord Oxford.

He accordingly resolved to address himself directly to the Prime Minister, who had just recovered from the attempt made upon his life by the assassin Guiscard, and had within a few days been created Earl of Oxford, and invested with the staff of Lord High Treasurer[20]. His letter is remarkable for the dexterity with which he contrives to identify his own cause with that of the Queen's prerogative; but it calls more particularly for the reader's attention, as comprising that act of Bentley's life, for which he was subjected to incessant obloquy, his adhesion to the leader of a tory ministry.

" Right Honourable, *Cotton House, July* 12, 1711.

" After my hearty thanks to God for the wonderful preservation of your most valuable life from the stabs of an assassin, and my sincere congratulation for your new station and honour, so long and so well deserved; I humbly crave leave to acquaint your Lordship, that at last I have received from Mr. Attorney General the Report, sealed up and directed to Mr. Secretary St. John, a copy of which, as delivered to me, with the alterations made in it, is here inclosed. Your Lordship, when you read it, will please to observe, that all the facts alleged in my Petition are here confirmed; that the statute of Edward, which once constituted the Bishop of Ely Visitor, was rejected and left out in the two later draughts of statutes, those of Philip and Mary, and those of Elizabeth now only in force; that the Crown has for a century and half been in sole possession of the visitatorial power; that no Bishop of Ely all that while *ever heard* of his being Visitor; or ever once pretended to act as such till this present Bishop. And as for the 40th statute of Elizabeth, which *obiter* and incidentally styles the Bishop of Ely *Visitator*, my counsel largely proved, first, that it was *ipso facto* void; and, secondly, that supposing it to be now in force, it was in the power of the Crown to vacate it at pleasure. To the latter of these assertions the report comes up fully, and refutes the arguments of the Bishop's counsel, as if it could not be repealed without the Bishop's consent. But as to the former, it is trimmingly drawn up, and seems willing to skreen the Bishop from blame or trouble for what is past. Nevertheless the latter point alone is equivalent to both together; for hereby it is clear, that if her Majesty will maintain her prerogative, it is but saying the word, and vacating the 40th statute: on the contrary, if she will abandon it to

[20] Bentley appears already to have made an effort to intercept and prevent the report being presented, as soon as he learned that Sir Edward Northey was in favour of the Bishop's claim. This was done through the medium of Mr. Sclater, of Gray's Inn, whose letter to Mr. Harley, dated March 1, is preserved; but the attempt upon the life of the Minister, on the 8th of March, and his long illness which ensued, accounts for his non-interference.

the Bishop, she may give him a new corroborating statute, if this be thought too weak. However, to give more satisfaction about both the points in question, I have permission to inclose the opinion of the learned Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, her Majesty's Advocate General and Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, which he is ready, if occasion were, to maintain in a public manner, by report or by pleading. He indeed humbly conceives, that even Mr. Attorney's present report is sufficient for her Majesty's prerogative, though the former point be waived: and it is so much the more so, by what I have heard last post, that those Fellows, the minor part of the whole Society, that are complainers against me, have subscribed a petition to her Majesty, that she will please to take this matter into her own hands. My Lord, I very readily close with this, and desire nothing more than that her Majesty would send down commissioners to examine into all matters upon the place, with full power to set every thing right, and to punish where the faults shall be found. I only beg and most humbly hope, that such persons may be nominated as are lovers of learning, and men of conscience and integrity, above the influence of party; and then I fear not but I shall be both honourably acquitted, and merit the public approbation. I am easy under every thing, but loss of time, by detainment here in town, which hinders me from putting my last hand to my edition of Horace, and from doing myself the honour to inscribe it to your Lordship's great name; which permission is most humbly asked and intreated by

"Your Lordship's most obedient and obliged servant,

"Rich. Bentley."

His change of party.

It is far from my wish to palliate the discredit attached to every person who changes his party, in contemplation of his interest or emolument. But it is my duty, as the biographer of Bentley, to state those points which distinguish his case from an ordinary instance of political tergiversation. In the first place, his ranging himself among the clients of the Lord Treasurer, involved the sacrifice of no public principle which he had ever professed or entertained. Lord Oxford had hitherto always been an upholder of Revolution principles, and of the Protestant Succession; and it was not till some time after this period, that even a suspicion was entertained of his inclinations in favour of the Pretender. Besides, although now supported by the tories, he had, until the last two or three years, acted with Lord Godolphin's administration. Still it is undeniable that Bentley was an adherent and panegyrist of the discarded ministry, immediately before their ejection; but in this transfer of his attachment to their successful rivals, he broke no engagement, and deserted no benefactor. He sought not preferment, but

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protection against what he deemed the efforts of a conspiracy: and having reason to believe that the Bishop of Ely was disposed to favour the views of his prosecutors, he thought himself justifiable, at a crisis where his all was at stake, in having recourse to the only quarter capable of shielding him; particularly as fortune seemed opportunely to have opened him a door to such powerful protection. It rests with the reader to give whatever weight he thinks proper to these suggestions. I have only to add, that having once formed this resolution, he could not have fixed upon a patron, to whom his forthcoming edition of Horace might be addressed with more propriety. The Earl of Oxford was himself a literary man, fond of the society of scholars, had collected one of the noblest libraries in Europe, and possessed both the power and disposition to tread in the steps of Mæcenas.

Question of the Visitation of the College submitted to the Lord Keeper and Queen's counsel.

Bentley's communication met with immediate attention from the Minister: he directed that the report of the Attorney and Solicitor General should be laid before the Lord Keeper, Sir Simon Harcourt, and all the Crown lawyers; to whom certain questions were propounded, as to the legality of her Majesty taking the whole visitation of Trinity College into her own hands; questions obviously suggested by the Master's letter, and implying, plainly enough, the wish of the Government to adopt his view of the subject. At the same time Mr. Secretary St. John wrote to Bishop Moore, signifying her Majesty's pleasure that he should further stay all proceedings on a business, which she deemed of so much importance, until answers to these questions had been obtained.

Bentley completes his Horace.

Bentley had now passed nine months at his town residence, instructing his lawyers, improving his interest at court, and preparing for the struggle in which his reputation and fortunes were involved: and it was not till the month of June that he was able to return to his College and his books, with a determination of completing the long-promised edition of Horace. We have already adverted to the causes, which occasioned the work to hang so long upon his hands. The various and busy transactions of his College government not only occupied his time, but distracted his mind from a steady pursuit of any literary object; and

the necessity to which he had reduced himself, of supporting in his notes all the emendations of the already printed text, was a continual obstacle to his progress; for he must have been led by consideration and inquiry, to distrust some of those ingenious conjectures, which had given new readings to Horace. A two-fold motive now urged him to despatch: a wish to appear before the public in a different and more favourable character, and at the same time to offer his homage to the Lord Treasurer. He accordingly betook himself to the task with that indefatigable application of which his constitution was capable, and summoned into action those stores of learning, which never fail to astonish and to instruct the reader. It seems probable, that in the ensuing five months the largest portion of his notes was written, and sent to the press as they came from his hands; and I apprehend that his exertions during this period have scarcely been equalled in the history of literature.

Dedication to the Earl of Oxford.

The important affair of the dedication was first to be settled in a way agreeable to the great patron, to whom the work was inscribed. Bentley had discovered that the Lord Treasurer was not exempt from the pride of ancestry. In fact, the Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, though indebted for his present rank and power to his talents and address, was anxious that the world should know, that his ancestors were related to the Veres and Mortimers of former centuries, and that his family estate in Herefordshire had been in possession of the Harleys since the reign of Edward the First. Bentley accordingly applied to Mr. Thomas Bateman, who seems to have been private secretary to the Lord Treasurer, for particular information upon this momentous topic; and four letters addressed to him by that gentleman, in the month of November, prove the solicitude of the Premier that his heraldic glories should be fully and accurately displayed.

The publication.

It was on the 8th of December, 1711, that Bentley put the last hand to his great work; having thus exceeded the precept of Horace, by keeping it to the tenth year after its commencement. The day which gave to the world what was intended as a restored copy of Horace, was, either by accident or design, the birth-day of the poet himself—*Sext.*

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Idus Decembres[21]: a circumstance which he did not fail to mention as an auspicious coincidence for the birth of his book. The dedication, which contains nine quarto pages of elaborate panegyric, has subjected its author to the charges of servility and adulation: but candour must allow that the fault was rather that of the age than of our critic, who, if he dedicated to Lord Oxford at all, could hardly have avoided addressing him in the language of flattery. Good taste had not yet abolished the fashion, which demanded from every dedicator, whether classical or vernacular, the most unsparing praise that language could supply. Even at the very time of which we are speaking, the volumes of the Spectator, the reputed purifier of our national taste, were inscribed to the leaders of the whig party in terms of equal or greater adulation; although some of them were worse subjects for panegyric than Harley, and their praises were not veiled in the decent obscurity of a learned language[22]. Bentley's dedication, were it the speech of a public orator in an University, presenting a distinguished nobleman to a degree, would probably call for unqualified admiration. The difficult affair of a long pedigree is managed with great adroitness; and the topics of Harley having filled the Speaker's chair in three parliaments, his magnificent library, his patronage of scholars, the attempt made upon his life by an emissary of France, his measures of finance, and the projected peace which was to give tranquillity to the world, are all exhibited in oratorical display. In drawing the parallel between Horace's patron and his own, the Doctor makes a palpable allusion to his recent change of party, by remarking that the poet was not less in favour with Mæcenas, from his having once served under the banners of Brutus and Cassius.

Adulatory style of the Dedication.

Arrogant language of the Preface.

The 'Preface to the Reader' is couched in such arrogant terms as exposed Bentley to unceasing ridicule and censure; and his character for presumption has been more established by these few pages, than all the other productions of his pen. He wrote as a person fully aware of

[21] *Vita Horatii Flacci, Auctore C. Suetonio Tranquillo.*

[22] They are Lord Somers, Lord Halifax, the Right Hon. Henry Boyle, the Duke of Marlborough, *the Earl of Wharton*, and the Earl of Sunderland.

the reputation which he had acquired for learning and genius, and as if he were resolved to follow the Horatian precept, *sume superbiam quæsitam meritis.* After explaining the plan of his edition, and his reasons for confining himself to the restoration of the text from manuscripts and conjecture, he describes the qualifications requisite for the critic who undertakes this highest and most perilous department; but in such terms as leave no doubt that he lays claim to them all; and that too in their greatest perfection. In addition to a complete knowledge of all Greek and Roman authors, which he ranks as the lowest and meanest requisite to the verbal critic, he says, *Est et peracri insuper judicio opus; est sagacitate et ἀγχινοίᾳ; est, ut de Aristarcho olim prædicabant, divinandi quadam peritia et μαντικῇ: quæ nulla laborandi pertinacia vitæve longinquitate acquiri possunt, sed naturæ solius munere nascendique felicitate contingunt.* This implied assumption of the attributes of Aristarchus fastened upon Bentley that appellation, which had already been sometimes given to him; and he continued to receive it, either with a serious or ironical meaning, according as it was applied by a friend or an enemy. He claims credit, as usual, for the rapid and extemporaneous manner in which his annotations had been despatched; and for the truth of this assertion, he appeals to the testimony of all his intimates at Cambridge: but the language is arrogant and invidious, and seems to challenge that severity of examination, which his edition of Horace has experienced beyond all parallel in literary history: "*Qualiacunque vero hæc sunt, æstivis tantum mensibus (ita tamen ut uno alteroque biennio fuerint prorsus intermissa) et primo impetu ac calore sine lima curisve secundis descripta, sic madida fere charta (ut nemini hic meorum non compertissimum est) ad typographos deferebantur.—Sic tamen, uti spero, ut nec sermonis puritatem*[23]*, nec ordinis lumen, neque rationum vim et perspicuitatem vel in his αὐτοσχεδίοις desideres.*"

[23] It happened most unfortunately for the Doctor, that in this very expression, he exposed himself to a charge of impure Latinity. His acute and bitter enemy, John Ker, observes, that the word *puritas* is found only in a writer of recent age and poor authority. Vid. *Quaternæ Epistolæ*, &c. p. 23. But even supposing the word itself to be defensible, the phrase *sermonis puritas* will still remain an Anglicism.

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Orthography of the edition.

The preface gives an account of the various manuscripts of Horace, which the Doctor had examined, or obtained collations of: it also states his reasons for restoring the orthography of the Augustan age in many words, as *volgus*, *divom*, *inpius*, *conpesco*; which, though written in the ancient manuscripts of the poet according to the original form, were universally altered in the printed copies. In this he followed the example of Heinsius's Virgil, as well as in printing the accusatives plural in *is*, where the genitives end in *ium*; as, *urbis*, *auris*, *omnis*. He likewise adduces the authority of the best copies, and the old grammarians, for terming the lyrical compositions of Horace not *Odæ*, but *Carmina*; and the two books of Satires, *Sermones*, not *Satiræ*; and each separate Satire, *Ecloga*.

Chronology of Horace's different works.

Bentley's preface concludes with his opinion respecting the chronology of the works of Horace. This was a subject upon which Dacier and Masson, in their respective lives of this poet, had bestowed great pains, and persuaded themselves that they could fix the particular years in which the several pieces were written. According to the theory of both these critics, Horace must have been employed upon his Odes, Satires, and Epistles, at the same periods of his life; and he must have published his works not in whole books, but in separate poems. Besides, they differ from each other in their arrangements, and a sharp controversy had lately taken place between them upon their respective systems. Bentley condemns the performance of both, at the same time that he gives them full credit for their industry. His opinion is, that each book of Horace was published collectively in its present form; that his earliest work, the first book of Satires, was written within the 26th, 27th, and 28th years of his age; the second book of Satires in his 31st, 32nd, and 33rd years; the Epodes in his 34th and 35th years; that he did not commence his Odes till he had reached his thirty-sixth year, and that the three first books were composed between that and the age of 43. The first book of Epistles he conceives to have occupied his 46th and 47th years; then the fourth book of Odes and *Carmen Seculare* the years 49, 50, and 51; finally, he judges that the Art of Poetry and second book of Epistles, the latest of the poet's compositions, cannot be more definitely fixed,

than as having been produced in the last six years of his life, which extended to his 57th year. For the verification of this theory, he appeals to the internal evidence found in the various compositions of the poet. An attention to the particulars of Horace's life is essentially necessary to the full understanding of his works; and, therefore, every careful reader is competent to form a judgment of the correctness of Bentley's limitations. It is probable that they will be deemed, upon the whole, to approximate to the truth as nearly as any scheme of the kind can be admitted; but that some exceptions must be allowed, proceeding from such insertions and alterations (particularly in his earlier books) as can hardly fail to be made by a poet, subsequently to their first publication. Gesner, a diligent observer, declares in the preface of his edition, that he could not discover in the Satires any thing which overset the theory of the Doctor. This subject is not devoid of interest: as Horace was an author for about thirty years, it may be curious to trace the alteration of taste which took place within that period. At all events it is satisfactory to remark, that the licentious parts of his writings appear to have been principally confined to his earlier productions [24].

A remarkable feature in the preface is, that Bentley expresses his regret for more than twenty of his emendations. But he compliments himself too profusely for his candour in this voluntary confession of error: and the self-condemnation of so many of his alterations was not a favourable omen of the reception which the reformed text would experience [25].

Alterations in the text of Horace.

This publication had been long and anxiously expected; and its appearance excited much sensation and surprise. There were found between seven and eight hundred alterations of the common readings of Horace; all of which, contrary to the general practice of classical

[24] Bentley's scheme of the *Tempora Horatiana* is condemned by Mitscherlich, the Leipsic editor; but he is a person of little or no authority; and in this case he appeals to the life of Horace, by Jani, an abridgement of Masson's, one of those productions to correct the errors of which, Bentley's theory was composed.

[25] This occurs only in the Cambridge edition. In the reprints at Amsterdam, those readings do not appear, and there is no mention of them in the preface.

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editors, were introduced into the text. Scholars having been familiar from their childhood with the works of this poet, were unwilling to believe that they had been all their lives mistaken in those passages which had afforded them unceasing gratification. Many, indeed, of Bentley's readings are those of old editions and manuscripts; but the greater part are the fruit of his own conjecture, supported by arguments always plausible and ingenious, and not unfrequently convincing. A person, who at first rejects his correction and declares a preference for the old reading, will sometimes be surprised to find his opinion changed on perusing the note, and be compelled to acknowledge the justice of the emendation: and this is a result which the Doctor anticipated, not without exultation. But while some of his new readings are fairly established, a larger proportion must be confessed to be dubious. Many of his changes are unnecessary, others harsh and improbable. He shows a propensity to confine the limits of poetical licence too closely, and thus to reduce the language of Horace into prose. But when he defends his corrections by analogy, he brings forth the riches of his learning as from an inexhaustible mine: and the reader, whether convinced or not respecting the particular point under discussion, is sure to find his knowledge increased: and hence it will be observed, that the very errors of Bentley are instructive.

Faults in the notes.

In the notes of this edition there are several particulars justly censurable; though, perhaps, they have received more reproach than they deserve. The most prominent is the tone of authority in which our editor issues his critical decrees, as the absolute dictator of literature. Nor is this all; we find throughout the work an arrogant style, and an assumed superiority over all other commentators; which the reader is seldom disposed to concede to the pretensions of a writer himself. The Doctor is also too prone to the childish vanity of claiming merit for improvements, and plausible conjectures, in cases where the same had already been suggested by others; adding that he had discovered such a reading, before he observed that the same had been proposed by some old editor or commentator. However, neither in these instances, nor in some others where he omits to name the first propounder of his

emendations, is there any reason to question his veracity, as some of his enemies have done with unpardonable asperity. A great part of his notes were composed in haste, while his attention was more exerted to confirm his readings by analogy, than to examine the writings of others; so that he could hardly fail sometimes to appropriate emendations, in ignorance that they had been made by his predecessors. But the anxious and ostentatious claim which he is for ever making to the praise of originality, being unworthy of a man of his undisputed eminence, justly exposed him to attack. There is another fault arising from his being himself the general subject of his own panegyric; his language, though lucid and perspicuous, frequently assumes an air of rhetorical flourish, by no means consistent with sound taste.

Bentley's treatment of other scholars.

Notwithstanding the egotism of his critical discussions, Bentley can seldom be considered unjust towards other commentators. To Nicholas Heinsius, Torrentius, Janus Rutgersius, as well as to his contemporary Baxter, he generally allows fair credit; though not unaccompanied with a display of his own superior sagacity. Some other critics, as Cruquius, Marcilius, Barthius, Daniel Heinsius, and Dacier, he frequently treats with contemptuous language; which, even when merited, had better have been forborne. But Gronovius is the only individual against whom he launches into wrathful invective; this veteran, who had passed a long literary life in provoking and insulting the most distinguished of his contemporaries, was now again made to feel the weight of Bentley's resentment. The bitterness of his late publication on Menander, *Infamia Emendationum*, had deprived him of all claim to quarter; and accordingly he is held up to odium and contempt in the longest and most elaborate note in the book, that on V. 441. of the Art of Poetry, *Et male tornatos incudi reddere versus*, in which Bentley, for *tornatos*, substitutes his own conjectural reading *ter natos*. This emendation he had proposed many years before in his notes on Callimachus; but although it met with unqualified approbation from Grævius, it was far from satisfying the generality of the learned, who thought the common reading not only defensible, but preferable to that of our critic [26].

Gronovius.

[26] Grævius in his letter to Bentley, written Nov. 23, 1702, about seven years after he had

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Among others, Gronovius having taken occasion, in his Aulus Gellius, to condemn the alteration, Bentley rouses himself like an offended lion, and devotes some pages, almost at the conclusion of his work, to justify this reading, and to chastise and crush his old adversary. The majority of scholars will probably side with Gronovius, in rejecting the Doctor's *ter natos*; but whoever turns to his defence of this alteration, wherein he puts forth all his strength, will be amazed at the learning and ingenuity, which almost charm the assent in opposition to previous conviction [27].

Numerous small publications censuring and ridiculing Bentley's Horace.

This book was, it must be confessed, unlike any edition of a Latin author ever before given to the world. It immediately called forth a host of petty adversaries, who assailed the great critic in small anonymous publications. All these attacks were made with the shafts of ridicule, to which parts of Bentley's book, particularly the dedication and the preface, are undeniably exposed. The vein of malice conspicuous in them all, shews that their authors had conceived a personal dislike for the editor of Horace. One of them, entitled *Horatius Reformatus,* a little pamphlet of 24 pages, contains all the peculiar readings of Bentley's text, with the common readings in an opposite column: this was an eminently malicious contrivance; since it left the innovations without that defence which could alone render them palatable. An ironical dedication to Dr. Bentley, states that this publication was requisite for his own credit as well as the public good; inasmuch as it would enable numbers to enjoy the reformed Horace, to whom his edition was inaccessible, from the magnitude of its price; adding with a sneer, that there was no necessity for notes, since his authority was so great, that the world would be satisfied to take the innovations upon his *dictum* [28]. Another

been acquainted with this emendation, says, *Dudum sæpius harum rerum non imperitis laudavi non conjecturam, sed emendationem tuam certissimam in loco Horatii ex Arte, quam prodidisti in Notis ad Callimachum. Eam qui videt et non probat, is in his literis cæcior est quavis talpa. Quid enim torno cum incude?*

[27] The common reading is vindicated by many scholars, who are referred to by Mr. Kidd in a note on the lines in his edition of Horace.

[28] HORATIUS REFORMATUS: *sive Emendationes Omnes, quibus Editio Bentleiana a vulgaribus distinguitur, summa fide in unum collectæ.* Lond. Bowyer. 1712.

sixpenny tract consists of Bentley's dedication to Lord Oxford, with a literal English translation: to which are prefixed his verses addressed four years before to Lord Halifax, along with a burlesque version [29]. The professed object of this publication was to expose the Doctor's servility; it was followed by a similar translation of the preface [30]. A third was a small Latin tract of no merit whatever, called *Aristarchus Ampullans in Curis Horatianis*, the author of which adopts from De Pauw the title of *Philargyrius Cantabrigiensis*, as insulting to Bentley: it contains nothing more than complaints of the presumption of the critic, and the liberties taken with the text of Horace. A fourth squib is called 'The Life and Conversation of Richard Bentley, in Latin and English:' it consists principally of scraps from Bentley's notes, rendered into vulgar English; a ludicrous and gross banter, giving an account of his birth, parentage, and school education, with all the insolence of low scurrility. Another assumes the title of 'Five Extraordinary Letters,' sneering at the editor of Horace, in 20 pages of wit and buffoonery: the topics of this *jeu d'esprit* are the same as of the others, and would serve as well for an attack on any verbal critics, whom the author compares to 'corn-cutters.' From several allusions to Bentley's College government, it seems that this assailant was one of his adversaries in Trinity [31]. The sixth writer who attacked our critic's Horace, devoted more time and trouble to this task than all the other scoffers together: his first publication appeared with this title, 'The Odes of Horace in Latin and English; with a translation of Dr. Bentley's Notes. To which are added Notes upon Notes; done in the Bentleian Style and Manner. Part I. To be continued. 1712.' The translation of the Odes is executed in poetical measure, in a rapid and off-hand style, but not without considerable spirit and

Translation of the Odes and Bentley's Notes.

Notes upon Notes.

[29] "*Dr. Bentley's Dedication of Horace, translated. To which is added, A Poem in Latin and English, inscribed to the Right Honourable the Lord Halifax, written by the Reverend Dr. Bentley.*" London.

[30] *The Life of Horace: with Dr. Bentley's Preface. Latin and English.* London.

[31] *Five Extraordinary Letters supposed to be writ to Dr. B . . . . . y, upon his Edition of Horace, and some other matters of great Importance.* London. 1712. The motto of this squib, *Ecce iterum Crispinus, et est mihi sæpe vocandus Ad partes,* implies that the author had already been Bentley's adversary.

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cleverness. The version of Bentley's notes professes to be in literal English, but is in truth a mere travesty; adopting such a vulgar phraseology, as would give a ludicrous character to any book that ever was written. This I presume to have been the attractive part of the performance, which caused it to amuse the public as much as it undoubtedly must have done. The 'Notes upon Notes' are miserably vapid: and their unvaried sneer is tiresome and nauseous. Nevertheless the author found encouragement to pursue his task of exhibiting the Doctor's Horace in a ridiculous light, through twenty-four successive numbers[32].

[32] Of these 24 numbers, 17 were published in 1712, and 7 in 1713: probably one appeared every fortnight, containing 36 pages, at the price of sixpence. They were then collected in two volumes with the following title page: "*The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace, in Latin and English; with a Translation of Dr. Ben-ley's Notes. To which are added Notes upon Notes. In 24 parts complete. By several hands.* 1713." Perhaps I shall give the reader no bad specimen of the wit and malice of this publication, by copying a few mottoes of the respective parts:

—— *molitur inepte.*

—— *carmina non prius*
Audita Musarum Sacerdos
Virginibus puerisque cantat.

—— *ibimus, ibimus*
Utcunque præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.

—— *operosa parvus*
Carmina fingit.

—— *placet impares*
Formas atque animos sub juga ahenea
Sævo mittere cum joco.

Tandem nequitiæ fige modum tuæ,
Famosisque laboribus.

—— *tu, simul obligasti*
Perfidum Musis *caput, enitescis*
Pulchrior multo, juvenumque prodis
Publica cura.

There appears once to have been a notion that the author was no other than Bentley's old enemy Dr. King. A copy of the book, in an old binding, shown to me by Mr. Evans, the eminent bookseller of Pall-Mall, is lettered *King's Horace*. But Dr. W. King was dead some time before the completion of the work. The writer might have been another person of the same name.

These attacks from the light artillery of wit, probably gave little or no uneasiness to our great critic. But there came forward another antagonist, who levelled at him a blow calculated to inflict a deeper wound. This was Mr. John Ker, the teacher of a dissenting academy, who had a few years before written a book on the structure of Latin, a subject with which he was accurately and minutely conversant. Having some previous acquaintance with Bentley, he solicited his interest with Lord Sunderland, the Secretary of State, to obtain the Queen's privilege for that publication, which was to be dedicated to her Majesty. This favour the Doctor obtained for him; and also invited him to his table at Cotton House, where according to his own statement, he was handsomely entertained, and enjoyed the still higher gratification of learned conversation. On this occasion Bentley pronounced the word *equidem* to be joined only with the first person singular, in the best and oldest Latin writers; whereas in Ker's book it was allowed to be read with a third person; and said that examination would confirm this rule. The schoolmaster having his attention called to this point, lost no time in collecting instances of *equidem* used with a second and third person by writers prior to the Augustan age; and within two days he waited upon Bentley, armed with his authorities, and not doubting but the Doctor would be pleased and thankful for the information. The visit happened to be ill-timed: Mr. Ker found him just setting out to dine at the Archbishop of Canterbury's, and already on the outside of his door: he entered however upon different topics, to all of which Bentley replied in a harsh and contemptuous tone, utterly unlike his manner two days before; and proceeded along the street, with the determined step of one who is apprehensive that the least delay may make him too late for his engagement. The schoolmaster accompanied or rather followed him for about a hundred yards, and then concluded this unpromising interview by taking his leave; but the other did not even turn to acknowledge his valediction. This is Ker's account of the offence: but as it was widely different from his former treatment, we must conclude that Bentley was disgusted at his behaviour, or deemed his conversation obtrusive. This slight, however, excited Ker's anger and

John Ker.

Offended at Bentley.

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resentment; and his vexation had been rankling for four years, when the publication of Horace gave him an opportunity, beyond his hopes, of taking revenge upon the supercilious and mighty critic. Bentley was by no means a purist in his Latinity. His style, though sometimes redundant, is easy, flowing, and perspicuous; and his command of words and phrases is great: but his compositions were generally too hasty to allow him to consult authorities: accordingly, his memory sometimes deceived him, and expressions may be found, which, though in the tone of classical phraseology, are such as an examination of the original authors will not strictly justify. This blemish was no sooner observed by Ker, whose daily occupation consisted in detecting such slips, than he resolved to discharge his bile which had been so long concocting, by the exhibition of Dr. Bentley in a light peculiarly mortifying to a scholar. A peevish and splenetic disposition, aggravated by poverty and neglect through a long life, made him enjoy the task; and in two Latin epistles addressed to the Doctor, he exposed his boastful pretensions, and the unauthorised expressions in his Dedication and Preface, with all imaginable contumely. Whatever might have been the feelings of Dr. Bentley, he was too wise to give consequence to an obscure adversary by taking any notice of this effusion[33].

Defects in Bentley's Latinity.

In enumerating the critiques which the appearance of Bentley's Horace called forth, we must not omit one written by his crest-fallen adversary, John Le Clerc. This professor of universal learning, though he had been seduced by vanity into the disastrous undertaking of his Menander, had too much sense not to perceive how greatly it had damaged his reputation; and he lost no time in adopting measures to

Le Clerc's review of Bentley's Horace.

[33] The title of Ker's book is *Quaternæ Epistolæ: Prima et Secunda ad Richardum Bentleium; Tertia ad Illustrissimum Virum Ezekielem Spanhemium; Quarta ad Ludovicum Fridericum Bonetum.* 1713. The two letters to Spanheim and his nephew Bonet, the Prussian minister at the English Court, are short and unimportant. Another cause for Ker's wrath against Bentley discovers itself in p. 113 of his book. The Bill just passed 'to prevent the growth of schism,' placed him as a dissenting schoolmaster in some jeopardy; and it was suggested by a friend, that the Doctor, being intimate with the great, and acquainted with his circumstances, was likely to become an informer against him. This suggestion, improbable and absurd as it was, obtained his credence, and made him regard Bentley as his dangerous enemy.

retrieve his credit. In the year 1711 he put forth an apologetic account of his life and writings, adding some letters of Grævius and Spanheim, as testimonies of the estimation in which he had been held by the greatest scholars of the age. He now resolved to merit praise of another description, by candour and forbearance towards the critic from whom he had experienced so severe a fall. Accordingly there appeared in his *Bibliotheque Choisie* a critique, which was immediately translated and published as a pamphlet, entitled 'Mr. Le Clerc's Judgment and Censure of Dr. Bentley's Horace.' It is written in a liberal tone; and, considering the fate of his own Menander, must be acknowledged honourable to the reviewer. He admits, unequivocally, the learning, ingenuity, and other qualifications of the editor, and declares that he abstains, for personal reasons, from a particular examination of his new readings; adding, however, some just and sensible observations upon the difficulty and danger which attend alterations in the text of a Latin author [34].

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In the meantime Dr. Bentley continued to receive letters from distinguished scholars in this and other countries, complimenting him upon his noble edition of Horace. The reader will be interested to see that of his old adversary, Dr. Atterbury, now Dean of Christ-church; not only on account of the celebrity of the writer, but for the curious acknowledgment which it contains. It is to be observed that these two

Atterbury.

[34] Le Clerc observes, that expressions sometimes displease the reader, because he does not happen to recollect similar ones; yet that by research they may perhaps be discovered to be justifiable. Another important remark is, that poets of all ages and countries take liberties in their phrases, which must not, therefore, be hastily pronounced spurious because the same are not to be discovered elsewhere.

Shortly before this publication, Le Clerc had experienced some mortifying proofs of his impaired reputation. He had applied to succeed Limborch in the professorship of theology among the Remonstrants at Amsterdam, but was rejected, though upon his own ground, and by his own party, who elected Callenberg, an Arminian preacher of Rotterdam. His failure was celebrated by a multitude of satires in prose and verse, in which his old enemy Burman took a prominent part. Bentley received accounts of this matter both from Burman and Kuster: the former tells it with high exultation; the latter, who had a regard for Le Clerc, with evident concern. Kuster was himself just returned from England, and writes thus: "Clericus nuper in gratiam plane redire tecum videbatur, cum ipsi dicerem te saluti ejus ad me bibisse. Scio equidem te minime curare, quo loco apud eum sis: sed tamen, cum et ipse plurimos habeat amicos, quique eum magni faciant, præstat eum habere amicum, quam inimicum."

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antagonists, being raised to the headships of the first Colleges in their respective Universities, annually passed some days in each other's society, at the examination and election of Westminster scholars to be sent to Christ-church and Trinity.

"Reverend Sir, *Chelsea, Apr.* 19, 1712.

"I was prevented in my intention of wayting on you, by an account which Dr. Potter gave me, that on that very day you had left London. My busyness was to have thanked you for that noble present of your new edition of Horace, which you were pleased to make me. I deferr'd doing it till I had perus'd the whole work, and could with assurance say (as I now can) that 'tis every way equal to y^e^ expectation raised of it. I am indebted to you, Sir, for the great pleasure and instruction I have received from that excellent performance; though at y^e^ same time I cannot but own to you the uneasyness I felt when I found how many things in Horace there were, which, after thirty years' acquaintance with him, I did not understand. I hope to meet you at the Westm^r^. election; but could not defer my acknowledgments so long.

"I am, Reverend Sir,

"Your obliged and most faithful humble servant,

"FR. ATTERBURY."

"*To the Reverend Dr. Bentley,*
Master of Trinity College in Cambridge."

New edition at Amsterdam.

The favourable reception of Bentley's Horace is proved by the fact of another edition being almost immediately called for. This he chose to publish at Amsterdam, in consequence of the cheapness of paper and printing in the United Provinces. The second edition is in all respects an improvement upon the first; the notes are placed at the foot of each page; the *addenda* are incorporated in their proper places; some hasty and crude conjectures are omitted; and the work is enriched with a copious index of the words and phrases of Horace; being that originally made by Treter, afterwards enlarged and new-modelled by Aveman, and finally adapted to this edition and Bentley's readings, by Verburg, subsequently the editor of Cicero [35].

[35] This Index of Thomas Treter, a Pole, was first printed at Antwerp, by Plantin, in 1575. Daniel Aveman's Index appeared at Brunswick in 1667.

CHAPTER XI.

Opinions of the Crown Lawyers respecting the Visitor of Trinity College—Bentley's prosecutors in private communication with the Lord Treasurer—His design to compose the differences—Suicide of Professor Sike—Election of Hebrew and Greek Professors—Dr. Stubbe turned out of the Vice-mastership—Queen's prohibition taken off from the Bishop of Ely—Bentley presents to the Queen an Address from the University of Cambridge—Vote of the Senate directed against Bentley—Language held by his friends in his favour—Clarke—Jurin—Cotes—Publication of Newton's Principia—Thomas Bentley's Horace—Collins' Discourse of Freethinking—Replies by Hoadly, Whiston, Swift, Berkely, Ibbot—Bentley's Remarks on Freethinking—Dr. Hare publishes the Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus—Second Part of Bentley's Remarks—Disgraceful behaviour of Collins—Bentley gives offence to Lord Bolingbroke—He replies to the Articles of Accusation—Attempts to terminate the proceedings—The Bishop's Assessors—Trial at Ely House—The Bishop's opinion unfavourable to the Master—Sentence of Deprivation prepared—Death of Bishop Moore—Death of Queen Anne.

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THE progress made by the Fellows of Trinity College in the prosecution of their Master, was not greater in 1712 than in the two preceding years. The Crown lawyers, to whom the questions had been referred relative to the visitatorial jurisdiction, after more than seven months deliberation, at length came to a distinct opinion, that they deemed the Crown to be general Visitor of the College; but that the Bishop of Ely possessed, under the 40th statute, the power of hearing and deciding upon the charges against the Master: adding, that it was in the power of her Majesty to alter the visitatorial authority, provided such alteration met with the acceptance of the College. This opinion, which will be found in the Appendix, is subscribed by the eminent names of Sir Thomas Powys, Sir Edward Northey, Sir Robert Raymond, Serjeant Hooper, Serjeant Conyers, Mr. Lutwych, and Mr. Ward: but, upon one essential particular, it is opposed by the no less valued opinion of Sir Joseph Jekyl; who states his reasons for thinking that the visitatorial power, having been once vested in the Bishop of Ely by King Edward's statutes, was not revoked by those of Queen Elizabeth; particularly as the latter, in the 40th chapter, actually make mention of him as

Opinion of the Crown lawyers on the Visitor of Trinity College. Jan. 9, 1711-12.

Sir Joseph Jekyl.

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Visitor; consequently, that in his view of the question, the Bishop continued general Visitor of the College. The division of opinion on this point, though highly momentous to the Society, did not affect the immediate question of Bentley's case, since both parties agreed that the jurisdiction in a complaint against the Master, rested with the Bishop. As there now appeared no further objection to the exercise of his functions, it was expected that the Royal prohibition would be immediately taken off, and the Bishop allowed to administer justice in this long-suspended cause. However, the interdict still continued; and it was currently believed that the hand of power was extended to screen the Doctor, through the influence of Lady Masham, and Secretary St. John. But the true state of the case is discovered from certain letters, preserved in the collection of Lord Oxford.

Private communication of the Fellows with the Lord Treasurer.

The prosecutors had found access to the Lord Treasurer's private ear, through the medium of their late representative, the Earl of Anglesey, and were encouraged by the assurances of that Minister, that he would procure them redress for all their grievances, and settle the disturbed and afflicted College. As early as June 1711, we find that the Vice-master, Dr. Stubbe, was in communication with him; and from subsequent letters it appears, that the leaders of the prosecution were induced to delay their proceedings, in reliance upon the powerful assistance of the Premier. It is curious to observe, that he acted in this business precisely upon the temporizing and procrastinating policy, for which we find his administration condemned even by his own adherents. To negotiate with opposite parties, and to persuade each to rely upon his management, seems to have been his universal resource in difficulties. By this method he for some time procured both the whigs and the October Club to acquiesce in the measures of his government; and subsequent discoveries have proved, that he was engaged in secret communications, at the same moment, with the Pretender and with the court of Hanover; and was thus encouraging both houses to reckon upon his assistance in mounting the throne of Great Britain.

Design of the Lord Treasurer.

In the present instance, however, there is no reason to suspect the Lord Treasurer of insincerity, or of intending to betray either party to whom he promised his countenance and assistance. His undoubted

intention was to compose the quarrel, and then to take such measures as might prevent the recurrence of the same state of affairs in the Society. As the easiest method of effecting this purpose, he wished the Master and Fellows to concur in submitting all differences to the arbitration of the Crown[1]. He possibly expected, that the pique and animosity mixed up in this dispute would subside in a short time, and a sense of duty and interest would bring the contending parties to some better understanding. It is likewise highly probable that he intended to recommend Bentley, when occasion served, to some station in the Church, which might remove him from the scene of disagreement. At this time a general expectation prevailed of the Master's speedy advancement: indeed it was reported, that he was actually appointed to the deanery of Lichfield[2]. Bentley's own activity and exertions were great to maintain and increase his reputation, and to strengthen his interest; but unfortunately his endeavours to put an end to the College dissentions, which were an evident obstacle to his advancement, were

[1] This appears, from several circumstances, to have been the Lord Treasurer's object; particularly from a correspondence between the Master and Bateman, a person in the confidence of Lord Oxford, who had written to Bentley for an account of the state of things in the College in Dec. 1712, and had received from him a long and particular letter; to which, after a communication with the Minister, he replies: "I cannot but wish what you mention at the close of it may be soon effected, viz. the unanimous reference of it to her Majesty, and the submitting the whole to her settlement and determination. This will be a publick service, and may entitle any one to favour who influences in it, and brings it about. I doubt not but you'll believe whom I wish to congratulate upon it, and that I am your affectionate faithful servant, T. B."

[2] His friend Kuster, writing to him from Amsterdam, Aug. 5, 1712, in Latin, adds this English postscript.—"P. S. After I had written this letter, (which I have kept from one post day to another, waiting for Mr. Hemsterhuise's letter for to be inclosed in myne) there came to see me some English gentlemen, and amongst them one of your College, *nomine* Town, a physician (*qui magni te facit*) who brought me the good news that you were made Dean of Lichtfield. *Ego plane erectus fui hoc nuncio*; and upon that I drank presently first your health, and afterwards upon the confirmation of this news. I can assure you, Sir, that I shall long heartily to have the confirmation of this from you, because nobody of your friends can take more part in your prosperity than I do; having found that I have no truer friend then you. Mr. Hemsterhuise desseins to write this same day. *Vale.*"——Writing again shortly afterwards, he says, "Te a Serenissima Regina creatum esse Decanum Litchfeldensem, etiam ab aliis postea mihi relatum est; qua ex re ingentem voluptatem cepi: gratulor tibi ex animo de nova hac dignitate, et quidem eo magis, quo magis id inimicis tuis doliturum esse novi. Pudor jam, credo, et reverentia rursus intrabit animos eorum, qui in Collegio, cui præsides, tamdiu erga te contumaces fuerunt."

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not dictated by a pacific spirit. He made no concession or retractation, but clung to the idea of inducing his prosecutors to give up their proceedings, and acquiesce in all his schemes and arrangements.

May 20. Death of Prof. Sike.

A deplorable occurrence took place this spring in Trinity College: Dr. Henry Sike, the learned orientalist, who, through the address and influence of Bentley, had been made Professor of Hebrew, perished by suicide[3]. To what this sad catastrophe was attributable, I do not comprehend; but I find that it raised excessive grief and horror among the learned throughout Europe. Sike was esteemed by every one for his talents and disposition; all appear to have felt interested for his welfare, and to have nourished high expectations of the fruits which were to result from his erudition[4].

August 24. Election of Hebrew and Greek Professors.

This melancholy event was followed in a few weeks by the death of Professor Barnes, whose uncomfortable situation we have lately described. The election to the two vacant professorships of Hebrew and Greek took place at the same time; when Dr. Philip Bouquet was chosen to fill the former, and Mr. Thomas Pilgrim the latter office.

[3] Rud's MS. Diary. "May 20, 1712. Dr. Sykes (Sike) hanged himself some time this evening, before candlelight, in his sash, which bore his weight till he was dead, but broke before morning; for he was found lying upon the floor, with part of it about his neck, the rest still hanging upon the hook."

[4] I do not understand the allusion in Saxius's *Onomasticon Literarium*, vol. v. p. 491, where the notice of Sike thus concludes. "Postea in Angliam translatus literarum orientis doctor publicus in Academia Cantabrigiensi extitit; ubi exprobratam sibi, quam olim meruerat, crucis pœnam indigne ferens, laqueo sibi ipse gulam domi fregit."

Adrian Reland, who was then printing his *Palæstina*, writes thus to Bentley, July 23, 1712. "At quam nos turbavit nuncius horribilis! In hunc usque diem fidem habere non potui rumoribus de Sikio nostro circumlatis. Nunc coram se testem fuisse infandi spectaculi affirmat Crownfieldius. O infelix fatum! et damnum quod literæ nostræ patiuntur vix reparabile. Promiserat et mihi nuperis literis Excerpta ex Abulfeda quæ ad Palæstinam spectant. Nisi illa tua auctoritate nansiscar per aliquem sermonis Arabici gnarum, Ockleyum aliumve, spem omnem abjicere cogar."

Francis Burman, writing from Amsterdam, says: "Adeone verum est Sikium sibi necem conscivisse? Quibus furiis agitatus tantum scelus perpetravit, cui jam in re lauta ac splendida esse licebat? Vix famæ, quæ valde incerta ad me pervenit, credidi."

Matthias Ancherson, a young Dane, who had studied for some time at Cambridge under the tuition of Sike, writes from Copenhagen a letter full of mourning at the sad tidings, and of veneration for his deceased preceptor, of whose projected undertakings he gives some account. I find, from the register of St. Michael's parish, that Sike was buried there, May 28, 1712.

They were both Fellows of Trinity: Bouquet had been substituted during the last vacancy of the Hebrew chair; the latter was a young man of ability and high character, and was already the most distinguished among the tutors of the College. It may be observed that he had subscribed the late articles of accusation; and as his advancement to the Greek professorship was with the consent, perhaps by the recommendation, of Dr. Bentley, this must be deemed an attempt to conciliate one of the most respectable of his opponents, at the same time that he exhibited his own magnanimity and spirit of forgiveness.

Dr. Stubbe excluded from the office of Vice-master.

From the commencement of the proceedings the Master had aimed at dissolving the confederacy, by sowing divisions among its members; as he foresaw, that if two parties could be established among the malcontents, one of them would, ere long, fall in with his own schemes. But the Fellows were aware of his design, and held together for more than two years so firmly, that not the slightest tendency to a separation was visible. However, perseverance succeeded. The vice-mastership, like other College offices, is supplied at an annual election by the Master and Seniors; but in practice, the same individual is usually re-elected, as long as it continues agreeable to himself. The business of this office is to preside among the Fellows; but, in the absence of the Master, the station becomes one of importance, as most of the authority of the Head devolves upon his representative. Dr. Stubbe had passed a great portion of the last two or three years in London, devoting himself to the management of the suit. This afforded Bentley a plausible ground to propose another person as Vice-master; but as he must be one of the eight Seniors, the choice lay only among his prosecutors. At the two preceding elections he had nominated Dr. Thomas Smith, who, next to Stubbe, was the most respected of the number; but the Board resisted the change. Smith, however, was not proof against this petty ambition: he saw that the dignity was within his grasp; for the statutes invest the Master with such a power at elections, that he is able, with the support of one Senior, to choose a candidate, even against the opposition of the other seven. Accordingly, he hinted to his brethren his resolution to obtain the station: they perceived that it would be impolitic to urge any resistance; and therefore, on Bentley's proposing him as

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Vice-master, at the election in 1712, in order to avoid the appearance of division, they signified their assent[5]. The Master and his friends represented this election as an overt act of pacification, 'as a renouncing of the quarrel,' shown by the prosecutors voluntarily abandoning their leader; and they succeeded in possessing the public with the notion, that matters were in a train of amicable settlement. Upon poor Stubbe this event operated as a sentence of exile from the House in which he had passed almost the whole of a long life. His wounded feelings would not allow him to return to a place, where he must descend to a lower seat than that which he had long occupied; and rather than submit to such mortification, he preferred ending his days in London.

Failure of Bentley's attempt to terminate the prosecution.

At the last year's audit, the Master being absent, the Seniors had voted a dividend upon the usual scale. But in the winter of 1712 Dr. Bentley refused his consent to issue a dividend, unless they would subscribe to his plan; calculating that the privation of their income must compel them to acquiesce in his conditions. The result was exactly opposite to his expectations. The Fellows, finding that nothing was gained by forbearance, resolved to be no longer deceived by the promises of countenance and protection from the government. Stubbe thus pours out his sorrows in a letter to the Prime Minister: "Dr. Bentley, I hear, at the auditing our College accounts, refused to vote a dividend of the remaining money, in order to starve the poor members of our Society into an acquiescence under his base and unworthy measures. Our College, my Lord, though it be dutiful and silent, is

Jan. 9, 1712-13.

[5] This is the account given of the affair in Dr. Colbatch's MSS. Bentley, in his letter to Thos. Bateman, Esq. Christmas day, 1712, intended for the eye of Lord Oxford, gives a different turn to it. "Last October, as you know already, they (the Seniors) turned old Stubbe, the principal in the subscription, out of the vice-mastership, and chose, by my nomination, one Dr. Smith, which was looked upon by the whole University as a renouncing of the former quarrel. And even poor Stubbe retired out of College to London, that he might not be the head of the party here; and had he thought that there was *locus pœnitentiæ*, would have made his submission to me. In a word, if I am thought worthy of being owned by our Mæcenas, there will not be a month's space before the affairs of this House will be unanimously referred to her Majesty's commands, how dividends, &c. shall go for the future." Dr. Stubbe himself, in a note to the Lord Treasurer, of Oct. 21, says, "Dr. Bentley has been lately at his old trade of *divide et impera*, which will oblige our College, I fear, to take some speedy course with him."

in a very wretched condition; and if your Lordship please to look upon it with compassion, you will be a second founder to us. My Lord, I cannot ask pardon for this, without remembering my former offences of this nature; but I cannot doubt either of your Lordship's pardon, or of the success of my petition, when I consider that I speak for a nursery of learning to my Lord of Oxford." The Minister seems to have had recourse to his universal specific, and enjoined further patience and delay; but Miller, whose quarrel with Bentley was personal, urged the necessity of applying to the Court of Queen's Bench, for the purpose of obliging the Bishop of Ely to proceed as Visitor. It was believed that the Royal prohibition was illegal, and would not be recognised by the Court. Lord Oxford was apprised by Stubbe, that all his endeavours to prevent the cause being brought forward would probably be in vain: whereupon the ministry determined that the validity of their proceedings should not be made the subject of an argument before the Bench, and the Secretary of State, now Lord Bolingbroke, wrote to Bishop Moore, giving him the Queen's permission to proceed in this cause 'as far as by law he was empowered.' Before the end of the Easter term the affair of the Master of Trinity College was first introduced into the Court of Queen's Bench by Mr. Page, (afterwards the Judge of hanging notoriety), who, as counsel for the Fellows, obtained a rule for the Bishop to shew cause why a mandamus should not issue, to compel him to discharge his judicial functions.

April 18, 1713. Prohibition taken off.

Rule granted by the Court of Queen's Bench.

Before we describe the effects of this accelerating power upon the proceedings, it will be right to notice the exertions of Bentley and his friends to engage the public opinion in his favour. He entered into the management of University business more than he had hitherto done. The Vice Chancellor, Quadring, Master of Magdalene College, being old and infirm, frequently required a deputy in that fatiguing office, and Bentley was always his ready substitute[6]. In June, 1712, he displayed his zeal in support of the Government: a furious attack had been just made by the whigs in the House of Lords, complaining of the negotiations carrying on at Utrecht, and of the British interests being

Bentley Deputy Vice-Chancellor

[6] Dr. Gabriel Quadring was Bachelor of Arts in 1660; he must, therefore, have been above seventy years of age when chosen Vice Chancellor.

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separated from those of our Allies; and upon this question, they expected to have accomplished the overthrow of the Cabinet[7]. The Minister, though he obtained a majority, was desirous of being strengthened by public expressions in favour of his measures. Accordingly, Bentley proposed to the Senate an address to the Queen, thanking her Majesty for having made so much progress in the work of pacification, and expressing unbounded confidence in the wisdom of her Councils. It is to be remarked that this address declared the attachment of the University to the Hanover succession, terming the princes of that House, 'her Majesty's relations.' It was delivered by the Master of Trinity, who at the head of the University, was introduced to the Royal presence by the Lord Treasurer [8].

Presents an address of the University to the Queen. June 11.

Severe grace of the Senate against Bentley.

Bentley was, however, destined to experience a severe rebuff from the body to whom he had thus volunteered his services; whatever might be the motive, a determination was taken by the members of the Senate, that they would never more be placed under his presidency. The alleged complaint was, that Dr. Brookbank, the Official of the Archdeacon of Ely, had granted probates of wills and administrations of goods to the heirs of members of the University; a right considered as belonging to the academical Court. The subject was not likely in itself to occasion much interest; and, as far as appears, no innovation had been made on the practice which had long prevailed; yet upon this ground, without any previous step, a grace was brought into the Senate, enacting that in future no Archdeacon of Ely, or Official of the Archdeacon, although Head of a College, should be capable of acting as Vice Chancellor, or deputy Vice Chancellor; a measure avowedly levelled against Bentley, who in the ordinary course

Oct. 10. 1712.

[7] Secretary St. John writing to Mr. Harley at Utrecht, on this day, says, "The House of Lords is at this moment in debate on the Queen's speech, and his Lordship (Oxford), while I am writing to you, may very probably be employed in wiping off some of the dirt which that scavenger, Wharton, throws at him." *Bolingbroke's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 433. Dr. Swift says of this debate in his *Journal to Stella*, "We got a great victory last Wednesday in the House of Lords by a majority, I think, of twenty-eight; and the whigs had desired their friends to bespeak places to see Lord Treasurer carried to the Tower." Whether this were written in earnest or in joke, may be doubted: but it did actually happen, about three years after, that Lord Oxford was carried to the Tower; and on account of this very negotiation.

[8] The Address itself may be found in the *Annals of Queen Anne*, vol. ii.

was approaching to a second year of office. It was passed not only unanimously, but with a shout of applause. As there was no appearance of the Doctor having wilfully infringed the privileges of the body, this proceeding must be regarded as harsh and unhandsome; nor can it be accounted for, except from the prejudice against him which the long continued complaints of his own Fellows could not fail to have excited in the University at large [9].

In the present circumstances of Dr. Bentley, when both his character and fortunes were exposed to peril, it was highly desirable for him to have the testimony of persons of reputation, in favour of his merits and conduct. Accordingly, we find that many of his friends, who were zealous in their attachment, took occasion about this time, to represent him in the most glowing colours which the spirit of panegyric could

[9] Dr. Stubbe sent Lord Oxford a copy of this grace against Bentley, taking care to tell him that 'it passed in the Senate House with a more than usual shout.' A letter from Mr. Wm. Bishop, dated Jan. 5, 1712—13, among the Ballard Collection in the Bodleian library, gives a similar account of it, on the authority of Dr. Mosse, the Dean of Ely.

The temper of the Academical Senate just at this period, appears to have been none of the gentlest. About three weeks after the explosion against Bentley, they aimed a blow at the Heads in general, against whom they were incensed, for not allowing them an Auditor of their own. A scheme was therefore laid for having a Vice Chancellor of their own. This office had been confined to the Heads since the year 1586, when it was filled by Dr. Capcot, a Fellow of Trinity. It was now the turn of Dr. Adams, the Provost of King's: on the 3d of Nov. he and Dr. Greene, Master of Corpus, were put in nomination. This being considered a matter of mere routine, only four of the Heads happened to be present; the place of others was supplied by the Presidents or Senior Fellows of their respective Colleges. One of these unexpectedly proposed Mr. Hawkins, a Fellow of Pembroke Hall, others joined in the nomination, and he was on the point of being returned to the Senate as one of the two candidates; in which case he would infallibly have been elected Vice Chancellor on the following day. But at this critical moment, Dr. Smith, the new Vice-master of Trinity, and another voter entered the Regent House, and by giving their voices in favour of the Heads, overturned the project. This anecdote is told by Atwood, the Esquire Beadle, in his MSS. Diary. Mr. Will. Cole, who transcribes it, notices that a similar attempt was made sixty years afterwards, in 1772, when Mr. Stephen Whisson, Fellow of Trinity College, one of the most exemplary characters in the University, was very near being chosen Vice Chancellor: but the plan was defeated by Whisson himself declining the intended honour. The person who was to have been set aside on this occasion, was Dr. Cooke, the Provost of King's. Cole, who disliked the Provost, would have rejoiced at his mortification; but his own aristocratical principles made him condemn an attempt, which he considered to have too republican a tendency.

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devise. Their compliments, indeed, may be termed extravagant, and the laudatory language in which they are couched is apt to disgust the reader: but they undoubtedly produced their intended effect, of counteracting the impression on the public mind which his enemies laboured to produce.

Dr. Samuel Clarke.

The first to be recorded of these panegyrists, is the celebrated scholar and divine, Dr. Samuel Clarke, the Rector of St. James's. Between him and our critic there had long subsisted a friendship, which was not abated by their taking different courses in the stormy sea of politics. He put forth in 1712, his edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, with an appropriate dedication to the Duke of Marlborough, the modern conqueror of the Gauls. Bentley having given him the use of a manuscript from the King's library, Clarke takes occasion to speak of this favour, in terms obviously intended to counteract the notion, not yet obliterated, of his uncourteous treatment of Mr. Boyle, relative to the far-famed copy of Phalaris: *Maximum mihi hoc in opere auxilium attulit liber MS. haud quidem ipse antiquissimus, ex valde antiquis autem, ut videtur, codicibus exscriptus; quem e Bibliotheca Regia utendum mihi dedit vir in hujusmodi rebus peritia plane incredibili, et criticos unus omnes longe longeque judicio et sagacitate antecellens*, Richardus Bentleius. And in a note at p. 424, he again compliments him in similar language of superlative panegyric: "*Vide illustrissimi et acri judicio quidquid ubique est criticorum longe exsuperantis* Richardi Bentleii *Emendationes ad Ciceronis Disputationes Tusculanas a Davisio editas*," p. 80.

Jurin.

Mr. James Jurin a junior Fellow of Trinity College and master of Newcastle school, had undertaken, by Bentley's advice, a new edition of the Geography of Bernhard Varenius, a book of which copies were become scarce and in great request. He published it in 1712, adding as an appendix, some account of the discoveries and improvements in geography since the time of Varenius, who wrote in the middle of the 17th century. The book is well executed, and is dedicated in devoted terms to Dr. Bentley; whose interests he espoused with the most zealous attachment. An extract from the preface is inserted in the

note, as a specimen of the language held at this time by the partizans of the Master of Trinity [10]. Jurin's own history is too curious to be passed without notice: at the time of this publication he was master of a country grammar-school, and had reached his thirtieth year: nevertheless, he afterwards adopted the profession of medicine, and became a physician of high celebrity and great practice in the metropolis; distinguished himself as a successful advocate for inoculation, and was the author of various scientific papers in the Philosophical Transactions; for a long time he was Secretary to the Royal Society; and finally became President of the College of Physicians, which station he held at the time of his death in 1750.

Publication of Newton's Principia.

But there was a more distinguished publication, in which the praises of Dr. Bentley were proclaimed in as high a strain of encomium. This was Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*, which appeared in the spring of 1713. The long interval since this work was put to press is accounted for in the interesting correspondence between the illustrious author and its editor Professor Cotes. The numerous avocations of Sir Isaac, the careful consideration which he gave to the improvements in his immortal work, and the suggestions made from time to time by Cotes, all of which he received with attention, contributed to delay its appearance. Bentley having been the prime mover of this publication, Cotes wished that the preface should be written by him: but it was the opinion both of himself and Sir Isaac, that this ought to come from the pen of the editor. The following letter from Cotes to Bentley on this subject, contains matter so curious that there needs no apology for submitting it to the reader:

[10] "Cum frustra jam ubique fere quærerentur apud bibliopolas Varenii exemplaria, idque judicaret magno cum Juventutis Academicæ detrimento fieri Vir Reverendus Richardus Bentleius, quem neque publica munera, quæ singulari cum doctrina, labore, fide, sanctitate, et sapientia administrat; tum illa quibus Reginæ optimæ et Ecclesiæ inservit; tum quo partem Academiæ celeberrimæ minime postremam impensiori studio fovet, alit, ornat, ac magis indies magisque efflorescere facit, et, ut vera dicam, cogit; neque privata studia, quibus orbem eruditum indefessa diligentia ditare et erudire pergit; nec atrox denique obtrectatorum invidia, qua jamdudum animo excelso, et egregie sibi conscio conflictatur, quamque jamjam feliciter, ut spero, eluctatur et proculcat, quin minima quæque ad rem literariam pertinentia cura sua amplectetur, prohibere potuerunt: is me, de quo majorem æquo, pro bonitate sua et humanitate, opinionem conceperat, hortatus est, ut novæ hujusce editionis curam susciperem."

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" Sir, *March* 10, 1712—1713.

" I received what you wrote to me in Sir Isaac's letter. I will set about the index in a day or two. As for the preface, I should be glad to know from Sir Isaac with what view he thinks proper to have it written. You know the book has been received abroad with some disadvantage, and the cause of it may be easily guessed at; the *Commercium Epistolicum*, lately published by order of the Royal Society, gives such indubitable proofs of Mr. Leibnitz's want of candour, that I shall not scruple in the least to speak out the full truth of the matter, if it be thought convenient. There are some pieces of his looking this way, which deserve a censure, as his *Tentamen de motuum cœlestium causis.* If Sir Isaac is willing that something of this nature may be done, I should be glad, if, whilst I am making the index, he would consider of it, and put down a few notes of what he thinks most material to be insisted on. This I say upon supposition that I write the preface myself. But I think it will be much more advisable that you or he, or both of you should write it, whilst you are in town. You may depend upon it that I will own it, and defend it as well as I can, if hereafter there be occasion.

" I am, Sir," &c.

The preface, with which all votaries of science are acquainted, concludes with the following paragraph :

" Extabit igitur eximium NEWTONI opus adversus atheorum impetus munitissimum præsidium : neque enim alicunde felicius, quam ex hac pharetra contra impiam catervam tela deprompseris. Hoc sensit pridem, et in pereruditis concionibus Anglice Latineque editis, primus egregie demonstravit Vir in omni literarum genere præclarus, idemque bonarum artium fautor eximius RICHARDUS BENTLEIUS, sæculi sui, et Academiæ nostræ magnum ornamentum, Collegii nostri *S. Trinitatis* Magister dignissimus et integerrimus. Huic ego me pluribus nominibus obstrictum fateri debeo: Huic et tuas quæ debentur gratias, Lector benevole, non denegabis. Is enim, cum a longo tempore celeberrimi auctoris amicitia intima frueretur, (qua etiam apud posteros censeri non minoris æstimat, quam propriis scriptis quæ literato orbi in deliciis sunt inclarescere) amici simul famæ et scientiarum incremento consuluit. Itaque cum exemplaria prioris editionis rarissima admodum et immani pretio coemenda superessent; suasit ille crebris efflagitationibus et tantum non objurgando perpulit denique Virum præstantissimum, nec modestia minus quam eruditione summa insignem, ut novam hanc operis editionem, per omnia elimatam denuo et egregiis insuper accessionibus ditatam, suis sumptibus et auspiciis prodire pateretur : mihi vero, pro jure suo, pensum non ingratum demandavit, ut quam posset emendate id fieri curarem [11].

" *Cantabrigiæ, Maii* 12, 1713."

[11] Bentley was highly gratified by this encomium, which various circumstances contributed to render valuable. In the postscript of a letter to Mr. Bateman, July 12, he says, " Prithee see, at the end of the preface of Mr. Cotes, our Astronomy Professor, one of the finest young men of Europe, what character is given of me there, in Sir Isaac's book."

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Our critic in the meantime was not sparing of his own exertions to increase his already extensive reputation. Besides the second edition of his Horace, he put forth, in 1713, a reprint of the 'Emendations of Menander,' adding to it his celebrated Epistle to Mill, the earliest fruit of his genius. This publication issued from the Cambridge press, and was of course considered a public avowal of the real *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*; but the violent preface of Burman, being the offspring of private resentment against Le Clerc, was judiciously omitted.

Thomas Bentley's little Horace.

The Doctor's nephew, Thomas Bentley, the son of his elder brother James, was at this time a Bachelor of Arts in Trinity College: he was an amiable youth, a promising scholar, and devoted in his attachment to the person and fame of his uncle. As the size and price of the Horace impeded its circulation, Bentley suggested to this young man, as the commencement of his literary career, to publish a small edition of the work, with short annotations. He executed this task by printing scrupulously his uncle's text, giving the common readings in the margin, and affixing some brief explanatory notes, which might be useful to younger readers. The large work being dedicated to the Earl of Oxford, this little Horace was inscribed to his son, Lord Harley. For this Dedication, which, as a juvenile production, candid persons would have forborne to criticise, Thomas Bentley was abused many years afterwards by Pope and Warburton, with great asperity, in the notes on the Dunciad [12].

Collins's Discourse of Freethinking.

It was at this crisis that Dr. Bentley had an opportunity of rendering a signal and memorable service to the Church, and of employing his learning for the most legitimate of all purposes, the defence of religion. Anthony Collins, a gentleman of education and fortune, who in early life enjoyed the friendship of Locke, had for some years devoted himself to the dissemination of his own principles of infidelity. Being respectable in his private life, popular and agreeable in his manners, and

[12] Book II. 205. This matter we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. Richard Johnson in the Preface to *Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus*, charges Bentley with having himself published this small Horace under the name of his nephew, and with having styled himself *Seculi Decus*. This is a gratuitous calumny, as improbable as it is malicious. The editor declares that his uncle suggested the plan, but had not even seen the work before its publication.

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possessing an extensive acquaintance, he naturally acquired influence; and so great was his zeal in the cause, that he seems to have proposed to himself the character of an apostle of irreligion. At the beginning of 1713 he published, without his name, a book styled 'A Discourse of Free-Thinking, occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.' It is but too certain that deism had been making considerable advance in England since the Revolution, and that its progress had been aided by the insidious writings of Shaftesbury, Toland, Tindal, and other enemies of revealed religion. But the assumption of a 'growing sect' seems to have been an artifice designed to imply an uniformity of opinions, which did not really exist, among the impugners of Christianity. Or if the 'sect' had any thing like 'a local habitation and a name,' it was a small knot of persons whose ordinary place of rendezvous was the Grecian Coffee-house, near Temple Bar, of whom Mr. Collins was himself the centre. His present work, whether we regard its literary merit, its power of argument, or the profoundness of its views, appears totally unworthy of the attention which it excited. The learning is superficial, the reasoning unsound, and the information upon general topics loose and inaccurate; and his 'sapless pages' (as Bentley well denominates them) are destitute of those indispensable requisites, honesty and candour, for the absence of which no merits can atone. Nevertheless, a publication so intrinsically worthless occasioned great sensation: it appeared as the manifesto of a party; it assumed the concurrence of almost all great men of every age and country in similar tenets of 'free-thinking;' and it attacked the clergy of the established Church with especial severity. The authoritative and self-sufficient tone in which its positions are laid down, and its perpetual appeals to ancient literature, were well calculated to entrap the careless and half-learned, who at all times constitute a large proportion of the reading public.

Replies by Hoadly.

'The Discourse of Freethinking' having, from these causes, made much noise in the world, drew upon itself a host of replies; and, however 'worthless of such honour,' exercised some of the ablest pens of the age in its refutation. Dr. Hoadly wrote a few pages of 'Queries,' placing in a clear and forcible light the fallacious reasoning and evil

tendency of Collins's positions[13]. A tract, called 'Reflexions on an Anonymous Pamphlet, &c.' appeared from the ready pen of Mr. Whiston, who, although himself at open war with the Establishment, and smarting under the censures which his heresies had provoked, yet condemned the unfair attack here made upon the clergy, and exposed the objects of this scoffer in their true colours. Dr. Swift, who was at that time devoting his days and nights to uphold the cause of his friends in administration, laid hold of this piece as one in which the High Church party were made prominent objects of attack, and published an 'Abstract' of Collins's arguments, divested of the quotations, which fill half his book. The Discourse, in this form, is supposed to be written by a whig, with the professed intention of making converts to that party. An attempt to palm upon his political opponents the principles of an infidel, must be condemned as an unjustifiable stratagem; but the 'Abstract' itself, by stripping off all extraneous matter, has the effect of exhibiting the tenets of the Freethinker's Discourse in their native deformity; and, though tinctured with Swift's peculiar vein of humour, the parody is, as a composition, clearly superior to the original. The whigs, on their part, were not slow in declaring their abhorrence of Collins's performance: besides the tract of Hoadly, the Guardian, a paper conducted by Steel in support of that interest, contained in its third number a sensible and keen article against this design to ridicule the Scriptures; it was written by Mr. Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne. The same amiable philosopher recurred to this book in the 39th paper of the Guardian, giving an allegorical account of the composition of the brain and heart of its author. Dr. Ibbot, chaplain to Archbishop Tenison, chose for the subject of his Boyle's Lectures a refutation of Collins's Discourse. But the fame of all the above pieces has been eclipsed by that of Dr. Bentley's unrivalled criticism on this deistical performance. Immediately on its publication he took it up, and finding that the learning was unsound, the reasoning bad, and the object malicious, he resolved to expose it in its true colours; and he has in fact made its author a warning to all vain and superficial

Whiston. Swift. Berkeley. Ibbot.

[13] *Queries recommended to the Authors of a late Discourse of Free-Thinking. By a Christian.* London. 1713.

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sceptics, who are tempted to employ their puny sophistry in attacks upon revealed religion.

Bentley's Reply, under the title of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis.

Our critic bethought him of assuming the same title in his reply to Collins, as he had maintained with so much credit in his book upon Le Clerc's Menander. The conceit was happy; for the name of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis* chanced to have a two-fold convenience: as a 'lover of freedom,' he could with propriety expose the false pretence to 'freethinking,' made by a writer who inculcated a set of opinions 'the most slavish, the most abject and base, that human nature is capable of;' and in the character of a Leipsic scholar, supposed of course to be a Lutheran, he could encounter the attacks made upon Christianity in general, without displaying any particular interest in favour of the English Clergy, against whom the prominent malice of Collins was directed. To ascertain the identity of the author was unnecessary; since it was made no secret that these 'Remarks on the Discourse of Freethinking,' were from the pen of Bentley. The Dedicatory Epistle was addressed to 'My very Learned and Honoured Friend, *F. H.* D.D. at London, Great Britain:' this was understood to be Dr. Hare, to whose care the remarks upon Menander had actually been committed by Phileleutherus.

Character of his Remarks.

Nothing can be more judicious or effectual than the manner in which the Doctor takes to pieces the shallow, but dangerous performance of the infidel. Not satisfied with replying to particular arguments, he cuts the ground under his feet, by exposing the fallacious mode of reasoning which pervades them all, and the contemptible sophism whereby the author represents all good and great men of every age and country to have been 'freethinkers,' and consequently partizans of his own sect. But the happiest of Bentley's Remarks are those which display the mistakes and ignorance of Collins in his citations from classical writers. By a kind of fatality, his translations are perpetually inaccurate, and his conception of the originals erroneous: and though most of his blunders are the effects of ignorance, yet not a few seem to arise from a deliberate intention of deceiving his readers. Never was the advantage more conspicuous of a ripe and perfect scholar, over a half-learned smatterer: while the latter searches book

after book in pursuit of passages favourable to his own theory, the former, familiar with the writings and characters of the authors, and accurately versed in their language, is able to take to pieces the ill-assorted patchwork of irrelevant quotations. These parts of Bentley's work are not only effectual in demolishing his adversary, but are both entertaining and useful to the reader; and it is owing to them, that the book has experienced a fate so different from that of controversial pieces in general: even the ablest and best-written fall into oblivion, along with the dispute which gave them birth; but the 'Remarks of Phileleutherus' are still read with the same delight as at their first appearance. The fact of their having passed through a multitude of editions at considerable intervals of time, marks a continuance of interest among the educated public, only to be accounted for by the intrinsic merit of the work.

Collins having assailed Christianity and its professors with ridicule, the usual method of the infidels, Bentley determined that he should experience the full power of the weapon which he had chosen. But there was much difference between the two cases: the enemy of religion scoffed at opinions, which, being seriously and honestly entertained by Christians, claimed from a candid adversary the tribute of respect: he, on the other hand, incurs derision for his ignorance, self-sufficiency, and insolence, the most legitimate objects of ridicule. At the present day it is interesting to observe, that 'The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,' was in its early years distinguished by the especial hatred of the enemies of Christianity. Accordingly, Collins levels his sneers against this institution in such conceits as the following:

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

"We have here in England a Society supported by the encouragement of her most excellent Majesty, and the contributions of many divines and ladies of our established Church, in effect for the propagation of free-thinking in matters of religion throughout the world; and whose design supposes, that it is all men's duty to think freely about matters of religion. For how can the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts hope to have any effect on infidel nations, without first acquainting them that it is their duty to think freely, both on the notions of God and religion, which they have received from their ancestors, or which are established by law among them, and on those new notions of God and religion brought to them by the Missionarys of the Church of England?"—"Nay, should the King of Siam (or any other infidel prince) in return for

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the favour of our endeavours to convert him and his kingdom to our religion, desire to send us a parcel of his Talapoins (so the priests of Siam are call'd) to convert us to the religion by law established in Siam; I cannot see but that our Society for Propagating the Gospel, and all the contributors and well-wishers to it, must acknowledge the King's request to be highly reasonable, and perfectly of a piece with their own project."—" And oh! that the proper persons were but employ'd for the execution of so glorious a design! That such zealous divines as our S——ls, our At——ys, our Sm——ges, our St——bes, our Higgins, our M——rns, and our Sw—fts, were drawn out annually, as our military missionarys are, to be sent into foreign parts to propagate the Gospel[14]!"—*Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 41.

After pointing out the tendency of sneers and insults upon the Sovereign, with which this insipid banter commences, Bentley replies:

" But to leave unpleasing thoughts, and for once to 'answer a fool according to his folly.' Are the Talapoins of Siam then to be put here upon a level with the whole clergy of England; the light and glory (if they are not chang'd all on a sudden) of present Christianity? and this done by a sorry retailer of atheistical scraps, which he understands not three lines of; but at the first offer of a translation betrays his stupidity? Is he to 'draw out' your divines, whose names we know not here because he has mangl'd them; but conclude them to be men of worth and distinction, from the very credit of his abusing them? If he is once for 'drawing out,' and reviving the old trade of 'Ανδραποδοκαπηλία, *selling and exporting of men*, it may perhaps be found more serviceable to your Government to oblige your East India Company to take on board the whole 'growing sect,' and lodge them at Madagascar among their confess'd and claim'd kindred (since they make themselves but a higher species of brutes) the monkeys and the drills: or to order your new South Sea Company to deliver them to the Spaniards as part of the *assiento*, to be free-diggers in the mines there; and after a decent time in that purgatory, to convey them to their happy country, their paradise of New Jersey; where neither priest, nor physician, nor lawyer, can molest them." *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 67, ed. 1743.

The publication of Mill's Greek Testament had excited alarm among some, who apprehended that the number of various readings discovered

[14] In Swift's Parody of this part of Collins's Discourse, (which, in point of style, is a clear improvement of the original), it is curious to observe that he selects his company in which he would choose to be transported:

" Here is a Society in London for propagating freethinking throughout the world, encouraged and supported by the Queen and many others. You say, perhaps, it is for propagating the Gospel, &c.—I heartily wish a detachment of such divines as Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smalridge, Dr. Swift, Dr. Sacheverell, and some others, were sent every year to the farthest part of the heathen world, and that we had a cargo of their priests in return, who would spread freethinking among us."—*Swift's Works*, vol. viii. p. 302.

in different copies of the Scriptures endangered the authority of the whole, and a strong protestation had been made against the pursuits of the critic by Dr. Whitby, a laborious but ill-judging divine. An opportunity of attacking the sacred volume upon this score was too tempting to be omitted by Mr. Collins. To him, therefore, or rather to Whitby, Phileleutherus makes a satisfactory reply. His remarks on this subject are of such great and permanent importance, and the point of view in which he places the study of sacred criticism is so luminous and convincing, that no friend of religion has been since found to decry or disapprove the critical study of the inspired writings. Nor have there been any cavils founded upon the variation of manuscripts, to which a full reply may not be found in the pages of Phileleutherus.

Whitby.

Sacred criticism.

Having carried his 'Remarks' through one half of the 'Discourse,' he found that they already amounted to a good sized pamphlet; and accordingly issued them from the press, promising that if he understood it would be serviceable to religion, or agreeable to the English clergy, he would give the world another letter on the remainder.

No sooner had this publication appeared, than Hare returned the compliment of the dedicatory address, by a well-written but extravagantly laudatory pamphlet, entitled 'The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus,' addressed by name to Dr. Bentley, whom no one doubted to be the real author of the 'Remarks.' The writer, who subscribes himself *Philo-Criticus*, displays the merits of the Reply to Collins in a just light; for a more complete overthrow of an adversary can scarcely be imagined: but his language is that of unrestrained panegyric, applied not only to this, but to the other works of Bentley; and being addressed to the person eulogized, it far exceeds the limits of delicacy and good taste. It proves, however, how great must have been our critic's fame, to enable the public to tolerate such excessive praise of a living individual. The same observation applies to this as to the other panegyrics of Bentley, put forth by his friends at this period; that they were designed to counterbalance the obloquy vented against him by his enemies; and to show, that if he had a party hostile to him in the University, there were other and more distinguished persons, who regarded him with all the warmth of friendship and

Hare's Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus.

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admiration. This profuse tribute of praise, like that lately bestowed upon our critic by Dr. Clarke, possessed an additional advantage; it was evidently uninfluenced by party-spirit, Dr. Hare being devoted to the whigs, and having lately made himself conspicuous by a sermon delivered before the Duke of Marlborough, after the taking of Bouchain, wherein the conduct of Government, in arresting the career of the conquerors, was severely arraigned.

This laudatory pamphlet suggests, that the first publication of *Philelutherus* had been written with a view not unlike the present; since it displayed to the Free-thinkers, who considered Le Clerc as their head, 'that he was as much inferior to the truly learned, as they themselves were to him:' a remark which must be confessed to sound rather like an after-thought[15]. In stating the want of a new critical edition of the Scriptures, Hare expresses his conviction, that no one living, except Bentley, was equal to the task, and says how much people desire that he would favour the world with such a work, or at least with his *Critica Sacra*; of which he had given some ingenious and acute specimens, interspersed in his Remarks upon the Free-thinkers. This is worthy of observation, as being the first public suggestion of an undertaking which, in process of time, occupied so much of the Doctor's attention[16].

Second part of Bentley's Remarks.

Encouraged by the flattering publication of the 'Clergyman's Thanks,' and still more by the general voice of approbation, Bentley again took in hand the Freethinker's book; of which the latter half consisted principally of extracts and translations, brought to prove this monstrous position, that Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Varro, Cato, Cicero, and in short all the virtuous and great of different ages, belonged to his own pretended sect. As far as Collins was concerned, the former Remarks had effectually destroyed his credit both for reasoning and knowledge. The second part, therefore, contributes little to the general effect; but it possesses a peculiar value, from the clear and luminous view which it affords of the opinions of the ancient philosophers. The Freethinker having a loose and imperfect idea of

[15] *Clergyman's Thanks*, p. 11.

[16] *Ditto*, p. 38.

their tenets, and being resolved at all hazards to challenge every one of them as his own, misconstrues passages from their works, and misstates their sentiments; Bentley, while shewing how his adversary distorts the meaning of his quotations, and flounders from blunder to blunder, exhibits his own perfect acquaintance with their writings, and gives the reader concise and well-defined explanations of the opinions they entertained, and the discipline they taught. His remarks upon Cicero will serve as a specimen both of the severe chastisement which he bestows upon Collins, and of his address in making his strictures the vehicle of solid information. CHAP. XI. 1713.

When the second part of his Remarks had extended to the same bulk as the first, Bentley was called off from his task by the College prosecution, which imperiously demanded his undivided attention: he, therefore, again broke off, leaving the work unfinished, and in his address to *F. H.* pretending to be written from Leipsic, he playfully alluded to his private predicament. "And then you know my long lawsuit here, which is now removed to Dresden: and who would regard the 'Freethinker,' or willingly jade his own parts, under such clogs and impediments? I find when I set pen to paper, that I sink below my own level: *Quærit se ingenium nec invenit.* But if you'd had patience till my trial was over (for trial in my case is the same as victory) then, perhaps, your 'growing sect' might have felt to their cost; September, 1713.

> "*Et nos tela, pater, ferrumque haud debile dextra*
> *Spargimus, et nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.*"

The applause which hailed this publication was great and universal, and the general sensation excited in favour of our critic's merits was highly important at the present crisis. Even his enemies, while they contended that the real object of the book was to take off the odium brought upon him by the prosecution, were compelled to acknowledge the ability of the performance [17]. Cumberland in a pamphlet written in defence of his illustrious grandfather against the sneers of Bishop Lowth, tells us that, among other honours, he received the unanimous

[17] Dr. Colbatch in a MS. Reply to Bentley's attack upon him, in the year 1720, unequivocally confesses the merit of *Phileleutherus*.

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thanks of the whole Bench of Bishops for his 'Remarks on Free-thinking[18].' That all the prelates who were acquainted with Dr. Bentley would take an opportunity of complimenting him on this service rendered to the cause of religion, is highly probable; but the story of his having received public and official thanks from the Bench I consider erroneous: for at a later period of his life, when he makes a display of the honours paid him on this occasion, he does not mention such a compliment.

Collins's disgraceful behavour.

The conduct of Collins was such as to justify the late exposure of his character and principles. His book concluded with a truly Epicurean sentiment—"For I think it virtue enough to endeavour to do good, only within the bounds of doing yourself no harm." And he illustrated this notable maxim, by taking alarm at an unfounded rumour of his work being in danger of a prosecution, and immediately fled to Holland; thus showing, that however bold he was against divine authority, he was tremblingly afraid of human power. Instead of defending himself against Bentley's 'Remarks,' which called in question his character both for scholarship and good faith, he endeavoured to elude them by pitiful stratagems. He reprinted his book at the Hague with a London title, and with such a resemblance in the form and number of the pages, as gave it the appearance of an original edition, but with a few omissions and alterations in certain passages which Bentley had exposed as disgraceful to his character; in order that future readers might believe him innocent of those charges[19]. He afterwards printed an edition with more alterations;

[18] *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of O———d*, &c. London. 1767.

[19] It absolutely had this effect with Mr. Prichard, a gentleman of Ledbury, in Herefordshire, a disciple of the Free-thinker's sect. Collins, in his wanton desire to insult Christianity, in his 90th page, translates a passage from Victor's Chronicon—'Sancta Evangelia, tanquam ab idiotis Evangelistis composita, *the Holy Gospels, as written by* IDIOT *Evangelists*.' Upon this shameful version, Dr. Bentley remarks as follows: "Ab Idiotis Evangelistis, *by Idiot Evangelists*; says our author; who, if he's sincere in this version, proves himself a very *Idiot* in the Greek and Latin acceptation of that word. Ἰδιώτης, *Idiota, illiteratus, indoctus, rudis*. See Du Fresne in his Glossaries; who takes notice, that *Idiota* for an idiot or natural fool, is peculiar to your English law; for which he cites Rastal. Did Victor, therefore, mean 'Idiot Evangelists' in your English sense? No: but illiterate, unlearned. What, then, must we think of our author for his scandalous translation here? whether imputation will he choose to lie under; that he

and in 1714 there appeared at the Hague, under his own inspection, a French translation of his 'Discourse,' still professing to be printed at London, wherein further attempts were made to elude the force of the strictures to which he could not reply. All these artifices are detailed in a French book, published at Amsterdam many years afterwards, termed *Friponnerie Laique*, which contains also a translation of the remarks of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis* [20]. CHAP. XI. 1713.

In the interval between the publication of the two parts of his 'Remarks,' Bentley gave personal and deep offence to Lord Bolingbroke, the minister by whose influence it was commonly supposed that he was sheltered from his College prosecutors. This seemingly ill-timed collision occurred at the annual election of scholars from Westminster school to the two Colleges of Trinity and Christ-Church. The connection of the school with these two Royal foundations had already proved the source of jealousy between their Heads. Christ-Church influence had for some time predominated at Westminster, which was attributed to the Dean and Head-master both belonging to that society: and it had been resolved a few years before by a College decree at Trinity, to maintain at the public charge the right of their Head to nominate the two masters of the school, alternately with the Dean of Christ-Church. At the annual examination, which takes place before the two Heads, aided by an associate from each College, it is customary to elect, by alternate choice, seven or eight youths ready for the University, to the foundations of those two societies: and in order to preserve the equilibrium perfect, each possesses the right of first option in the alternate years. In practice, however, there had been some deviation from this rule of equality, owing to the different constitution of the two Colleges. The studentships of Christ-Church being permanent in tenure, and increasing in value according to standing,

Bentley gives offence to Lord Bolingbroke.

Dec. 17, 1707.

knew the meaning of Victor, or that he knew it not?"—*Remarks*, p. 113. In the reprint mentioned in the text, Collins omitted the words *by idiot Evangelists*, and Mr. Prichard, who possessed that copy, and believed it to be the original, persuaded himself that this disgraceful translation was nothing but an impudent forgery of Bentley, invented to discredit his antagonist. There may be found in Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 673, an amusing correspondence on the subject between this gentleman and Professor Lort.

[20] See *Leland's View of the Deistical Writers. Supplem.* p. 36.

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conducted their possessors to the full emoluments and preferments of the society, without risk or trouble. The scholarships of Trinity, on the contrary, are tenable only till the standing of Master of Arts; they entitle their holders to become candidates for fellowships; but those higher objects are open to free competition, and are the rewards of merit. It followed, therefore, that the studentships were coveted, as a more secure provision, and as exempt from the hazardous literary ordeal to be encountered by the scholars. And since the society of Trinity never wished to gain unwilling members, it was common to allow those boys who had interest enough to obtain studentships, to become the Christ-Church option. At the election in 1713, Lord Bolingbroke had used his interest to secure a studentship for Robert Prior, a relation (perhaps a natural son) of the celebrated Matthew Prior, who was his most intimate friend, and at that moment confidential minister at the Court of France. But Bentley, happening to be entitled to priority of choice, defeated the object of the Secretary of State, by fixing upon this boy, though the ninth in place, as his first option; and, in spite of all remonstrances, remained obstinate to his resolution [21]. What could be the Master's motive for conduct so pointedly offensive to Lord Bolingbroke, it is impossible to determine: he has been frequently accused of too great an attention to persons of power and influence; and it cannot be supposed that so able a diplomatist as the Secretary would have suffered him to be ignorant

[21] This anecdote is told by Lord Bolingbroke himself in a letter to Prior, July 4, 1713.

"I am unfortunate in all my negotiations; at least in all those at home. At the last election at Westminster I endeavoured to have sent a very pretty lad, who wears your name, and therefore was entitled to my very best services, to Christ Church; but Bentley *pro solita humanitate sua*, leaped over eight boys to make this youth his first option, and remained, with all the good breeding of a pedant inflexible."—*Bolingbroke's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 437.

Prior replies, July 13.

"I am obliged to you very particularly for your care of my friend Prior: I cannot imagine how you came to know that snudging boy, for his mother is very homely. Bentley will always be an ill-bred pedant; can the leopard change his skin? I hope you may never have any thing more essential to trouble you, than the disappointment of the boy's going to Trinity. I think I shall always have interest enough at Cambridge to make his stay there easy; and if he has the continuance of your patronage, I think too, matters cannot go so ill, but that in four years we may set him afloat in the world."

of his wishes. It may be surmised that Bentley was piqued at the Minister, for having just withdrawn the shield of power which protected him from his enemies: or he might attribute to Bolingbroke the disappointment of his hopes of preferment. In either case we know that his suspicions were erroneous: as the jealousy of the Lord Treasurer allowed to his colleague no power of interference, beyond his immediate department. But it seems unlikely that a person who knew the world so well, would have shown his resentment by petulant and ill-natured conduct. I am disposed, therefore, to think that he only intended a pointed assertion of his privileges against Atterbury, the Dean of Christ-Church; who was at that moment nominated to succeed Bishop Sprat in the see of Rochester and deanery of Westminster; which preferments, it may be added, were probable objects of ambition to Bentley himself[22].

Bentley's answer to the articles.

To resume the long protracted case of the College prosecution—all obstacles to the exercise of his judicial functions being at last removed, the Bishop of Ely demanded the answer of the Master of Trinity to the charges presented against him: but not before he had taken the precaution of requiring that the petition and articles should be subscribed afresh by the accusers; and it does not appear that any one of the number declined to repeat his signature. Bentley met the storm with such an intrepid spirit as only the consciousness of innocence ought to inspire. He immediately complied with the Bishop's mandate, June 13. by sending his reply to each of the 54 articles. The answers are brief, and sometimes laconic; and do little more than indicate the line of defence which he intended to adopt, when the cause came to 'a

[22] A pamphlet was written this year, evidently by some member of his College, containing a very bitter attack upon Dr. Bentley. It is called *An Answer to some objections that have been made to the conduct of Dr. B., together with a Dialogue between a Whigg and Tory concerning the present State of the Case of Trinity College.* Its style is generally scurrilous; but from it we learn (p. 8.) that the Master had lately been disappointed in his hopes of preferment, at which he expressed great indignation; it is likewise said (p. 2.) that he was reported to have abused a noble person then in power.

It may be remarked that during the whole administration of the Earl of Oxford, in the distribution of Church preferment a glaring and unexampled partiality was shown in favour of the University of Oxford. In the course of the whole four years, scarcely a Cambridge man was preferred.

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full and personal hearing.' Many of the facts laid to his charge he acknowledges and justifies, asserting that they were not violations of the statutes: others he makes a subject of boast; as he had done in his printed letter, to which he frequently refers as his 'former answer.' To the various accusations of excessive and wasteful expenditure, he replies that the objects were of a public nature, and that they had all been previously sanctioned or afterwards allowed by the Seniority. His tone is high and confident, and breathes the utmost contempt of his accusers. There is, however, no recurrence to the ground taken in his petition to the Queen, wherein he disputed the jurisdiction of the Bishop: on the contrary, his answer commences with styling him 'Visitor,' and professes 'all submission to his Lordship's censure and sentence.'

This document being sent to the Fellows, produced a 'representation' or 'replication,' signed by counsel in their name, commenting upon each of the Master's answers, contending that some were 'insufficient,' and others 'untrue;' and praying that the Visitor would compel him to give a fuller reply. This, like all the productions of Miller, was long and tedious.

Bentley rejoined by a short address to the Bishop, treating the 'representation' with severity and contempt; urging justly enough, that these successive rejoinders would not advance the case; that it was unreasonable for him to be called upon to disprove the articles of accusation, before the accusers had adduced any proof in their support; and again calling, in a tone rather of command than supplication, for 'a final and personal hearing.'

This second reply being sent to the prosecutors, was followed by another rejoinder from Miller in their behalf, complaining of Dr. Bentley's refusal to put in a fuller answer; and begging the Visitor's order that they might inspect the College books in the Master's custody, for the purpose of substantiating their charges.

These proceedings, which were in truth only formal preliminaries, protracted the business till August; when Dr. Bentley made an effort to put an end to this vexatious affair by one of those stratagems which his genius was ever ready to suggest. He proposed to some of

the prosecutors that the Visitor should be petitioned by both parties, to come over to Cambridge, where, from the facility of examining the registers and account-books, and by personal inquiries on the spot, he might be enabled to come to a prompt decision upon the case. The suggestion was eagerly embraced by several of the Fellows, as calculated to obviate further delay and expense, and to put a termination to a state of things which appeared ruinous to the College. Eleven of the prosecutors had subscribed their names to a petition for this purpose, when it was suggested that Miller, to whom the whole conduct of the cause had been intrusted, was still upon the circuit; that it would take a long time to make a thorough examination of the books; that nothing was yet in readiness; and consequently, if the prayer were complied with, and the trial immediately commenced, an acquittal must follow from the want of evidence. Accordingly, no more of the Fellows added their names to what they conceived a stratagem to overreach them: Bentley, however, not despairing of success, sent the petition to Ely with the signatures already obtained, by the hands of Professor Cotes. But Bishop Moore, being determined to fortify his own judgment by the first legal assistance, had engaged as his assessors, Lord Cowper, the ex-chancellor, and Dr. Newton, an eminent civilian. He replied, therefore, that he intended to try the cause in London, as the place where both parties might most conveniently provide the assistance of counsel; and that the trial would take place in November, if the engagements of his assessors permitted [23].

Attempt to terminate the proceedings.

The Bishop's assessors.

The Bishop having declared that he meant to take the evidence in the form of affidavits, the month of October was spent by Miller and the other prosecutors, in preparing proofs from the College books, and in drawing up depositions. No less than twenty-seven affidavits were sworn against the party accused; nor does it appear that any one of the complainants relented, or declined to maintain upon oath the charges to which he had affixed his signature.

The society was destined, however, to experience more of the law's delay, and the prolonged evils of dissention and confusion. At this

[23] A detailed account of these and some subsequent proceedings is given in the Journal of Mr. Rud, who was in College at the time.

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time the unsettled state of public affairs, the violence of opposition, the growing feuds between the principal ministers, the precarious state of the Queen's health, and the apprehensions respecting the succession, occupied every mind with intense interest; while the avocations of the judge, the assessors, and the advocates furnished continual reasons for postponing the affairs of Trinity College. Nor was it till the month of May, 1714, that the trial of Dr. Bentley actually commenced.

During this agitating interval, when his fortune and character were at stake, our critic solaced the hours of suspense by undertaking a new edition of Terence. Of all the Latin writers, this comedian was his favourite: and his peculiar insight into the comic metres, a subject which other scholars had abandoned as hopeless, enabled him to correct a prodigious number of passages, and to throw new light upon the author. But the overwhelming anxiety occasioned by the approaching trial prevented his bringing the work to a termination [24].

Trial at Ely House.

When the long expected day arrived, the large hall at Ely-house was converted into a court of justice, where written evidence was produced in support and refutation of the 54 articles against the Master of Trinity College. The counsel for the prosecution were Sir Peter King, Sir John Cheshyre, Mr. Serjeant Page, Mr. Miller, and Dr. Paul, the civilian. Those employed by the Master were the Hon. Spencer Compton (afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, and Earl of Wilmington), Mr. Lutwych, and Dr. Andrews, the civilian. As the nature of the cause partook both of the common and the civil law, it was arranged that two gentlemen of the former and one of the latter profession, should speak on each side upon the respective heads of accusation. Of all these learned advocates it is probable that Mr. Miller alone was sufficiently master of the case; involving as it did most of the statutes and details of College history for above ten years. His familiarity with the business in all its bearings must have rendered him a formidable adversary [25].

[24] That Bentley was at this period occupied with preparing an edition of Terence, I discover from a letter of the Abbé Bignon, Jan. 12, and of Kuster, Jan. 16, 1714.

[25] In a loose paper which I found in the Treasury of Trinity College, there is the following

The articles embraced almost all material parts of Bentley's College administration: and in my account of those transactions, I have been careful to consult the original records, as well as to compare and balance the statements of the contending parties; and particularly the briefs or instructions for the management of this case, drawn up by Miller and Bentley themselves; which contain the heads of the arguments, as well as of the evidence for supporting the accusation and defence on every article. Considering the fallible nature of human testimony, after a long interval has elapsed, and passion and prejudice have interposed, it is surprising to find so general an agreement respecting the substantial facts. The colouring given to them forms the ground of controversy: what the accusers imputed to bad and criminal motives, the other party contended to have been innocent and praiseworthy.

The Master stood charged with the two offences of 'wasting the College goods,' and 'violating the statutes.' To the first class of articles he replied by proving in detail that the different expences alleged to be 'wasteful,' had either been previously sanctioned or subsequently approved by the College council, consisting of the accusers themselves. This concurrence, although it might disqualify them from becoming complainants, could not exempt the Master from censure: it was a better apology, that the principal sums which he was charged with lavishing, had been expended in the repairs and ornament of the fabric, and other public objects: such expenditure might have been greater than was necessary; but could not be termed 'dilapidatio bonorum Collegii.' The other class of charges he met by shewing, that some of the acts with which he was charged contradicted no statute, however opposite they might be to custom and precedent.

account of the performances of four of these gentlemen. The writer seems to be some Fellow who was present at the trial:

"*Spencer Compton.* He hath been heard to say afterwards, that he never was so ashamed of any cause in his life.

"*Sir J. Cheshyre.* He used Dr. B. very much in his own way.

"*Serj. Page.* He hummed, and hawed, and stumbled; so that his clients were very much ashamed of him.

"*Mr. Miller.* Was very exact in dates and quotations, but otherwise but dull and heavy."

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Still there remained several (particularly the issuing and enforcing his decrees, without approbation of the Seniority) which plainly convicted him of exercising a power beyond the law. Each instance, if considered by itself, will rather be thought to call for the admonition of a Visitor, than to be ground for expulsion. But when all the matters proved against him are impartially reviewed, they must convince us, that Dr. Bentley was actuated by too arbitrary a spirit to brook any restraint upon his authority, and that he would never suffer the statutes, customs, or even the interests of his society, to stand in the way of any favourite project. His conduct in the deprivation of Miller was rather that of an Asiatic despot, than of the responsible Head of a liberal society: and his insulting expressions towards some of the Fellows, which he avowed and attempted to justify, showed how little chance there was of his ever submitting to be controlled by persons whom he held in such supreme contempt.

At the commencement of the trial public opinion was greatly in favour of the accused. He was acknowledged to be the most learned scholar that this country could boast, and had recently proved himself a powerful defender of revealed religion. In his College he had stood forward as the promoter of industry, learning, and discipline; and his moral character was unimpeached; while his accusers were for the most part persons of no name or celebrity; and to some of them rumour attributed discreditable and immoral lives. There is strong reason to believe that Bishop Moore partook of the general impression, and that the Master had by some means obtained intimation of his judge's leaning in his favour. But in the progress of the trial his sentiments underwent a change; for at one of the hearings, when the Master was present, the Bishop expressed an opinion unfavourable to him. This unexpected shock was too much even for the firm mind and strong nerves of Dr. Bentley; and he fainted away in the court[26].

Opinion of the Visitor unfavourable to the Master.

[26] This remarkable fact is recorded by tradition. The truth of it is placed beyond a doubt by Cumberland, who mentions it among other anecdotes of his grandfather's life, and adduces it as a proof of the extraordinary sensibility of his nature. *Kippis's Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 243. See also *Noble's Continuation of Granger*, vol. iii. p. 102. A conversation between Judge Page and Dr. Colbatch some years after, preserved in Colbatch's MSS., refers to the same anecdote. The judge had witnessed the scene.

The trial continued six weeks, and at the conclusion left an impression that judgment would be given against the Doctor[27]. In fact, the Visitor, after consulting his assessors, was convinced that the case was made out against him, and accordingly ordered a sentence to be drawn up of ejection from the mastership. The process, however, was destined to have a different result: Bishop Moore having caught cold by his long sittings in the hall of Ely House, an illness ensued, which terminated fatally on the 31st of July, before he could pronounce judgment in this long protracted cause.

Orders a sentence of deprivation to be prepared.

Death of Bp. Moore.

After the Bishop's death there was found among his papers the sentence prepared against Dr. Bentley. But a considerable doubt exists respecting his real intentions; and there is much reason to believe that he still entertained hopes of reconciling the conflicting parties in the College, and that the sentence was designed to compel the Master by terror to acquiesce in such a settlement as he should propose, and that it

[27] The following letter was written at this crisis by Dr. Stubbe to Mr. Erasmus Lewis, the Under Secretary of State, who is well known, from the writings of Dean Swift, as the attached and confidential friend of the Lord Treasurer Oxford.

" Dear Sir, " *From Mr. Addison's, in Cook's Court, Lincoln's Inn, June* 16, 1714."

" As you are a friend to Trinity College, I believe it will be no unwelcome news to tell you, that the cause draws towards a period; for the Tryal ended at Ely-House Monday last; and tho' the Bishop may be naturally given to procrastinate and mollifie, yet we flatter ourselves (the crimes objected against Dr. Bentley having been proved in so public a manner) that it will not be in his Lordship's power either to suspend his sentence long, or to give any other but what will be agreeable to justice; so that I must beg the favour of you to recollect what passed between us about three years agoe upon this subject, if you have not quite forgot it.—I promise you I am of the same mind I was then, and shall be glad to be assured that you retain the same kind inclinations to lend me your helping hand: I shall be proud of your directions in this affair, and to approve myself in this and every thing else, your most obliged humble servant, W. S."

" *For Erasmus Lewis, Esq. These.*"

From the above letter it might be supposed that Dr. Stubbe himself was aspiring to succeed to the mastership of Trinity on the expected deprivation of Dr. Bentley; but as it is hard to suppose that a person whose age was at least seventy-five years could be smitten with such ambition, I am disposed to think that his intended object was to apply to the Government for some settlement of the disputed questions, before a new appointment was made. However this may be, the Lord Treasurer, who was at this moment in the midst of his struggle to preserve his own power against Lord Bolingbroke, had little leisure to attend to the wishes or suggestions of Dr. Wolfran Stubbe—*acrior illum cura domat.* This Lewis, however, whom his friend Dean Swift styles 'a cunning shaver,' seems to have played double in the business, and to have sent this very confidential letter of Stubbe's to Dr. Bentley; among whose papers I found it.

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was only intended to be executed in case milder methods were found ineffectual[28].

This event, which relieved Dr. Bentley from the imminent peril in which he stood, was followed the next day by one of greater importance—the death of Queen Anne; whereby the sceptre was transferred to the house of Hanover, the ministers were ejected and proscribed, and a new aspect given to the political state of the country.

Death of Queen Anne. Aug. 1.

[28] This statement of the probable intentions of Bishop Moore seems as well authenticated as the nature of the case admits. Dr. Colbatch availed himself of all opportunities of making inquiries of those who conversed with him at the time, and fully believed the fact to have been as is stated in the text. The following is the decretory part of the sentence: "Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, allegata, exhibita, proposita, probata, pariter et confessata, comperimus luculenter et invenimus præfatas partes querelantes, et negotium hujusmodi promoventes, eorum intentionem in quibusdam articulis, sive libello supplici, aliisque propositis et exhibitis in hoc negotio datis exhibitis et admissis, penesque Registrum nostrum remanentibus deductam (quos quidem Articulos sive Libellum supplicem, ceteraque proposita et exhibita prædicta pro hic lectis et insertis habemus et haberi volumus) sufficienter et ad plenum (quod infra pronunciandum) fundasse et probasse, nihilque effectuale per dictum Richardum Bentley vel ex parte sua fuisse aut esse in hoc negotio exceptum, deductum, allegatum, exhibitum, propositum, probatum, vel confessatum, quod intentionem dictarum partium querelantium, et negotium hujusmodi promoventium in hac parte elideret, seu quomodolibet enervaret: Idcirco nos, Joannes Episcopus Eliensis, Visitator antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, et ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris proponentes et habentes, deque et cum consilio Assessorum nostrorum nobiscum assidentium, præfatum Richardum Bentley, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctorem, Collegii Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis in oppido Cantabrigiæ prædictæ Magistrum coram nobis examinatum, bona dicti Collegii dilapidasse, et statuta ejusdem Collegii violasse pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus; Eundem igitur Richardum Bentley, sicut præfertur, coram nobis, Visitatore antedicto examinatum, et dilapidatione bonorum dicti Collegii coram nobis Visitatore prædicto convictum, propter præmissa officio suo Magistri Collegii prædicti privamus, ipsumque Richardum Bentley officio suo Magistri Collegii prædicti amovemus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis."

CHAPTER XII.

Bentley's reconciliation with his Fellows—Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely—Fresh attempt to vacate Miller's fellowship—Miller's Petition to the King—Articles of Accusation against the Master—Bishop Fleetwood refuses to take cognizance of them—Bentley's Charge to his Archdeaconry—Sherlock and Waterland—Vote of the Senate against Bentley rescinded—Thanks of the University voted to him—State of politics at Cambridge—King's present of the late Bishop Moore's Library to the University—'University Loyalty considered'—Bentley's Sermon on Popery—Attack upon the Sermon—Reply—Account of Dr. Colbatch—Bentley offers him the Vice-mastership—The Master's disposal of College Livings—Further measures against Miller—College leases—Colbatch applies to the Bishop of Ely—Archbishop Wake interests himself in favour of the Fellows—They petition the King—Bentley's scheme of publishing the Greek Testament—Death of Cotes—Robert Smith—History and Death of Kuster—Biel—Correspondence on Hesychius—Project of Editions to be published by Bentley, 'in Usum Principis Frederici'—Schism in the Whig Ministry—Bentley turns out Miller by constables—Quarrels with Colbatch—Fellowship Election—Petition read in Council—Miller's Book on the University of Cambridge—'Humble and Serious Representation on the State of Trinity College'—Bentley carries an Address to the King—Waterland—Election of Vice-chancellor—Bentley's Visitation Charge.

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THE premature termination of the suit against the Master of Trinity College, at the very moment when it was expected to end in his deprivation, afforded him an opportunity of retracing his steps, conciliating his Fellows, and retrieving the ground which he had lost in the good opinion of the public. It is impossible not to wish that he had profited by this warning; and that being now saved by his good fortune from immediate peril, he had confined himself to the strict path which his duty and his dignity prescribed. We find, indeed, that he did avail himself of the alteration of circumstances to effect the pacification of his College, but it was done in a manner not calculated to secure the praise either of his own times or of posterity.

Bentley's reconciliation with his Fellows.

The majority of the eight Senior Fellows being harassed with domestic feuds, which now appeared interminable, conceiving that they had already done their utmost to procure a redress of grievances, and thinking any alternative better than the anarchy and discord in which they had passed the last four years, listened readily to the first overtures for accommodation. Since the commencement of the proceedings

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in 1710, not less than six of the prosecutors had died: of the remainder some were weak and harmless men, far advanced in life, who only desired permission to pass the remnant of their days in tranquillity [1].

Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely.

The see of Ely was supplied by Dr. Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph, who had distinguished himself in the late reign by his learning, as well as by protesting against the conduct of the tory Government. Immediately on his nomination he declared, that if he visited Trinity College it should be in the character of a General Visitor, to execute impartial justice on all delinquencies, whether of the Master or of the Fellows. This announcement produced a sudden effect upon two or three of the prosecutors, who had degraded their character and station by intemperate habits, which made them obnoxious to the censures of a Visitor. They accordingly entered into a compact with the Master, and declined joining in any further proceedings against him; while he, on his part, neither molested them, nor obstructed their interests. Hereupon he abandoned his scheme for dividends and compensation, which had been the immediate cause of the late proceedings. The common object of the two parties, to prevent any external interference, was a sufficient cement of the union. Among those reconciled to the Master was Mr. Barwell, a person hitherto conspicuous for the violence of his hostility: he was in reality a timid man, shrinking from the slightest appearance of danger; a weakness of character, which Bentley had already perceived, and availed himself of the discovery. The vice-mastership, vacant by the death of Dr. Smith, was now given to Mr. Modd, one of the oldest Fellows; the bursarship to Mr. Bathurst, though nearly incapable of its duties from infirmity of sight; and Mr. Hanbury, the individual whose intemperate habits he had most severely reprobated and published to the world, was made senior dean [2].

Fresh attempt to vacate Miller's Fellowship.

Being convinced, however, that he could never enjoy his power in security or tranquillity, so long as his enemy Miller continued in the Society, he resolved at all hazards to effect his removal. The former pretence for depriving him of his fellowship, that he was not a Doctor of Physic, seems to have met with such universal condemnation, that

[1] Three of these had been intruded into the Society by the mandates of Charles II. and James II. See Chapter VII. p. iii.

[2] This is alluded to in *Middleton's Works*, vol. iii. p. 356.

he dared not revive it. But the statutes supplied him with a different ground, in the following enactment. *Cap.* VIII. "*Statuimus præterea, si quis Sociorum, qui non sit Concionator, aut Discipulorum, sacerdotium aut prebendam cujuscunque summæ habuerit, aut si pensionem annuam, quæ summam decem librarum excesserit, aut possessiones aliquas hæreditarias dictam summam excedentes, aut stipendium pro toto vitæ suæ tempore duraturum, quod eandem summam superaverit, ut post annum Collegio amoveatur.*" As Miller possessed an estate of several hundreds a year, the Master had contended at the late trial, that upon the score of the above statute, he ought to have been deprived of his fellowship. This plea, of course, furnished no justification of the step which he had actually taken. As it seemed, however, a fair statutable ground, Bentley, at the ensuing election, declared Miller's fellowship to be vacant on account of his property. To this the Seniority demurred, not being yet prepared to cashier their champion; but he obtained their acquiescence in a proposal which bespeaks all the subtilty of its author. It was agreed to elect provisionally David Humphreys, one of the candidates whom the Seniors were themselves desirous to admit into the Society, to supply the place of Miller, in case his fellowship should be declared vacant by the King before the following July, the regular period for admission of Major Fellows.

Miller's petition to the King.

The Seniors were probably glad of an expedient which took out of their jurisdiction so nice a question: the advantage obtained by Bentley will show itself in the sequel. Miller immediately preferred a petition to the Crown, praying for redress and protection. The words of the statute seemed to be plainly against him; but he urged, reasonably enough, that as they occurred in the chapter *De Concionatoribus*, they had always been considered to relate only to the Fellows on the clerical line; and had never before been put in force against the two laymen, who possessed no share in the advantages given by that very statute to their clerical brethren. It was, besides, evident that this measure was partial and personal; since the Master not only connived at others who were possessed of property, but had recently advised the Seniority not to accept the resignation of Mr. Greswold, who had succeeded to

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an estate of above a thousand a year, alleging that persons of property were beneficial members of the Society.

Articles of accusation against the Master.

The contest being now brought to such a point that one or other must be ejected, Miller, who was just advanced to the rank of Serjeant at Law, presented to the new Bishop of Ely a fresh set of articles, accusing the Master of wasting the goods, and violating the statutes of his College, and calling upon the prelate to proceed as Visitor under the 40th statute. This new accusation differed little from that which had been laid before Bishop Moore: some of the trivial charges were dropped, and a few were added relating to occurrences of the last four years: but Miller finding it impossible to obtain as many signatures as before, subscribed them himself, 'in the name and behalf of many of the Fellows.' Bishop Fleetwood declined taking cognizance of this accusation, alleging, that he considered it unfair to visit the delinquencies of one member of the College, and not the rest; and since the late Queen's counsel had decided that the general visitatorial power did not belong to the Bishop of Ely, he would not take upon himself to exercise such functions.

Bp. Fleetwood refuses to take cognizance of them.

Bentley's Charge to his Archdeaconry.

Just before this Bishop's accession to the diocese, Bentley, in the character of Archdeacon of Ely, had held a visitation of the clergy. Like the majority of the parochial ministers throughout the kingdom, they were of the tory party, and many of them were observed to be backward in taking the oaths to the Government. The first proceedings of the new reign, the exclusion from office of almost all reputed friends of the Church, as well as the vindictive behaviour of the triumphant party, gave much disgust, and led to an opinion, that a throne supported by such measures could not be secure or permanent. The Archdeacon, who had all along expressed his attachment to the Hanoverian succession, endeavoured in his Charge to reconcile the minds of his brethren to the present settlement, by force of argument. But in so doing his language fell far short of the loyalty of the whigs, and raised a clamour against him from the zealots of the cause which he was advocating; notwithstanding that he bestowed all personal praise upon King George, terming him the Antoninus of his age. The following sentence of the Charge was particularly condemned as disrespectful to

his Majesty: "It is hardly possible for a foreign prince to avoid several errors in government, at his first coming amongst us; but I doubt not but that a little time will open his eyes, and then all will be well." So jealously were the words and actions of Bentley watched by his adversaries, that Serjeant Miller, who was a vehement and intolerant whig, laid hold of this passage as matter of charge before the Bishop of Ely, and hoped to convict him of the crime *læsæ majestatis*, as a statutable ground of expulsion from his mastership[3].

It will be recollected, that by a decree of the Senate two years before, Dr. Bentley was placed under the ban of the University. Circumstances now afforded him an opportunity of being reinstated with honour and eclât. In the course of the year 1714 the University acquired among its Heads two of the most illustrious divines that the Church of England can boast, Thomas Sherlock and Daniel Waterland; the former being made Master of Catherine Hall, and the latter of Magdalene College. They were both young men, distinguished by talent and erudition; and they exhibited, on their elevation, great aptitude for business, and discretion as well as activity, which speedily gave them influence and authority in the body. At the Public Commencement in this year, their theological disputation excited an uncommon sensation, not confined to the University: the subject was the question of Arian subscriptions; Waterland being the respondent, and Sherlock the opponent. The unusual circumstance of a public debate between two Heads of Houses, the general interest of the topic, and still more, the learning, ingenuity, and fluency of the combatants, made a great and lasting impression. Sherlock having become Vice Chancellor, Dr. Bentley, and his Official, Dr. Brookbank, submitted to his arbitration the whole question in dispute between the Archdeacon of Ely and the University, relative to the probates of wills, 'to be by

Sherlock and Waterland.

[3] Middleton's *Full and Impartial Account of the Proceedings, &c.* 1719, Works, vol. iii. p. 295. MS. Copy of Serj. Miller's Articles against the Master of Trinity, December 1714. The writer of a pamphlet, called *University Loyalty Considered*, while he advocates Dr. Bentley in every thing, and maintains that his Charge comprised nothing really disrespectful to his Majesty, yet acknowledges that the common report of it had done him more harm than even his unfortunate Dedication to the Earl of Oxford, 'a man who soon after happened to be a knave.' p. 31.

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him equitably and amicably decided[4].' Accordingly the Vice Chancellor, after an examination of the charters, records, and registers, drew up a distinct statement of the different descriptions of persons to the probates of whose wills the University was entitled: whereupon the Official subscribed an engagement never to interfere with those claims, and the Archdeacon ratified the concession, in the name of himself and his successors. Those documents being published to the Senate in a convocation, were immediately followed by a grace, cancelling and annulling the late resolution, by which the Archdeacons of Ely and their Officials were excluded from the office of Vice Chancellor; and the repeal was next day voted by the body, with the same unanimity as the censure[5].

Vote of the Senate against Bentley rescinded.

Dec. 21.

Thanks of the University voted to him.

Jan. 4, 1715.

The zeal of Bentley's friends did not rest satisfied with restoring him to all the privileges of his station: it was resolved to mark the public sense of his merits by honours of a signal and unusual nature. At the next meeting of the Senate, Mr. Waterland, supported by Professor Cotes, and Mr. Bull, a Fellow of Queen's, carried up the following grace, which was voted unanimously by the Caput and the two Houses:

"Whereas the Reverend Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity College, besides his other labours published from our press, to the great advancement of learning and honour of this University, has lately, under the borrowed name of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, done eminent service to the Christian Religion, and the Clergy of England, by refuting the objections and exposing the ignorance of an impious set of writers, that call themselves Freethinkers—May it please you that the said Dr. Bentley, for his good services already done, have the public thanks of the University; and be desired by Mr. Vice Chancellor, in the name of the whole body, to finish what remains of so useful a work[6]."

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[4] Dr. Sherlock, during this year of office, compiled a manuscript book upon the Property, Rights, Privileges, and Customs of the University. This valuable document is said to have been lost by a Vice Chancellor some years ago: a copy of it, however, is preserved in Cole's MSS. vol. xxi. p. 237.

[5] This resolution for cancelling the former penal grace was executed more literally than could have been designed by the Senate: for it was erased from the Register-book with such determined diligence, that it never could have been decyphered. However, a copy of it was preserved by Atwood, the Esquire Beadle, in his Diary, from whence it was transcribed by Cole, in his multifarious collection.

[6] University Grace Book; Rud's Diary; Atwood's Diary.

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It is necessary to notice and refute an attempt made to disparage this high honour conferred upon our critic, by a pretence that the Senate had been surprised into the resolution. This is the assertion of Middleton, who declares that the whole was the result of artifice and management, that the design 'was only whispered to three or four friends,' that 'it was passed as silently and clandestinely as possible,' and that the scandal it gave was the occasion of a decree soon after, 'that no business should be completed except in two congregations[7].' Now the fact is, that the motion was made with unusual pomp; and as it passed without one dissenting voice, it is difficult to imagine that any length of notice could have procured its rejection. That it was voted at a single congregation is no proof of artifice; this was not uncommon at the time; and although the decree to which Middleton alludes was judicious and proper, yet it could not have had reference, as he pretends, to this vote of thanks to Bentley, since it was made above two years afterwards. Neither of the two Diary-writers who record the circumstance, though present on the spot, and sufficiently ill-disposed to our hero, mentions a belief of artifice, or the existence of any dissatisfaction. And the person answerable for the management, had there been any, was Sherlock, the Vice Chancellor, who can never be reckoned among the friends of the Master of Trinity.

Jan. 18, 1716-17.

I am not able to justify Dr. Bentley's neglect to comply with a request, thus publicly preferred with all the circumstance of honour. The part of Collins' book which remained unanswered, consisted indeed of little more than quotations, and afforded no exercise for the critic, except the exposure of blunders in translation, and perversion of the original meaning; of both which the Free-thinker had been already satisfactorily convicted. But the completion of the work was now become due to the University; and for his neglect of this honourable debt, neither the pressure of other business, nor his constitutional habit of procrastination, can excuse him.

State of politics at Cambridge.

The political feelings prevalent in the Universities are, in ordinary cases, not much regarded by the Government or the public. But at

[7] Middleton's *Full and Impartial Account, &c.* Works, vol. iii. p. 292.

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particular and critical times, the sentiments expressed by the academical bodies have been observed to influence those of a great part of the nation. Thus, in the reign of James the Second, they gave the first demonstration of resistance to the attempts of that monarch against the establishments and liberties of the country; an example which was speedily and happily followed. In the memorable year 1710, the public reception of Dr. Sacheverell by the University of Oxford, added weight and consequence to that popularity, which was soon felt with tremendous effect by his prosecutors. And at the present crisis, when the new King was imperfectly established on his throne, and when a party, whose extent could not be ascertained, showed symptoms of a design to restore the House of Stuart, the sentiments of the University became of much importance, as giving a tone to those of the Church, and a considerable part of the aristocracy. At Oxford a strong demonstration of jacobite principles was made by the senior part of the body; who, upon their Chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, openly embarking in the service of the Pretender, testified their unaltered attachment to him, by choosing his brother, the Earl of Arran, to hold his station; while the excesses of the students, said to be unchecked and permitted by their superiors, occasioned the Government to send a military force to keep them in subjection. At Cambridge there prevailed a spirit of a different kind, which it is here necessary to explain; since a vulgar error has represented this University as the head-quarters of whig politics. That a great majority of the members were of the tory party, at the accession, and throughout the reign of George the First, will satisfactorily appear to the inquirer. At the General Election in 1715, the tory representatives were re-elected; and in all subsequent struggles, by which the strength of the parties can be estimated, that interest maintained a majority of at least two to one. It is, however, equally certain, that only a small proportion of the high-church party at Cambridge were Jacobites; and herein their case appears to have differed from that of the sister University. The Non-jurors were not numerous, and appear to have shown no disposition to disturb the Government which they declined to acknowledge. But on the night of the Pretender's birth-day, and again on that of King George, dis-

turbances did take place, from some young men who had either imbibed jacobite principles, or thoughtlessly availed themselves of those occasions for juvenile licence: some windows were broken, and some cries were heard of 'No Hanover.' But the excesses being few and trivial, were censured by the Vice Chancellor as ordinary breaches of discipline, without reference to their political tendency. This conduct of Sherlock and the other Heads, even as represented by an enemy, seems to have been highly judicious: and the advice of the party, who called for signal and extraordinary punishments, had it been followed, would probably have been attended with consequences destructive of the peace and credit of the University.

Aug. 10. These disturbances being represented in an exaggerated light, and tumults occurring about the same time in various parts of the country, which were considered the harbingers of rebellion, an address to the King was voted by the Senate; wherein they assure his Majesty of their zeal and attachment to his person and government, and their uneasiness at the danger which threatened them, 'a danger affecting not only the present age, but the latest posterity:' declaring that as they had constantly acknowledged King George to be the only lawful and rightful heir to the throne, it was impossible for them ever to forget their duty, and join in treason; reminding the King of his promise that the constitution in Church and State should be the only rule of his government; and in conclusion, assuring him, that 'whatever representations had been made to their prejudice, they did and would so instruct the youth, that they might show in their conduct, an example of those principles of loyalty and obedience, which this University, *pursuing the doctrines of our Church*, has ever steadily maintained.'

King's present of the late Bishop Moore's library to the University. This avowal of a determination to uphold the title of the Hanover family upon Church of England principles, was immediately followed by a noble exercise of Royal munificence. The King, at the suggestion of Lord Viscount Townshend, purchased the library of the late Bishop Moore, one of the best in the kingdom, for 6000*l.*, and presented it to the University of Cambridge. This collection, valuable not only for its extent (being about 30,000 volumes), but for the rarity of its

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treasures, both printed and manuscript, is the greatest benefaction which Cambridge ever yet received. The gratitude of the University for this signal generosity was expressed in an address to the King, and another to the Minister; in both of which we find specimens of that glowing eloquence frequently conspicuous in the writings of Dr. Sherlock [8].

'University Loyalty Considered.'

Just at this time appeared a tract called 'University Loyalty Considered;' written by an ardent Whig, who was indignant at not finding in others that zealous attachment to the new King, which he professed himself: he would show no quarter to Tories or High-churchmen, but insinuates his wish for the restoration of Whiston, and the abolition of all proceedings against propagators of heretical opinions. It would be idle to criticize a party pamphlet written at a moment of feverish excitement: but the notice of it is necessary; since the author devotes almost half his pages to the praise of Dr. Bentley, whom he deems the first character in the University, and recommends as the most deserving of preferment in the Church; and after having divided his work between the praise of the Monarch, and the praise of the Master, subscribes himself by the appropriate, but not very decorous, title of *Philo-Georgius et Philo-Bentleius*. From this production of his friend, whoever he might be, we find that Bentley had by this time identified himself with the whig party; and some share of the animosity with which we shall find him treated in the University, may

[8] On this occasion was written the well-known epigram of some Oxonian wit:

"King George observing with judicious eyes
The state of both his Universities,
To Oxford sent a troop of horse; and why?
That learned body wanted loyalty.
To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
How much that loyal body wanted learning."

The retort, by Sir William Browne, founder of the prizes for odes and epigrams, though ingenious, must be confessed to be inferior in wit and satire to the original:

"The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force;
With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs admit no force but argument."

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be attributed to this dereliction of the side which he had embraced in the late reign [9].

Bentley's Sermon on Popery.

Shortly afterwards the flames of rebellion blazed forth in Scotland, and in the North of England. The celebration of the 5th of November occurred at the very crisis of danger from the civil war undertaken to place a popish monarch upon the throne. On that day Dr. Bentley, with a spirit worthy of his character, delivered from the University pulpit at St. Mary's his celebrated Sermon on Popery. This remarkable composition, which combines the learning, clearness of conception, and force of language that distinguish its author, unmasks the papal system, and details its history with admirable success. Its originality of

[9] '*University Loyalty Considered; in a Letter to a Gentleman at Cambridge.* London, 1715.' For the politics of this writer, the following specimen will suffice:

"'Tis certain that even the University magistrates would be better subjects than they are, if they were but half as good as those they think fit to punish for being bad ones. If they would be thought so, let them exert themselves with the utmost rigour against those that are otherwise. To that end, let them banish all party-talk, as well as party-papers, from the coffee-houses. Let the dead be forgotten, rather than that the memory of a good Queen shall obstruct your affection to a better King. Let it be as punishable to insinuate treason as to speak it. Let your public orations be in praise of the present Administration; and if the Orator expatiates on the virtues of King George, let him be no longer hissed at and ridiculed." P. 22.

Of his panegyric on Dr. Bentley, I select these sentences:

"As to the first of them, it is not denied by any judicious persons, that he's a man of such a consummate merit, as should entitle him to as much encouragement as is due to the most learned man in the age. On this account, 'tis well known that it is not for want of abilities, that he is not so serviceable as he might be to the Church."—"He is so well versed in these (parts of learning) that you'll be of my mind, if I venture to affirm, that whoever is a master of any one of them in as high a degree as he is master of them all, is sure to be accounted a very great man, in the judgment of such as don't give way to prejudice. I cannot give the gentleman I'm speaking of a higher nor indeed a juster encomium, than by confessing that Sir Isaac Newton is not a greater philosopher, than he is a universal scholar. Upon these grounds I persuade myself that he knows as much as it is morally possible for any one man to know of every thing; this at least I can say of him, that he has made such a perfect proficiency in all parts of the most valuable literature, that no other genius but the same that carried him so far, can carry him farther."—"Can you suppose then, that in such good times any thing can obstruct this gentleman's promotion, except his own deficiency in an affection for such as have it in their power to promote him. But, for the world to impute this to him, is to determine his reputation by the reports of such as make it their game and pastime to ruin him. Because he's a man of a great soul, of an innate authority, and a very majestic air, many have therefore taken an antipathy against him as a man that's high-minded." P. 25, &c.

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style and mixture of learning and argument, not unaccompanied with eloquence, have secured for it a fate very different from that of other sermons on the same anniversary: it continues, and will ever continue to be read, with an interest inferior only to that with which it must have been heard, when pronounced from the pulpit, aided by the advantages of a powerful voice and impressive delivery. He opens the discourse rather in his character of a critic than of a preacher, by explaining the full force of the original words in his text, (2 Cor. ii. 17.) Οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ, καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ—and shewing the inadequacy of our translation—*For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God.* His commentary upon the words καπηλεύοντες τ. λ. τ. Θ., the full notion of which is, *trafficking in the word of God for their own lucre*, is clear and satisfactory, raises the force of the passage, and makes it apply to the spirit of Popery; whose various institutions, from its first growth in the Church, are all found to have had the same intent and effect. The enumeration of these corruptions begins with one suggested by the philological commentary that had preceded; the papists—'enhancing the authority of the vulgar Latin over that of the Greek original: so that we must search for St. Paul's meaning here, not in the notion of καπηλεύοντες, but of *adulterantes*; not of οἱ πολλοὶ, but of *multi* without its article; an original defect in the Latin tongue.' He goes on to expose the different inventions of monasteries, of relicks and images, of pilgrimages and crusades, of papal infallibility, of purgatory, of indulgences and pardons, of the celibacy of the clergy, and at length by slow degrees, of transubstantiation. The language is as plain as the reasoning is forcible; 'till his spirit rising with his subject, and apparently compelled by the indignation to which it gave birth, he bursts into a strain of eloquence, of which very few instances can be found in his compositions:

"I might now go on to shew you a more dismal scene of impostures, *judicia Dei*, the judgments of God, as they blasphemously called them, when no human evidence could be found: their trials by ordeal; by taking a red-hot iron in the hand; by putting the naked arm into hot boiling water; by sinking or swimming in pools and rivers, when bound

fast hand and foot; all of them borrowed or copied from pagan knavery and superstition; and so managable by arts and slights, that the party could be found guilty or innocent, just as the priests pleased, who were always the tryers. What bribes were hereby procured? what false legacies extorted? what malice and revenge executed? on all which if we should fully dilate and expatiate, the intended tragedy of this day, which now calls for our consideration, would scarce appear extraordinary. Dreadful indeed it was, astonishing to the imagination; all the ideas assemble in it of terror and horror. Yet, when I look on it with a philosophical eye, I am apt to felicitate those appointed for that sudden blast of rapid destruction; and to pity those miserables that were out of it, the designed victims to slow cruelty, the intended objects of lingering persecution. For, since the whole plot (which will ever be the plot of Popery) was to subdue and enslave the nation, who would not choose and prefer a short and despatching death, quick as that by thunder and lightning, which prevents pain and perception, before the anguish of mock trials, before the legal accommodations of gaols and dungeons, before the peaceful executions by fire and faggot? Who would not rather be placed direct above the infernal mine, than pass through the pitiless mercies, the salutary torments of a popish Inquisition; that last accursed contrivance of atheistical and devilish politic? If the other schemes have appeared to be the shop, the warehouse of Popery; this may be justly called its slaughter-house and its shambles. Hither are haled poor creatures (I should have said *rich*, for that gives the frequentest suspicion of heresy) without any accuser, without allegation of any fault. They must inform against themselves, and make confession of something heretical; or else undergo the discipline of the various tortures: a regular system of ingenious cruelty, composed by the united skill and long successive experience of the best engineers and artificers of torment. That savage saying of Caligula's, horrible to speak or hear, and fit only to be writ in blood, *Ita feri, ut se mori sentiat*, is here heightened and improved: *Ita se mori sentiat, ut ne moriatur*, say these merciful Inquisitors. The force, the effect of every rack, every agony, are exactly understood: this stretch, that strangulation is the utmost nature can bear; the least addition will overpower it: this posture keeps the weary soul hanging upon the lip; ready to leave the carcass, and yet not suffered to take its wing: this extends and prolongs the very moment of expiration; continues the pangs of dying without the ease and benefit of death. O pious and proper methods for the propagation of Faith! O true and genuine Vicar of Christ, the God of mercy, and the Lord of peace!"—*Bentley's Sermons*, p. 364, 6th ed.

Sterne's plagiarism.

Perhaps some readers who are not aware of having ever perused Dr. Bentley's Sermon on Popery, may, nevertheless, recollect the latter part of the above quotation. If so, it is in the novel of Tristram Shandy that they have found this passage, purloined almost *verbatim* by the sentimental plagiarist Sterne, whose literary thefts have long been notorious. The present instance is the more curious, as this happens to form the very part of the sermon read by Corporal Trim,

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which so overpowers the feelings of the sympathetic soldier, that he declares 'he would not read another line of it for all the world [10].'

Attack upon the sermon.

This discourse, being printed, had the common fate of Bentley's publications, in giving birth to a controversy. It was attacked by one Cummins, a Calvinistic dissenter, who was possessed with an excessive animosity against the clergy of the Establishment; he seems to have made it the subject of a tirade, merely on account of its author's celebrity. His objects were, first to accuse the English clergy of the same insincerity which Bentley charges against the Papists, particularly in their preaching the doctrine of universal redemption, after having subscribed the 39 Articles, which, he contends, countenance his own notions of partial redemption, and absolute predestination: secondly, to insinuate that the great body of them were favourable to the Pretender; a charge which as applied to the principal object of his attack, was notoriously contrary to the fact. Of criticism Cummins speaks in terms of contempt which only prove his own ignorance; and the deplorable work which he himself makes in his interpretations, wherever he differs from Bentley, proves the importance of that learning which he wishes to decry. This pamphlet partakes of the high and presumptuous spirit which the marked countenance of Government, and the cloud hanging over the high-church party, had given to the dissenters.

Reply.

After a considerable interval there appeared an elaborate reply, written by some friend of the Doctor's, as much for the purpose of praising him, as of confuting his adversary; who, in truth, was scarcely worthy of that trouble. This tract, which concludes with a laboured defence of the doctrine of universal redemption, displays no inconsiderable acquaintance with polemical divinity [11].

Account of Dr. Colbatch.

In reverting to the affairs of Trinity College, it now is necessary to introduce to the particular acquaintance of the reader a personage, who will make a prominent figure in the remainder of this history.

[10] *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, vol. ii. chap. 17.

[11] *Reflections on the Scandalous Aspersions on the Clergy, by the author of the Remarks on Dr. Bentley's Sermon on Popery*, 1717. I find it somewhere asserted that the author of these reflections was Bentley himself: which nobody can believe, who reads half a page of the pamphlet. There are several references to manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, from which we might infer that the writer was a member of that society.

Of all the Fellows of the College, Dr. JOHN COLBATCH stood the highest in reputation, as a scholar and a divine: unlike the generality of his brethren, he had lived much in the world, and possessed an acquaintance among persons of rank and consideration. He had passed nearly seven years, from his first entering into Orders, as Chaplain to the Factory at Lisbon, and had, at the desire of Bishop Burnet, written an account of the state of religion and literature in that country; which being shown to Queen Mary, produced much applause, and assurances from her Majesty of providing for the author. At the earnest request of the same prelate, accompanied with promises of preferment, he left his situation in Portugal, worth about 200*l.* a year, to become private tutor to his eldest son, Gilbert Burnet, who was designed for Trinity College. Colbatch, however, was destined to experience in a higher degree, that description of patron which Dr. Johnson enumerates among the 'ills of a scholar's life.' He had been desirous of quitting his fellowship, but was persuaded, greatly against his inclinations, to continue in College till the Bishop of Salisbury's son had completed his education: but in 1691, one year before the expiration of that term, the famous Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of the University, having placed his eldest son, the Earl of Hertford, at Trinity, applied to Colbatch to undertake the care of his tuition. For this honour he was indebted to the recommendation of Dr. Bentley; and by the joint authority of Bishop Burnet and of the Master, he undertook a charge which they contended, was certain to lead to high advancement in his profession. For two years he devoted himself with much labour, to the education of the young patrician; and then found that the noble Chancellor was more sparing of remuneration than became the Head of an University, and the official patron of learning. His Grace, however, was so well pleased with Colbatch's services, that he used his persuasions to induce him to continue tutor to his son during his travels, promising to provide for him in the Church, and to continue his salary, 100*l.* a year, till such provision was realized. Accordingly, he accompanied the young Earl abroad, devoted two more years to his service, and became his instructor in the French and Italian, as well as the classical languages; but just

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before the period when his services were no longer required, he was recalled by the Duke with some expressions of displeasure, for which no intelligible reason could be assigned: the promises of present and future provision were forgotten and disclaimed; and he was dismissed with the bare proportion of his salary, which, after deducting the expenses he had incurred, left him a remuneration less in amount than the wages of a common footman, as a return for the most important services which one man can render to another. On experiencing such harsh treatment from a person every way his debtor, Colbatch made proper remonstrances; and the Master interfered in a manner which did him honour. But the success of Bentley's representations to the Duke was only the vindication of the tutor from the reflections made, or pretended to have been made upon him: to all claims upon his gratitude or justice he turned a deaf ear. Thus Colbatch at the age of forty returned to College, having derived from the labours of his best years no other reward than a prebend of Salisbury, given to him by the Bishop, which did not exceed 20*l.* a year; that prelate conceiving himself relieved by the Duke from the necessity of giving him better preferment. Possibly, the well-known violence of Burnet's party prejudices might have disinclined him to a person whose politics, though moderate, were of the tory cast. Colbatch, in speaking of this treatment some years afterwards, observes, that 'the hardships which he suffered, were aggravated by some circumstances which must lie infinitely heavier, and sink deeper into an ingenuous mind, than any temporal loss or inconvenience whatsoever.' The University, however, showed a better sense of his merit, than those two great patrons; in 1707 he was elected Professor of Casuistry, and delivered lectures on Moral Philosophy with much reputation. He joined to other learning an uncommon acquaintance with the Civil and the Canon Law, and with writers upon those subjects. For a long series of years, no member of the University was more looked up to as a conscientious and exemplary person, zealous for the promotion of study and discipline, and remarkable for disinterested public spirit. It was from an opinion of this character, that he retained throughout life an extensive influence, both among the old and the young; notwith-

standing his rigid and inflexible principles, which made even one of his friends admit that his 'virtue was by some deemed too severe[12].' We may further remark that he possessed the pen of a ready writer, and a style which was always perspicuous, and, whenever he chose, caustic and severe.

Conduct of Colbatch in College.

Such a person as I have described, was qualified to be either a powerful supporter, or a formidable adversary, to the Head of his Society. We find that Colbatch attached himself for a considerable time to Bentley; being moved partly by gratitude for his behaviour in the affair of his patrons, and partly by a sense of the importance of subordination to the Superior. He warmly advocated all his regulations for the promotion of order and learning, and whatever else conduced to the credit of the College; while he endeavoured by the influence of friendship, to divert him from such measures as he conceived blameable or unstatutable When at length a prosecution of the Master was in agitation, Colbatch, as we have already noticed, recommended a milder course, and suggested such an appeal as might lead to the decision of all the points of difference by a Visitor. And he always retained an opinion, that had his advice been followed at that time, before matters were worse embroiled, and while the union of the Fellows was unbroken, a settlement of the College might have been effected by authority, and all the consequent distractions prevented. But the violent counsels of Miller prevailing, he concurred in what he deemed the only method left for bringing on a visitation, and subscribed the Appeal to the Bishop of Ely; in so doing, however, he and two of his friends specified, that their prayer extended only to the settlement of the points in dispute.

It may be observed that Colbatch entertained a distrust and a bad opinion of Miller, and was always reluctant to make common cause with him. Shortly after the publication of the latter's pamphlet

[12] Middleton's *Account of the Present State of Trinity College*, &c. Works, vol. iii. p. 358. Whiston speaks of him in terms of a similar import: "Now this Dr. Colbatch was my particular friend, and a person of great learning, and regard to the severest discipline, and of the strictest virtue: though that virtue seemed to have somewhat of the disagreeable."—*Whiston's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 356.

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against Bentley, a scheme being on foot to reverse the interpretation of the statutes upon priority of choice of chambers and livings, Dr. Colbatch wrote a very able tract upon that question in all its bearings, upholding the prior right of the Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and refuting the arguments of Miller. Copies of this piece were dispersed among the Fellows, and seem to have produced as general an acquiescence as could be expected upon such a topic; nor do we hear of the question being again controverted in the mastership of Dr. Bentley.

During the period of anarchy in College, while the prosecution was depending, Dr. Colbatch took little or no part with either of the conflicting factions: but he joined in petitioning Bishop Moore in the autumn of 1713, that he would put an end to the state of distraction, by a summary hearing and decision of the case at Cambridge. Coming now into the governing part of the Society, his sense of duty compelled him to oppose the Master in a measure respecting a piece of College land in the North of England [13]. In February following, on

[13] This business, to which Dr. Colbatch attributed more importance than it deserved, was as follows: A piece of land at Kirby Kendall, in Westmoreland, had become escheated to the College, as Lords of the Manor, by the forfeiture of a felon. The rent was less than 4*l.* a year, and it was incumbered with a mortgage of 36*l.* Bentley promised to convey this land to Mr. Lambert, the principal tenant of the College, who had been at the trouble and expense of the prosecution, for a small consideration. It was necessary that the conveyance should receive the College seal, affixed in the presence of the 16 senior Fellows. On the deed being produced before them, Colbatch objected that such an alienation was contrary both to the Law of the Land, and the statutes of the College, and would involve all who consented to it in the penalties of perjury and the loss of their station: whereupon it was unanimously rejected. This was in January 1713. In November following the Master, constant to his purpose, and hoping that the opposition had now subsided, sent them the deed again with certain alterations, imposing on the purchaser a perpetual rent of four shillings. But the sixteen again refused their consent; one of the number, Mr. Whitfield, a zealous friend of the Master, went out and carried the news of this determination to the Lodge: whereupon Bentley sent word that unless they consented, he would not allow any one of the leases, then ready, to be sealed. This threat was ineffectual at the time; but having with great difficulty gained over eight of the Fellows, he summoned another meeting, at which, contrary to practice, he was himself present, and thus carried his point by a majority. This transaction has been represented by his adversaries in too heinous a light. In the bargain itself there was nothing dishonourable: it involved no loss to the Society; nor was it an unreasonable accommodation to the College tenant. The danger of a bad example was urged: but the circumstances of this property were so different from those of other estates, that

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the death of Dr. Smith, the Vice-master, Bentley communicated to Colbatch that, notwithstanding some chagrin at his late opposition, he wished to constitute him Vice-master, and commit to his care the principal management of the College. This offer, though repeatedly urged, the other firmly declined, partly because it seemed an attempt to draw him over to the Master's faction; but principally because the statutes order that the Vice-master shall be one of the eight Seniors; and he could not be chosen into the present vacancy, without doing injustice to Dr. Ayloffe, who had a prior claim. On the failure of this proposal, the vice-mastership was kept vacant till the ensuing annual election, when Mr. Modd was chosen, though wanting the statutable qualification of a degree in divinity. It is impossible not to regret that circumstances prevented the appointment of such a man as Colbatch to this situation; it would have afforded the best chance of healing all domestic wounds, and of diverting the Master from a line of conduct, which was as injurious to his own credit and interests, as to the welfare of his society.

Bentley offers him the Vice-mastership.

Dr. Bentley relying upon the pacification effected with many of his prosecutors, now proceeded to carry his measures in the style of an irresponsible autocrat. His plan was to strengthen and perpetuate his power, by securing to himself all appointments and all patronage whatsoever. A small vicarage, Flintham, in Nottinghamshire, unworthy the acceptance of a Fellow, happening to be vacant, and two young men appearing as candidates for it, Mr. Bradshaw and Mr. Fernihough, the former had the votes of the Master and two Seniors, while the latter was supported by six Seniors. In defiance of this vote, he wrote down in the Conclusion-book the name of Bradshaw as vicar; and relied on succeeding with the sixteen, whose sanction is necessary for fixing the seal to a presentation. By great exertions he procured the consent of a majority of that body: but at the meeting only ten ap-

The Master's disposal of College livings.

it could hardly have been adduced as the precedent for an alienation. The purchaser defrayed the mortgage and all expenses, and of the remaining money, about 20*l.*, half was assigned to the widow of the felon, and half to the College library. The real *gravamen* of the transaction was its opposition to the letter of the law, and the violence with which it was forced upon the consent of the body.

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peared; whereupon he joined them, and saying that 'the Master's vote was surely equivalent to that of six Fellows,' put the seal to the presentation. Another small living, called Over, was given to a Bachelor of Arts, whose 'face,' he declared, 'he had never seen,' but who was believed to have merited this preferment, by engaging to marry Mrs. Bentley's maid. In case of livings taken by Fellows, the statutes, combined with the late interpretation, seemed to define the right of choice so clearly, as to preclude any exercise of favouritism. But the Master, by retaining in his own discretion the nomination to College-preacherships, (without which a living could not be held by a Fellow), virtually possessed himself of the power of granting or with-

January, 1715.

holding preferment at his pleasure. He had promised the living of Barrington to Mr. Hacket, a favourer of his views: but it was claimed by Mr. Rud, who, though junior in standing, was superior in degree to the other. The case was embarrassing to the Master, as according to the interpretation which he had been so anxious to maintain, the senior Bachelor of Divinity possessed the prior option. Rud, as well as Hacket, had always sided with his party in the College disputes: but it was objected that he was not *Concionator*; Rud urged that he had performed all the requisite exercises, and might be immediately elected into one of the vacant preacherships, if the Master pleased; nay, he offered to incur the risk of forfeiting his fellowship: but the promise had been given to Hacket, and, therefore, a peremptory stop was put to the other's claims, by Bentley pronouncing that his not being already a preacher, was *causa gravissima* for his exclusion.

In the foundation of Trinity College are comprised twenty *pauperes*, called beadsmen, who receive pensions of 6*l.* each, with a livery: these are usually old servants or retainers of the College, whose age and good conduct deserve such a provision. In 1715 the Master proposed to the Seniority to fill up two vacancies with persons recommended to him by a gentleman of the county: one was an alehouse keeper; the other, Joseph Lindsay, had merited this patronage by being the leader of the tory mob at the late election. To the first, who was unknown to them, the Fellows made no objection; but on the mention of the other, the whole meeting started with astonishment: they alleged that he was

the most worthless and notorious character in the town, and the universal ring-leader in all riots and disturbances. Bentley replied, then by his appointment, the College was sure to be protected from rioters; and added that it was for their interest to oblige the gentlemen of the county: but when he found that neither his jokes nor his arguments availed, he declared that he would elect this man with the single vote of Mr. Brabourn, an unfortunate personage of impaired intellects, who was now become his never-failing supporter. CHAP. XII. 1715.

The Master being resolved to keep the whole administration of the College in his own hands, was unwilling that his council should interfere with the accounts of the respective officers. At the first audit which he attended, Colbatch observed that they had been a whole day employed in casting up figures, instead of examining the accounts, the proper business of an audit; adding that if this were to be considered as an approbation of the accounts, he would not so far betray his trust as to countenance the proceedings with his presence. Bentley answered that the time for examination was not yet come. On the following day, he proposed to the Seniors in the Master's absence, that they should examine the accounts and vouchers; to which all assented: but they judged it right to send the Vice-master to inform Bentley of what they were about, that he might have the opportunity of assisting at the work. The Master declared that he wished to look at the account books himself; which, accordingly, were all sent to him. He kept them for above a fortnight, till the *dies computi*, or day on which the whole business is to be wound up; and then carried them to the meeting, and inquired whether there was any objection made to the accounts: Colbatch replied that they had not yet been examined; but was told that 'it was now too late, as that ought to have been done at the audit.' Dec. 3, 1714.

But although Dr. Bentley carried all his points, and set opposition at defiance, he could not feel secure so long as his inveterate enemy, Serjeant Miller, continued in the society. Besides, his favourite, Ashenhurst, whom he had appointed Lay-Fellow on Miller's deprivation in 1710, now stood in a dangerous predicament: that act had been done with the express disapprobation of the whole Board, and was condemned Further measures against Miller.

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from every other quarter; it followed therefore that the appointment of a successor was invalid: indeed the late proceedings were an admission of Miller being still a Fellow: and at Midsummer 1715, Ashenhurst's fellowship would statutably become void, on account of his standing. To obviate this danger, the Master made two attempts in the March preceding to get Miller's name erased: but the Seniors had the discretion to refuse a compliance, which would have been both inconsistent and indecent. On the second occasion he offered to refer the point to the arbitration of the Bishop of Ely; which, though an ingenious and plausible device, was declined [14]. At length when the appointed day arrived, and no cognizance had been taken of the matter by the Crown, he proposed that the point should be considered as decided against Miller, and in favour of Humphreys. This was too glaringly partial: but the Seniors assented unanimously to another proposal, that the profits of the fellowship should be reserved until the controversy was decided by the King. This point was carried with the consent of Colbatch, whose notions upon statutable questions were of the strictest kind, and who seems to have thought, that the ground now taken against Miller was legal and substantial.

July 8, 1715.

But while eager to despatch one adversary, Bentley seems hardly to have observed that he was bringing upon himself another, whose character made him much more formidable. At this time he took upon himself almost the whole management of the College revenues; the bursar, to whose office they belonged, being incapacitated by age and weakness of sight. Indeed, throughout his mastership, all important business was transacted immediately by himself; and Colbatch acknowledges that no person better understood matters of that nature. He engaged to grant two leases of considerable estates, in which the provisions of the Corn Act of the 18th of Elizabeth were neglected. This well-known law makes it necessary that in all college leases, one-third of the rent should be reserved in a certain quantity of corn and malt, or in the market price of those commodities at the half-yearly rent days; whereby a portion of the revenue is made to keep pace with the real

College leases.

[14] Bentley probably felt secure that Bishop Fleetwood, the author of *Chronicon Pretiosum*, would adjudge Serj. Miller's estate to be a sufficient reason for vacating his fellowship.

value of money. In the first of these leases a clause was found, fixing the price of wheat at twenty pence and of malt at fifteen pence a bushel; in the other the whole rent was reserved in money, without mention of either wheat or malt. The defence of this palpable illegality was, that in former leases of those particular estates, the same covenants had been introduced. But whether they had originated in fraud or neglect, the wrong of a hundred years could not justify its repetition, when peoples' minds were enlightened by experience, respecting the fluctuating value of money: particularly as the immediate tendency of the agreement was to obtain a larger fine to the existing society, by diminishing the just revenue of future times. Colbatch having in vain urged these and other arguments to prevent the sealing, made a formal protest; declaring that he not only dissented, but reserved to himself the right of appealing against these acts to the Visitor of the College.

Colbatch applies to the Bishop of Ely.

He accordingly applied to the Bishop of Ely, laying before him the subjects of complaint, and praying for his interference: but that prelate declared, as he had done to Serjeant Miller, that he would not act as Visitor of the College, until he was convinced that his see possessed the right which so many of the Crown lawyers had denied to it, or until he received orders from the King to execute that office.

Abp. Wake interests himself in favour of the Fellows.

To ascertain the visitatorial power by the interposition of the Crown, seemed now the only practicable step; and all efforts were made to solicit the attention of Government to the state of this Royal foundation. In this cause a powerful advocate was unexpectedly obtained. At the beginning of 1716, Dr. Wake, the Bishop of Lincoln, was advanced to the primacy, which he held for above twenty years with singular advantage to the Church of England. One of the first subjects which engaged the attention of the new Archbishop, was the condition of Trinity College. It happened that one of the junior Fellows, Philip Farewell, was patronized by his Grace, and admitted to his frequent and intimate conversation: this gentleman maintained a correspondence with Colbatch, and through his means the Primate became acquainted with all the proceedings at Trinity; and gave his decided opinion, that the Society could not go on any longer under the arbitrary proceedings of the Master: he recommended a petition to the

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King in Council, promising to second it himself at the Council-board, and to advise the appointment of a Royal commission to visit the College, and arrange all differences. He suggested likewise a previous application to Lord Townshend, the Premier, to whose department, as Secretary of State, the business belonged. By the agency of Mr. Farewell, both he and Lord Parker, the Chief Justice, an old member of Trinity, were solicited in favour of this scheme. The Minister intimated, through his confidential friend, Dr. Cannon, that 'if a petition were presented, signed by ten or twelve respectable names, it would receive attention.' Accordingly the following temperate appeal, couched in terms free from hostility or offence, was subscribed by nineteen Fellows of Trinity.

May 18, 1716. They petition the King.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"*The humble Petition of many of the Fellows and Members of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, in the Town and University of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's Foundation,*

"Sheweth,

"That by the 46th chapter of the statutes, by which the said College was at first governed, given by your Majesty's Royal predecessor King Edward the Sixth, of blessed memory, the Lord Bishop of Ely, for the time being, was appointed Ordinary Visitor of the same. But in latter statutes, given by your Majesty's Royal predecessor Queen Elizabeth, of like blessed and glorious memory, (by which only the College hath been ever since governed) the said 46th chapter is wholly omitted, and yet, as your petitioners humbly conceive, is plainly referred to in the 40th chapter of these latter statutes, the said Lord Bishop of Ely being there styled the Visitor. All which will appear from copies of both those chapters hereunto annexed. The which omission and reference, by making it uncertain how far the power of the said Lord Bishop doth extend, have occasioned many great inconveniences, through a long disuse of regular visitations, which founders of Colleges have always thought necessary for the maintenance of good discipline; and the want of some person of undoubted authority, to whom the several members of the said College might, upon urgent occasions, apply themselves for the redress of grievances, and a speedy composure of such differences as may arise, and of late years have arisen, among them, concerning their respective rights and privileges; but remain still undetermined, to the great disquiet of the College, the present Lord Bishop of Ely forbearing to interpose his authority till such time as his right to the ordinary visitatorial power shall be declared.

"Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray, that your Most Excellent Majesty, as Royal successor to the Founder of the said College, will graciously please to ascertain the visita-

torial power, either by a new grant, or confirmation of it to the said Lord Bishop; or else by authorising such persons to execute the same as to your Royal wisdom shall seem meet.

"And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c."

Few of these petitioners had been concerned in the late prosecution at Ely House. It was the advice of the Archbishop, which coincided with Colbatch's own wishes, to keep this cause separate from that of Miller. But the Serjeant, by his earnest instances, prevailed upon the petitioners to intrust to him the care of presenting their prayer to the Council. This had the effect which was apprehended, of identifying their case with his own grievances, and seems to have been the reason of its continuing several months unnoticed.

Bentley's scheme of publishing the Greek Testament.

It was remarked by Dr. Bentley's adversaries, that whenever he was placed in peril for mal-administration of his College, his practice was to come forward with some literary production, which might interest the public in favour of its author; and that therefore a share of the merits of his works was due to his prosecutors. A comparison of dates does certainly confirm in many instances this observation. On the 15th of April, when he probably knew that a petition to the King was in agitation, he first announced his great plan of publishing a Greek Testament, the text of which should be restored with certainty, by a method yet unattempted. He had, however, for some time meditated this undertaking. John James Wetstein, who himself became many years afterwards an editor of the Greek Testament, claims the merit of having first suggested the scheme. Being in England at the beginning of this year, he was kindly received by the Doctor, first in Trinity College, and afterwards at the King's Library; and happening to mention, that he had made collations of some manuscripts of the New Testament in France, Bentley pressed for their immediate publication: in the course of conversation, Wetstein expressed a wish that the Doctor would himself undertake an edition of the New Testament, offering him as an assistance the use of all his collations. This, however, was not, as he supposed, the first recommendation of the kind; our readers are aware that a similar suggestion had been publicly made three years before by his friend Dr. Hare.

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Having resolved to devote himself to this work, the most important that can employ a scholar and divine, he propounded his plan in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which his views are detailed fully and with great clearness. A few extracts will put the reader at once into possession of the object, scope, and pretensions of the projected edition.

"May it please your Grace,

"'Tis not only your Grace's station and general character, but the particular knowledge I have of you, which encourages me to give you a long letter about those unfashionable topics religion and learning. Your Grace knows, as well as any, what an alarm has been made of late years with the vast heap of various lections found in MSS. of the Greek Testament. The Papists have made a great use of them against the Protestants, and the Atheists against them both. This was one of Collins' topics in his Discourse on Freethinking, which I took off in my short answer; and I have heard since from several hands, that the short view I gave of the causes, and necessity, and use of various lections, made several good men more easy in that matter than they were before. But since that time, I have fallen into a course of studies that led me to peruse many of the oldest MSS. of Gr. Test. and of the Latin too of St. Jerom, of which there are several in England, a full 1000 years old. The result of which has been that I find I am able (what some thought impossible) to give an edition of the Gr. Test. exactly as it was in the best exemplars at the time of the Council of Nice. So that there shall not be twenty words nor even particles difference; and this shall carry its own demonstration in every verse, which I affirm cannot be so done of any other ancient book, Greek or Latin. So that book which, by the present management, is thought the most uncertain, shall have a testimony of certainty above all other books whatever, and an end be put at once to all Var. Lectt. now or hereafter. I'll give your Grace the progress which brought me by degrees into the present view and scheme that I have of a new edition.

"Upon some points of curiosity, I collated one or two of St. Paul's Epistles with the Alexandrian MS. the oldest and best now in the world; I was surprised to find several transpositions of words, that Mills and the other collators took no notice of; but I soon found their way was to mark nothing but change of words; the collocation and order they entirely neglected; and yet at sight I discerned what a new force and beauty this new order (I found in the MS.) added to the sentence. This encouraged me to collate the whole book over, to a letter, with my own hands."

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"The western Latin copies, by variety of translations, without public appointment, and a jumble and heap of all of them, were grown so uncertain, that scarce two copies were alike; which obliged Damasus, then Bishop of Rome, to employ St. Jerom to regulate the best received translation of each part of the New Testament to the original Greek; and so set out a new edition so castigated and corrected. This he declares in his preface he did, *ad Græcam veritatem, ad exemplaria Græca, sed vetera*; and his

learning, great name, and just authority, extinguished all the other Latin versions, and has been conveyed down to us, under the name of the Vulgate. 'Twas plain to me that when that copy came first from that great Father's hands, it must agree exactly with the most authentic Greek exemplars, and if now it could be retrieved, it would be the best test and voucher for the true reading out of several pretending ones. But when I came to try Pope Clement's Vulgate, I soon found the Greek of the Alexandrian and that would by no means pary. This set me to examine the Pope's Latin by some MS. of 1000 years old, and the success is, that the old Greek copies and the old Latin so exactly agree (when an able hand discerns the rasures and the old lections lying under them), that the pleasure and satisfaction it gives me is beyond expression.

"The New Testament has been under a hard fate since the invention of printing. After the Complutenses and Erasmus, who had but very ordinary MSS. it has become the property of booksellers. Rob. Stephens' edition, set out and regulated by himself alone, is now become the standard. The text stands, as if an Apostle was his compositor."

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

"I am already tedious, and the post is a going. So that to conclude—in a word, I find that by taking 2000 errors out of the Pope's Vulgate, and as many out of the Protestant Pope Stephens', I can set out an edition of each in columns, without using any book under 900 years old, that shall so exactly agree word for word, and, what at first amazed me, order for order, that no two tallies, nor two indentures can agree better. I affirm that these so placed will prove each other to a demonstration: for I alter not a letter of my own head without the authority of these old witnesses. And the beauty of the composition (barbarous, God knows, at present), is so improved, as makes it more worthy of a revelation, and yet no one text of consequence injured or weakened.

"My Lord, if a casual fire should take either his Majesty's library or the King's of France, all the world could not do this. As I have therefore great impulse, and I hope not ἀσθεὶ, to set about this work immediately, and leave it as a κειμήλιον to posterity, against Atheists and Infidels; I thought it my duty and my honour to first acquaint your Grace with it; and know if the extrinsic expense to do such a work completely (for my labour I reckon nothing) may obtain any encouragement, either from the Crown or public.

"I am, with all duty and obedience,

"Your Grace's most humble servant,

"RI. BENTLEY."

"*Trin. Coll. April the* 15*th*, 1716."

In addressing to Archbishop Wake his application for public aid in the accomplishment of so great a work, he was justified not only by the station of that prelate, but by the encouragement with which he always promoted the cause of religion and learning. The Archbishop had, indeed, been himself addicted to similar pursuits; and when residing at Paris, in the reign of Charles II., had made collations of manuscripts for Dr. Mill's edition. I regret that his reply is not

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found among Bentley's papers; but it appears from the following letter to have been highly encouraging.

"May it please your Grace,

"This minute I had the honour of your Grace's letter; indeed when I saw by the prints that your Grace was in full Convocation, and had addressed his Majesty upon so just an occasion[15], and consequently was immersed in business of the highest importance; I condemned myself, that I should be so immersed here in books and privacy, as not to know a more proper occasion of address to your Grace. On a due consideration of all which, I gave over expecting any answer, and designed to wait on you in person, when I came to London, where already my family is. But I see your Grace's goodness and public spirit is superior to all fatigues; and therefore I thank you particularly for this present favour; as what was (justly) above my expectation. The thought of printing the Latin in a column against the Greek (which your Grace puts to the common) I doubt not is your own. My Lord, it is necessary to do so: and without that, all my scheme would be nothing. It was the very view that possessed me with this thought which has now so engaged me, and in a manner enslaved me, that *væ mihi*, unless I do it. Nothing but sickness (by the blessing of God) shall hinder me from prosecuting it to the end. I leave the rest to the time of the Westminster election: with my hearty prayers and thanks, being

"Your Grace's most obedient and obliged humble servant,

"Ri. Bentley."

Death of Cotes. June 5.

A few weeks afterwards Trinity College and the University sustained the severest misfortune by the death of Professor Cotes, who fell a victim to a violent fever in the flower of his age and reputation. The loss to science and to the world was so great as to draw from Sir Isaac Newton the well known observation, "Had he lived, we should have known something." To the Master the blow was peculiarly severe: Cotes had lived in daily intimacy with him for at least ten years, was attached to him and his interests, and conferred credit and respectability upon his party. His disposition and manners were amiable and endearing, and he is never mentioned by his contemporaries but in terms of regard. He was interred in the chapel of Trinity College, where his premature loss continues to this day to be spoken of with the kind of regret excited by a calamity of recent occurrence. The inscription on his monument was written by the Master, and is universally admired for the beauty of its language: we may add, that from all

[15] Congratulations to the King on the suppression of the Rebellion.

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concurring accounts of the man, this eulogy was neither undeserved nor extravagant [16].

Robt. Smith.

Cotes was succeeded in his professorship by his relation Robert Smith, who had been his assistant in the observatory, and became the editor of his posthumous works. He was at this time a junior Fellow of Trinity: in the course of years he succeeded Bentley in the mastership of the College, over which he continued to preside within the memory of the living generation. It is sufficiently known how greatly the philosophical pursuits and reputation of Cambridge are indebted to his works and his patronage; but it is not immaterial to observe, that throughout the life of Dr. Bentley he continued to be his decided partizan, and appears subsequently to have taken all opportunities of testifying respect for his memory.

History and death of Kuster.

Soon afterwards Bentley lost another of his attached and devoted friends, by the death of Kuster. The whole career of this distinguished scholar has in it some singularity, arising from a peculiar temper, rather

[16] H. S. E.
Rogerus Roberti Filius Cotes,
Hujus Collegii S. Trinitatis Socius,
Et Astronomiæ et Experimentalis
Philosophiæ Professor Plumianus;
Qui immatura morte præreptus,
Pauca quidem ingenii sui
Pignora reliquit,
Sed egregia, sed admiranda,
Ex intimis Matheseos penetralibus
Felici solertia tum primum eruta;
Post magnum illum Newtonum,
Societatis hujus spes altera,
Et decus gemellum;
Cui ad summam doctrinæ laudem
Omnes morum virtutumque dotes
In cumulum accesserunt;
Eo magis spectabiles amabilesque,
Quod in formoso corpore
Gratiores venirent.
Natus Burbagii
In Agro Leicestriensi,
Jul. x. mdclxxxii.
Obiit Jun. v. mdccxvi.

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than from unusual circumstances. The reader will recollect, that at the time of the publication of his Aristophanes, his grand object was to purchase a life annuity, as a small but secure independence. Having accomplished this point, he published in Holland his well known reprint of Mill's New Testament, two or three tracts in a controversy with Gronovius, (who continued to abuse the Suidas as long as he lived), and several small productions; when, by the failure of his banker, he was suddenly cast down from the eminence which he had all his life been labouring to attain. Upon this calamity he came over to England, for the double purpose of engaging with booksellers for the publication of Hesychius, and of obtaining a pecuniary loan from his friends. This was in the summer of 1712; when, though flattered with hopes of assistance by Bishop Moore and others, he returned without any real aid, except what he received from Dr. Bentley, who lent him a considerable sum, with but slender chance of its repayment. In a short time he received a tempting proposal from the Abbé Bignon, librarian to the King of France: he was invited to reside at Paris, with a pension of 2000 livres, a further appointment as member of the *Academie des Inscriptions*, and all the consideration which his learning was sure to command among the French *Savans*. The condition imposed on him was a change of religion. Whether or not the sacrifice cost him much pain, we do not learn; but at least he took a decorous time to listen to the reasonings of certain Jesuits, to whom he applied for the satisfaction of his conscience. In 1713 he went to Paris, declared himself a convert to the Roman Catholic faith, and immediately experienced the liberality and countenance of Louis XIV. After some time he informed Dr. Bentley of his change of religion, and the comforts and honours of his new situation. The Doctor's reply seems to have been full of kindness and unabated friendship. Their correspondence continued through the year 1714: some parts of Kuster's letters are very interesting, particularly the account of his successful combat at a meeting of the Academy, in defence of Bentley and one of his emendations of Horace, *Si potes* ARCHIACIS *conviva recumbere lectis* for *Archaicis*. It may be noticed, that Bentley's merits did not meet with the same acknowledgment in France as in the other countries of Europe;

Kuster goes to Paris and becomes a Roman Catholic.

partly from aversion to strict criticism, and partly from offence at the manner in which he had spoken in his Horace, of Dacier and other French scholars. In another letter he describes the beauties and attractions of the country villa of his patron the Abbé Bignon; being anxious to tempt Bentley across the sea, and make him acquainted with his Parisian friends. About this time his well-known treatise on the Greek Middle Verb made its appearance; and it is to be regretted that we do not possess the sentiments of Bentley upon his theory. Kuster now devoted himself to his great work, the Hesychius, which was to be printed at Paris, and the sheets sent to Bentley as they left the press, that he might draw up his corrections and observations of matters unnoticed by the editor, in readiness to be given as an Appendix. But his application to study was too intense for his constitution, and brought on an extraordinary complaint, which put a sudden end to his existence; and with him was lost the prospect of Bentley's emendations being given to the world [17].

His projected Hesychius.

Kuster's fate added one to the number of abortive editions of Hesychius. About half the work was prepared and written out for the press: after his death two members of the *Academie*, Sevin and Sallier, undertook to complete it; but after labouring for several years, they discovered that it was too much for them, and abandoned the task: and in 1736 they handsomely transmitted Kuster's manuscript to Alberti, who availed himself of it in his splendid edition, of which it forms one of the best ingredients [18]. The fact is, that long intercourse with Bentley had put him into possession of his notions upon this valuable but faulty Lexicon; the peculiarities of which he is allowed to have understood better than any other scholar. A specimen of our

[17] It was reported and believed at the time, though without foundation, that Kuster died by suicide. A letter of his friend Wasse gives the following account of his death: "We heard soon after that he had been blooded five or six times for a fever, and that upon opening his body there was found a cake of sand along the lower region of his belly. This, I take it, was occasioned by his sitting nearly double, and writing on a very low table, surrounded with three or four circles of books placed on the ground, which was the situation we usually found him in."

[18] Kuster left a common-place book, containing his unprinted notes and emendations on the remainder of the Lexicon, upon which volume, though deposited in the *Bibliothéque du Roi*, Sevin and Sallier had not the good fortune to lay their hands; otherwise they would probably have completed the publication: it was, however, discovered time enough to be used in the second volume of Hesychius. See Ruhnken's Preface to Vol. II. of Alberti's Hesychius.

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Bentley's correspondence with Biel.

critic's insight into Hesychius was called forth by a correspondence with John Christian Biel, a divine of Brunswick, best known by his posthumous work, the Thesaurus of the Old Testament. He was then preparing for publication a collection of all the scriptural glosses found in Hesychius; but having some time before travelled in England, where he visited the Universities, he was received by our Aristarchus with the kindness which he never failed to extend to scholars, and remembered to have learned from him, that those explanations of scriptural expressions were not Hesychius's, but interpolated in his Lexicon by some later hand. He therefore wrote to enquire the grounds of this opinion, and received from Bentley, in reply, a very full and clear demonstration of this phenomenon. Bentley's letter, which is not only learned, but amusing, was communicated by Biel to Alberti, and printed among his *Prolegomena*: the two letters of Biel, in which he makes his request, and expresses his acknowledgments, are well written, replete with literary information, and deserve to be printed along with that of his illustrious correspondent.

Bentley's mind was at this period occupied by a number of heterogeneous objects, each of which he pursued with spirit and energy. His hours of study were devoted to preparations for the edition of the New Testament, designed to be the mighty work which should immortalize his name. At the same time he meditated another and a widely different undertaking, an edition of Classical Authors *in usum Principis Frederici.* Prince Frederic, the heir to the throne, being now about eleven years old, his education became an object of national importance; and it was generally expected and wished that he should immediately be brought over to England. A suggestion was said to have been made by the two Chief Justices, Parker and King [19], that editions of the classics should be printed for the use of the young Prince; and in order to eclipse the French performances *in usum*

Project for Bentley's publishing classical books for the use of Prince Frederick.

[19] Dr. White Kennett, the Dean of Peterborough, in a letter of Sept. 29, 1716, preserved in the Bodleian library, having just visited Cambridge, says:

"I had it from the best authority, that the Master of Trinity was recommended by the two Lord Chief Justices to undertake a new beautiful edition of the Classics, *In Usum Frederici Principis*, and that he had dined twice with Lord Townshend on that occasion, that he was offered 500*l.* a year for that service; but he insisted on a pension of 1000*l.* for life; which, I presume, however, will not be granted till the King's return."

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Delphini, they recommended that the editor should be Dr. Bentley. Lord Townshend approved the idea, and a negotiation for this purpose was opened through the intervention of Bentley's friend, Dr. Hare, who lived on terms of great intimacy with the Minister. Our critic was led to expect, as a remuneration, a pension of 1000*l.* a year: but some misunderstanding took place about the terms of his engagement. One report states that Lord Townshend only undertook for 500*l.* But according to the account of Dr. Salter, who heard it from Bentley's own mouth, an alteration was made in the proposal, with the object of tying him down to the performance rather by his interest than his honour; and he was offered a fixed sum for every sheet that he should publish. This communication being brought to him by Hare, he rejected it, not without indignation: against his friend, whom he always suspected to be the author of the suggestion, he felt much resentment; and their intimacy abated from this time [20]. It is, however, clear that the negotiation was not finally broken off in consequence of the dispute respecting terms: for I find these differences mentioned in September, and on November the 18th Bentley himself, in a letter to Dr. Clarke, speaks of the scheme as still on the tapis, and waiting his Majesty's return. There is, I think, little doubt but that the failure of the plan was really owing to the Minister himself being driven from the helm. The King passed several months of this year in his German dominions; and it was not thought right to embark in any measure which concerned the rising branch of the Royal Family, without the cognizance and approbation of his Majesty. But at this moment a schism was

Proposed pension.

[20] This account is given by Mr. John Nichols, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1779, vol. xlix. p. 547, in Dr. Salter's own words. In the anecdotes of Bentley given by Dr. Salter, both there and in Bowyer's edition of the work on Phalaris, some inaccuracies are to be observed. He wrote them in his old age, apparently from the memory of conversations with Bentley about 40 years before. On this occasion, he says: "Hare went between Lord T. and Dr. B. and matters were just concluded; when an envious and malignant suggestion of H's (as Dr. B. suspected and was persuaded) defeated the whole; and B. magnanimously disclaimed to engage with persons who discovered so illiberal a distrust of him. Instead of an annual sum and a publication *suo arbitrio*, it was now proposed by Lord T. through Dr. H. that B. should have so much *per* sheet. B. rejected the offer with scorn. 'I wonder,' said he to H., 'you should bring me such a proposal, who have known me so long. What, if I had no regard to their honour and to my own, would there be any difficulty in filling sheets? Tell them I will have nothing to do with it.'"

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taking place in the whig administration, who having obtained complete possession of the government, now began to squabble for the spoils. The Earl of Sunderland, so much distinguished for his overbearing conduct while a minister of Queen Anne, followed the King to Hanover, and contrived with the assistance of Stanhope, the other Secretary of State, to prejudice the Royal mind against Townshend so effectually, that in December he procured his dismissal, and obtained for himself the principal station in the ministry. After a short struggle, Walpole and all Townshend's party resigned, and left Sunderland in full enjoyment of the object of his intrigues. After this change, we hear no more of the proposal for a new edition of the Classics.

Schism among the ministers.

Bentley's violent measures against Miller. Sept. 28.

In the mean time Bentley's name excited public attention on several accounts. Relying, as it appears, on the powerful interest with which he had fortified himself, he resolved to put down by vigorous measures the remaining opposition in his College. On the day fixed for the election of Fellows, Mr. Serjeant Miller came to Cambridge determined to take his station among the eight Senior Fellows, and there to maintain his own cause against the Master. The latter was resolved at all hazards to exclude him; and for this purpose had recourse to strange and unheard-of expedients. First, he stated to the candidates for fellowships, his determination that if Mr. Miller intruded himself into the meeting, there should be no election; and advised them to dissuade him from a purpose so injurious to themselves. He next sent for Zachary Pearce, one of the aspirants, and suggested, that he being a Westminster scholar might bring a body of students educated at that school, among whom a great *esprit de corps* existed, to block out the Serjeant by manual force[21]. Finding these notable schemes ineffectual, the Master resolved to rid himself of his enemy by the means he would have used against a thief or a house-breaker. He summoned the meeting to his own lodge, and prepared two constables for Miller's reception; who, when he entered with the others, laid hands upon him and insisted on his quitting the house. The Serjeant gave way to this violence; and Colbatch, disgusted with the scene, left the lodge, declaring against the force which was in-

[21] This last story would be incredible, were it not taken from a manuscript statement which gives it on the authority of Pearce himself.

troduced. The Master and seven Fellows who remained, immediately subscribed a decree, that neither Miller nor Humphreys should be allowed to act as a Fellow, before the controversy respecting their claims had been decided. They then proceeded, attended by the constables, to the chapel, the statutable place of election, where Colbatch joined them, and protested against the validity of any measure decreed in his absence. CHAP. XII. 1716.

At the election of officers, three days afterwards, another storm took place: Dr. Colbatch being now one of the eight Seniors, felt it his duty to claim the post of Vice-master, which had been held for two years past by Mr. Modd, a feeble old man, and destitute of the requisite qualifications. The statutes require that this officer shall always be a graduate in Divinity; never of an inferior degree, *si commode fieri potest*. Upon the Master proposing his re-election, Colbatch desired that the statute might be read; pointing out that Modd was neither Doctor nor Bachelor of Divinity, while he himself was both. Bentley immediately replied by quoting the clause *si commode fieri potest*, and telling him that his conduct during the last week would make his appointment not only *incommodum*, but *incommodissimum*. An altercation ensued, in which he abused Colbatch with violence and scurrility disgraceful to his own station and character. This ebullition of wrath probably arose not so much from any thing that had occurred in College, as from a discovery of Colbatch's persevering endeavours to obtain the notice of Government to the Petition of the Fellows. From that day there ceased to be any intercourse of a friendly or civil nature between these two Doctors; they regarded each other as implacable and mortal foes, and this dreadful feeling ended only with their lives. Election of officers.

It is necessary to advert to the fellowship-election of this year; which from one of the candidates becoming his own biographer, has obtained a memorial in literary annals. Dr. Bentley availed himself of his present influence over the majority of his council, to convert all elections, both of Fellows and Scholars, into nominations of his own. However, in exercising his choice, he prided himself upon introducing into the society the ablest and most meritorious young men: and his Fellowship election.

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enemies have been able to establish but few instances of his deviation from this rule in the space of forty years: but he regarded not whether he had ascertained their merit by examination at the time, or by a knowledge of their previous performances in College, or even by the reports of others. In short, the Master felt himself at liberty to use the same discretionary power as is exerted by the Dean of Christ-Church in nominating to the studentships at his disposal. But the circumstances of the cases were totally different; and what was lawful in one College, was in positive contradiction to the statutes of the other. In consequence he was frequently solicited, particularly by the great and powerful, in favour of candidates for fellowships: a species of application which a constitutional Master would deem an affront; but which Bentley appears to have encouraged. In 1715, he chose, after little or no examination, a candidate who brought him a letter of recommendation from Bishop Atterbury, to whom he was secretary. At the election of which we are now speaking, three excellent scholars were chosen; Leonard Thompson, Zachary Pearce, and John Walker: the two last of whom will be repeatedly noticed in these memoirs. Pearce had given some kind of offence to the Master, or rather to his minister Ashenhurst, and it was expected that he would have been rejected. But being patronized by Lord Parker, the Chief Justice, to whom he had just dedicated his well-known edition of *Cicero de Oratore*, he obtained from him a letter of recommendation to Bentley, who thereupon elected him Fellow, saying at the same time, 'My Lord has made me your friend, let him make you mine.' We may easily discern that the Master's object was to make a show of obliging a powerful individual. But it is impossible to hear such anecdotes without acknowledging the advantage derived to the College and the public, by the present impartial mode of conducting the elections; where the full object of the foundation is ensured by giving the preference to superiority of merit; and where the electors, after a rigid scrutiny into the learning and ability of the candidates, give their votes with an impression that they are performing one of the most solemn and responsible acts of their lives.

Zachary Pearce.

There were six other candidates, no one of whom was deserving of a

fellowship: but there were five vacancies. This necessity of choosing unfit persons arose from confining the elections to Bachelors of the senior year; a bad custom which it is fair to observe, did not originate with Dr. Bentley. Reduced to this predicament, the Master had not the power of committing material injustice; however, he drew upon himself much obloquy by the two objects of his choice, who were a nephew of Mrs. Bentley, and a nephew of Mr. Hacket, the Fellow already mentioned, whose support it seems to have been sometimes necessary to secure by a bribe [23].

No sooner were these proceedings reported in London, than considerable sensation was excited, and the affairs of Trinity College became again a subject of general conversation. Serjeant Miller beset the Ministers with renewed complaints, while the petitioning Fellows, through the zealous agency of Mr. Farewell, seized the opportunity for soliciting an attention to their prayer. Archbishop Wake, (who had himself some cause of complaint against Bentley for the uncivil reception which he had given to a mandate sent to the College from Lambeth) expressed his condemnation of the late proceedings in terms as strong as possible; declaring the Master to be 'the greatest instance of human frailty that he knew of; as with such good parts and so much learning he could be so insupportable.' He renewed his promise of zealously seconding the Petition. But it was pretty clear that nothing effectual could be done without the concurrence of Lord Townshend; and that Minister had more than one reason for taking no step in opposition to Dr. Bentley's wishes. However, perseverance in solicitation obtained what it would have been a manifest denial of justice to refuse, the hearing of the Petition to the Crown. It was called for and read in Council, in the presence of the Prince Regent, and was sent by his Royal Highness's commands to Sir Edward Northey, the Attorney General, whose opinion was required upon the legal merits of the case, as well as upon the means of appointing a visitation of Trinity College. The business having proceeded thus far, there were two causes which prevented its coming to any definite result.

The Fellows' petition read in Council. Oct. 26.

[23] On this occasion it was commonly observed in College that 'there were elected three scholars, and two nephews.'—*Rud's Diary.*

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Sir Edward Northey, though a lawyer of great fame, did not possess the gift of despatch; and Bishop Fleetwood was determined to avoid by every possible method the office of judge in a case which had proved so difficult and irksome to his predecessor. The Attorney General in execution of his commission applied both to the Bishop and the Master for their sentiments respecting the visitatorial power: the latter replied at once that he acknowledged the King alone as Visitor of the College; the former deliberated a long time before he returned any reply. After the matter had been six or seven months in the Attorney's hands, one of the petitioning Fellows waiting upon him, was informed that the delay was owing to his not having heard from the Bishop. At length that prelate sent an answer, declaring that he did not insist upon or claim any visitatorial power over Trinity College, because the legal advisers of the late Queen had determined that it belonged not to him but to the Crown; and expressed his readiness to make a surrender of any supposed jurisdiction, if thereby he could contribute to the prosperity of the College.

Sir Edward Northey.

The affair now seemed to admit of an easy arrangement; but either from design or procrastination, Sir Edward Northey still neglected to make his report to the Secretary of State. In a few months he was himself displaced from his office, having given no opinion on the case; and as if to defeat the object of the Fellows, he retained in his possession the original document, which had been submitted for his examination.

Dr. Bentley, finding the Petition seriously agitated at the Council Board, bethought himself of an expedient for taking off Miller, the enemy whom he most dreaded, by a compromise; and sounded him with proposals, that he should receive the full emoluments of his fellowship to July 1715, and that his charges incurred in the suit before Bishop Moore, should be repaid from the common stock of the College. At the same time he circulated among the Fellows this scheme of accommodation, with the addition that his own expenses, as well as those of the prosecuting party, should be defrayed by the College. The Serjeant, however, was not at that time in a humour to listen to any overtures; he was incensed at all that had passed, and thirsted for

Bentley proposes to Miller a compromise.

revenge against the Doctor, by whose address and management he had hitherto been baffled.

Miller's account of the University of Cambridge.

But it was the singular good fortune of Bentley that this adversary just then lost the power of giving him further disturbance, by the very method for which an enemy would have prayed—that of 'writing a book.' Among other measures prepared by Lord Townshend's administration to be introduced into Parliament in the session of 1717, was one asserting the power of the King over the Church, and another regulating the two Universities. Serjeant Miller, whose whig principles were so violent that he would not even tolerate a High-churchman, and whose acquaintance with academical matters had qualified him to speak upon such subjects, put forth a little book, entitled 'An Account of the University of Cambridge and the Colleges there,' addressed to the members of Parliament, and designed to be their guide in the projected reformation. This publication had two objects; first, to point out methods by which the High-church party might be crushed, and the University made useful to the purposes of the Whig Ministry; and secondly, to direct the public indignation against his enemy Dr. Bentley. By reviewing in detail the statutes both of the University and of his College, he labours to establish this position, that they were all either neglected or imperfectly observed, and that the change of times and circumstances had made an attention to them inconvenient or impracticable. From such premises he drew his conclusion, that they ought to undergo a general repeal; and that other ordinances should be enacted more consonant with the spirit of the age, and the views of his own party. But the Serjeant's zeal so far outran his prudence, that his case, even in matters of fact, was palpably overstated; and he omitted to observe, that in practice, where the statutes could not be literally fulfilled, their spirit was generally attended to. But the intolerant and even tyrannical measures, which he recommended to answer the purposes of a faction, must have prejudiced candid minds of every party against such a reformer. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to Trinity College, and to such an attack upon the Master and his adherents as might be expected from Miller's exasperated feelings.

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This performance of the Serjeant came forth immediately on the meeting of Parliament. But the intended measures of reform, whatever they might have been, were not brought forward, owing to the schism among the whig leaders, and the struggle for power between the two parties in the cabinet. Among all friends of the Church and the Universities the book excited the utmost indignation; and particularly Colbatch and the petitioning Fellows of Trinity felt how injurious it was to their cause to be associated with a person whose views were so hostile to the Establishment: and from that moment they studiously renounced all confederacy and connexion with him. Miller being Deputy High Steward, the Heads of Colleges applied to the Earl of Manchester, the High Steward, to eject him from that office: the Earl complied with the request, and the Senate ratified his act in a Grace, which styled the Serjeant's publication *Libellum quendam famosum, contra honorem et privilegia Academiæ scriptum.*

February, 1716-17. It is generally condemned.

Miller censured.

Two months previous to this exposure, the affairs of Trinity College had been brought before the public by another author, who succeeded in keeping his name concealed: his pamphlet, which he styles, 'An Humble and Serious Representation of the Present State of Trinity College in Cambridge,' urges against the Master a complaint of rapacity and oppression. The tone is strong, though not passionate; the topics are those with which the reader is already acquainted: Bentley is accused of neglecting the revenues and discipline of the place; of tergiversation in politics; and of indecorum and violence in ejecting Miller by means of constables. The writer, who professes himself a whig, and has an intimate knowledge of the transactions, laments the apparent disposition of Government to screen the Doctor from a visitation.

Humble and Serious Representation.

Bentley, convinced that this attack proceeded from some one of his Fellows, resolved to meet it with a prompt and decisive step; and on the day after the book was received at Cambridge, he summoned a College-meeting, read some passages, and drew up an order, declaring the work to be 'a false and malicious libel upon the good government and flourishing state of the College,' and denouncing the utmost sta-

tutable punishment against any member of the Society who should be convicted as the author. Colbatch happening to be absent, the Master obtained the signatures of all the eight resident Seniors to this decree, which he immediately inserted in the newspapers, as a sufficient reply to the 'Humble and Serious Representation[24].'

Bentley proposes to the Senate an address to the throne.

Among the occurrences in this busy year of his life, we find Dr. Bentley distinguishing himself in the field of politics, as an active partizan of the Government. Upon the suppression of the Rebellion an address of congratulation to the King was proposed to the Senate at Cambridge: this was the production of the Master of Trinity, with whom Waterland, the Vice Chancellor, acted, during his year of office, in strict confederacy. By the constitution of the University, no measure can be brought before the two Houses of Congregation until it has been approved by a committee termed the *Caput*, consisting of the Vice Chancellor and five other persons, each of whom possesses a negative voice. When the grace for sealing and presenting the Address was brought before this body, two of them, Dr. Tyson and Mr. King, put their *veto* upon it. Whether these gentlemen acted from jacobite feelings, or, as they alleged, from dislike of particular expressions in the proposed Address, cannot be ascertained: but the effect was, to spread an opinion of the disaffection of the University among all who were unacquainted with the peculiarity of its constitution. Dr. Bentley, in the course of his conversations with Lord Townshend, explained the true state of the case, vindicated the body from the imputation of disloyalty, and took upon himself to promise the Premier that an address on the

It is rejected.

[24] December the 14th, 1716.

"Whereas a pamphlet, lately printed at London, with the title of *An Humble and Serious Representation of the Present State of Trinity College in Cambridge*, was laid before us, and several passages were read out of it; resolved by the Master and Seniors, that the said pamphlet is a false malicious libel, traducing and misrepresenting the good government and flourishing state of the College; and that if any member of this Society be duly convicted to be the author of it, he shall be proceeded against with the utmost severity of the statutes."

Rich. Bentley.	Wm. Ayloffe.
George Modd.	Ja. Brabourn.
Edw. Bathurst.	John Hacket.
Abr. Jordan.	John Baker.
Matt. Barwell.	

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suppression of the Rebellion should yet be presented by the University. This undertaking was sufficiently bold: during the continuance of that year's Caput, it was evidently impracticable; and the prevailing party held that due expressions of loyalty might properly be postponed till the return of his Majesty from his long visit to Hanover; and that the expense of two addresses was a needless call upon the academical finances. But Bentley having pledged himself for the result, took private measures to influence the appointment of a Caput for the ensuing year. This body, which is considered to represent the interests of the whole Senate, consists of a Doctor of each of the three faculties of Divinity, Law, and Physic, and a member of each of the two Houses of Congregation. They are chosen annually, on the 12th of October, by the Heads of Colleges, the Doctors, the Proctors, and the Scrutators: but their appointment, being considered a matter of routine, commonly excites little attention. His aim was to procure the return of himself, and his two friends Doctors Brookbank and Ashenhurst, to represent the three faculties. This scheme, could it have been kept secret, would probably have succeeded; but it took wind, and business was resumed after the vacation, with a resolution to oppose the intrigues of Dr. Bentley. This displayed itself on the first day of term, when Mr. Witton, a junior Fellow of Trinity, and particular favourite of the Master, being nominated as one of the Pro-proctors, a sudden and unusual opposition was started in the Regents' House, where he was rejected by the votes of twenty-five against five: and the majority, to mark more strongly their adverse feeling towards Bentley, immediately chose Mr. Farewell, who had distinguished himself by his exertions to procure a hearing for the College Petition. At the election of the Caput he was again defeated in all his nominations; and much triumph was felt at the overthrow of his schemes: but his adversaries were not yet aware of the resources with which they had to contend. A Congregation being held on the 16th of October, when all was security, and no business of moment expected, only one member of the Caput, besides the Vice Chancellor, happened to be present. The Master of Trinity now brought forward his Address, which, being publicly read by the Vice Chancellor, the Caput was summoned for its consideration. The

Bentley's manœuvres.

October 10.

October 12.

Address again proposed, and carried.

statutes enact, that in the absence of any member of this body, the senior person present in the same faculty acts as his substitute. So well were Bentley's measures laid, that he himself became representative of the theological faculty, while two other places were supplied by Dr. Ashenhurst and Mr. Laurence Eusden, a junior Fellow of Trinity, much patronized by the Master, who, ere long, obtained the post of Poet Laureate[24]. This committee having approved of a grace for sealing and presenting the Address, it was regularly put to the vote in the afternoon. The surprise was complete, and the result surpassed even the hopes of the contriver. The Address was of course supported by all the Whig party; several of the Tories joined them, to avoid the suspicion of disloyalty to King George; while others of that party kept aloof, disliking the *coup-de-main*, and regarding the measure as a device to serve the interests of Bentley and Waterland. Thus the question was carried in the Non Regents' House, by 36 against 15; and in the Regents', by 34 against 14: and the opposition, not mustering more than 29, afforded Bentley a greater triumph than if they had suffered it to pass in silence.

Address presented at Court.

The Vice Chancellor and Master of Trinity immediately posted to Town, and, attended by a numerous body of the University, presented the Address at the Prince of Wales's court. The composition is remarkable for its strength and clearness, and is an historical document of some interest. It excited much sensation in the world; and the undivided credit of the achievement was given, both by his friends and foes, to Dr. Bentley; who had now completely acquitted himself of his promise to the Minister, and was regarded in the great world as a person of influence and importance. Nor did his enemies, by charging him with manœuvring and management, diminish his reputation as a political partizan[25].

[24] Eusden, who seems to have been an elève of the Master, addressed to him a copy of panegyrical verses on the opening of Trinity Chapel, after it had been refitted by his exertions. His fame as a poet stands very low; but it is his principal misfortune, that the subject of almost all his pieces is disastrous to genius; being unqualified panegyric, and sometimes devoted to not very deserving characters. His verses are smooth and polished, and display no inconsiderable command of poetical diction.

[25] "*Hampton Court, October 22.* This day the following Address to his Majesty was pre-

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On returning from their mission, Waterland and Bentley found the Tory party at Cambridge inflamed with resentment, of which the latter was the principal object: they were provoked at being so completely

Anger directed against Bentley.

sented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, attended by several of the Heads of Houses and Members of the said University, introduced by the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

" The Humble Address of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge:

" Most Gracious Sovereign,

" As we once had the peculiar honour to attend your Majesty with our thanks for a most eminent instance of your Royal favour and beneficence; so we had been among the earliest messengers of the common joy and congratulation for your victory over rebels, had not our intention been frustrated by an unforeseen and unexampled impediment, which being removed, we take the first opportunity to show to your Majesty and the world, that it was not the want of our duty or affection, but our misfortune and calamity.

" This we hope will excuse and justify our impatience, that we wait not for your Majesty's return to Great Britain, but hasten to address you, even while absent. And indeed we can scarce esteem it absence, while you only cross your own seas to visit your own hereditary countries; while we see the influence of your mind and counsels pervade and animate all your dominions at once; while you still seem to reside among us, in that lively image of your person and virtues, as well as of your sovereign power, his Royal Highness, your son.

" 'Tis with diffidence that we now mention to you a rebellion so speedily suppressed, subdued, and extinguished, and which your princely magnanimity and clemency seems already to have forgot. But our own concernments, our late fears, and present joys oblige us to remark, that as no rebellion, in all our annals, appeared in its designs and consequences more terrible and destructive, so none ever went off and vanished in shorter time, with less detriment, and more propitious event; serving only to display your Majesty's superior wisdom and fortitude, the weakness and rashness of your infatuated enemies, the firmness of your Ministry, and the faithfulness of your people. For even the few wicked actors, and just sufferers in it, that were not professed Papists, have done the justice to the Church Established, to declare they first deserted her communion, before they could imbibe the principles of treason and rebellion.

" In an age of such distraction, such unaccountable folly as may seem rather imputable to the anger of Heaven than to the passions and interests of men, your University dare not answer for every individual. But in the whole, we crave leave to assure your Majesty of our heartiest endeavours, both by precept and example, to instill into our youth the warmest sentiments of loyalty and allegiance, of veneration and gratitude to your Royal Person and Family; to inculcate to them, that whatever is dear to the good, or valuable to the wise, our religion and literature, our possessions and liberties, do principally subsist (under God) upon the present happy Establishment.

" May the same good Providence that has hitherto protected and guarded you, and has bound up the fate of the whole Reformation with the fortune of your illustrious House, bring your Majesty back to us in peace and safety, with increase of your health, and new acquests to

out-manœuvred, and they were galled at the imputation of disloyalty, and perhaps equally so at the assertion of the weakness of their numbers. Speaking of their behaviour, in a letter to Dr. Clarke, he says: "The fury of the whole disaffected and Jacobite party here against me and Mr. Waterland, is inexpressible; one would think that the late Address had given them a mortal blow, by the desperate rage they are in." The feelings themselves of the party are told in a letter from Conyers Middleton to the Earl of Oxford, then a prisoner in the Tower under charge of high-treason, explaining the conduct of those friends of the disgraced Minister, who had opposed the Address. This, he assures him, resulted from no disaffection to the King and the Hanover Succession, but from a belief that it was uncalled for till his Majesty's return, and that the measure was only intended to 'procure preferment for Waterland, and impunity for Bentley[26].' It appears also, that the Heads were offended at the Address not having been submitted to them, according to custom, before it was offered to the Senate. This omission was probably defended on the ground of their having already approved a similar one in the preceding April; but the truth was, that secrecy was indispensable, or the stratagem for its passing the Caput would have miscarried. The first proof of ill-humour showed itself in a refusal to pay the expenses of those who had carried up the Address to the Throne: it was discovered that some alterations (probably of an unimportant nature) had been made by the Vice-Chancellor, or the Master of Trinity; and thereupon it was contended that the Address, not being the same as that voted by the Senate, had no claim upon the academical purse[27].

your glory; and (if we may aspire to so high a wish) accompanied with your beloved grandson, that third security and pledge of Great Britain's felicity."

This Address is in the London Gazette, and other publications of the day. It is omitted in the University Register, either from the negligence of Mr. Grove the Registrary, or from some scruple about the variations in the copy given to him from that actually read and voted.

[26] This letter, without a name, but in the hand-writing of Middleton, is preserved in the Harleian collection.

[27] Dr. Kennet, the Dean of Peterborough, in a letter of Nov. 24, 1716, preserved in the Bodleian Library, says:

"The University of Cambridge are in a great ferment upon their late Address. The *Caput*, as they call them, complain much of a breach of their privilege, that it was not laid before them

CHAP. XII. 1716.

Election of Vice Chancellor.

In the midst of this ferment the Vice Chancellor's year of office terminated. The person who ought, according to the usual cycle, to have succeeded, was Dr. Bradford, the Master of Corpus Christi College, a theological author of reputation, who became, ere long, a member of the episcopal bench. He was believed to be on terms of close friendship with Dr. Bentley. At the nomination he and Mr. Grigg, Master of Clare Hall, being proposed, Dr. Lany, Master of Pembroke Hall, one of the Tory party, unexpectedly added to their names that of the Master of Trinity; and the majority of the Heads immediately nominated Bentley and Grigg as the two persons of whom one was to be chosen Vice Chancellor by the Senate. This, Bentley says, 'was designed as a slur on him;' a notion which could hardly be correct; for when it was resolved to set aside Dr. Bradford, the Master of Trinity came regularly on the cycle for nomination, being the senior of those who had not *twice* filled the office. But an example being now set for breaking through the routine, it occurred to Bentley and his friends that an opportunity was opened for electing him chief magistrate. What followed shall be told in his own words: "The news being received by my friends with a great deal of mirth, and *the blind horse's* health (the nick-name of Dr. Lany) passing at dinner through all our Vice-master's table in the College-hall, it alarmed and scared the party so much, that they first broke the statute by calling a Congregation on the third, not for the fourth day, Sunday, as usual, but for the fifth [28];

Bentley nominated.

preparatory to its being laid before the Senate. But when the Vice Chancellor and Dr. Bentley came back to demand the usual expenses of the journey, it was denied in the Senate; and a reason given by Mr. King, that it was not the same Address which had passed the University seal, but that the said bearers of it had altered it on the road: a fact which, it seems, could not be denied; for Dr. B., with consent of the Vice Chancellor, had, as upon second thoughts, expunged some passages, and amended others."

The Dean here makes the common mistake of confounding the *Caput Senatus* with the Heads of Colleges.

[28] Atwood's account in his Diary coincides with this statement. "The congregation was deferred to the fifth, (having always been on the fourth, as far as any one now remembers) by the Proctors, in consideration of the persons who had cures (the fourth being Sunday) to defeat the intrigues of Dr. Bentley." It does not appear, however, to have been suspected that the breach of statute, thus committed by the postponement of the election of the chief magistrate beyond the prescribed day, was liable to the serious consequences which lawyers, I believe, de-

and sent messengers for all their outliers, within twenty miles of Cambridge, to come at the election. The humour was well carried on by my friends to keep the fright up; and the enemy knew nothing but they were in earnest, till they were in the Schools; when above fifty friends appeared, and laughing at the others' fears and new faces, went out of the Schools, as I had privately desired them, without voting at all. Thus ended the farce and the fantom of their own raising; which they now boast of abroad as a legitimate victory, and as a just revenge for making and managing the late Address." CHAP. XII. 1716.

'The farce,' however, did not end here; for 'the party' having come prepared for contest, resolved to have a poll, though there was no opposition: accordingly two votes being given for Dr. Bentley, one hundred and six voted for Mr. Grigg. This fact, which he omits, was the real 'slur' designed for him. He soon afterwards wrote the letter just mentioned to his friend Dr. S. Clarke, a divine much acquainted with the great, and, above all, honoured by the special regard of the Princess of Wales, who had already begun to obtain considerable influence. He represents the state of University affairs, and the necessity for Government openly countenancing those who had incurred so much resentment by embarking in their cause. "If," says he, "the proposal *In usum Principis Frederici* goes on, and is finished on the King's return, and either a prebend or a living in the King's patronage is given to Mr. Waterland, I dare undertake that the Court shall hear no more of the Jacobite party here. On the contrary, as all eyes are now open here, and gaze with expectation, if Mr. Waterland and I are neglected above, and exposed here below to the malice of an enraged mob of malcontents, no person henceforth in this place can or will stir one foot to bear up against the stream. Even now had Miller been turned out, and the Royal answer given to the College, I could, had I pleased, have made myself Vice Chancellor in spight of all their posse. But at present several neuters are in uncertainty, apprehensive that we act without commission, reproached as beggars of preferment, but our performances slighted." Nov. 5. Nov. 18.

nounce; namely, the vitiating the election, as well as every act done under the presidency of a person so chosen, or under any authority emanating from him.

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Non-juring Clergy.

The Government at this time felt considerable uneasiness at the supposed disaffection of a portion of the parochial clergy, a valuable and exemplary body of men, who naturally possess much influence over their flocks. Many of them, though peaceable in their demeanour, declined to take the Oaths to the new establishment: an opinion was prevalent with some, that the permanent tranquillity of the kingdom could only be secured by the restoration of the lineal heir: many clung to the vain idea, that the Pretender might be restored with such conditions and securities as would ensure the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State during his life-time, and that his posterity might be educated in the established religion. These delusive notions, as well as certain favourable reports of the exiled prince, were propagated by the writings of the celebrated Mr. Leslie. It must be confessed, that a belief of the King's predilection for his German dominions, and indifference to his new throne, the conduct of the Hanoverian favourites and mistresses, the proscription under which the majority of the landed gentry were placed, and the triumphant language held by the Dissenters, were circumstances ill calculated to conciliate the Clergy. Nevertheless, as they were unquestionably ready, like their predecessors in 1688, to encounter any dangers rather than give admission to the religion of the Pretender, it was plain that their want of regard for the Protestant Succession was the mere effect of delusion. To remove this cloud from the eyes of his brethren was now attempted, with his characteristic decision, by Dr. Bentley.

Dr. Hickes

Dr. George Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, who was regarded as the head of the non-juring clergy, being lately dead, the publication of his papers revealed the intentions of his party respecting the Church, whenever the Stuart line should be restored. They held, that all the conforming clergy were schismatic; and pronounced the invalidity of orders conferred by the Bishops made by usurping monarchs; and consequently all baptisms performed by those schismatic divines were deemed to be illegal: and it was resolved that neither should be acknowledged, until the parties had received fresh ordination or fresh baptism from the hands of their own part of the Church, which had never bowed the knee to Baal. The tendency of these purposes

was obvious, and it was important that they should be generally known. On this ground Dr. Bentley, as Archdeacon of Ely, summoned the clergy of that diocese, among whom were believed to be many Jacobites, to a Visitation, in the unusual and inconvenient month of December [29].

Bentley's Charge to his Archdeaconry. Dec. 11.

In his Charge he urged upon his brethren the duty of giving support at this time to the Protestant Establishment, exposing the delusiveness of the views with which some friends of the Church fancied that she could enjoy security under a Popish Monarch. Availing himself of the discovery made from Hickes's papers, he showed how absolutely the preferments, and spiritual character of the majority of them would, in case of the restoration of the Stuarts, be at the mercy of people in power, or their rapacious partizans. These and other arguments are pressed with his usual clearness of reasoning and strength of expression; and being directed to persons who had embraced their opinions with sincerity, they were more calculated to produce a good effect than the harangues and writings then in fashion, which loaded the non-juring party with every villainous imputation.

This Charge, the only one of his writings that can be termed political, being printed in different periodical publications, procured for the Archdeacon high reputation, and great applause from the friends of Government [30]. Oldmixon, the Whig historian, after giving a long extract from it upon the subject of lay-baptism, extols Bentley to the

[29] The Visitation Sermon on the first day (Dec. 11) was preached by Mr. John Heylin; and on the second day (Dec. 13) by Mr. Arthur Ashley Sykes, the zealous champion of the Low Church, who held the living of Dry Drayton, near Cambridge. The last discourse was on a similar topic with his friend Bishop Hoadly's celebrated sermon preached shortly afterwards, which gave birth to the Bangorian Controversy. It was printed, and an analysis of it may be seen in Disney's Life of Sykes, p. 42. Being intended as an attack upon Church Government, it was of course agreeable to the ruling party. As a sample of the reception it experienced from the opposite side, I will cite the following extract from the Journal of Mr. Rud, who was then curate of St. Michael's, the parish church in which it was preached:

"Dec. 11, 1716. Dr. B. the Archdeacon held his Visitation; and Mr. Heylin, late of our College, preached a very fine sermon."

"Dec. 13. Mr. Sykes, late of Bene't, preached such a scandalous sermon with relation to the Church and the Clergy, as perhaps the like was never heard before in any place, much less at a Visitation."

[30] See *The Political State*, for December 1716, vol. xii. p. 628.

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skies, and attributes the opposition in his College, as well as the 'Humble and Serious Representation,' to the malice of a political party [31]. On the other hand it raised extreme indignation among the partizans of the Pretender; if we may judge from the language of a very devoted one, Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, who abuses the production in unmeasured terms, and declares that 'it shows Dr. Bentley to be (as he certainly is) a rascal, and an enemy to *the King* and all *the King's* friends [32].'

[31] Oldmixon's *History of the Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 629.

[32] Hearne's Diary in the Bodleian Library, Jan. 11, 1716-17.

CHAPTER XIII.

Johnson's Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus—Bentley's Sermon before the King—Regius Professorship of Divinity—Death of Dr. James, the Professor—The expected Candidates—Dr. Bentley elected Professor—Bentley's Prelection on the disputed text in St. John—Bentley's Letter on the subject—Decides on rejecting the verse—Duties of the Professor—His Inaugural Speech—Bangorian Controversy—Value of the Professorship—Bentley's expensive improvements of his Lodge—His Granary—Richard Walker—Bentley's tithe wheat—Nomination of Scholars—Of College Servants—Colbatch's two Letters to Bishop Fleetwood—Commemoration Sermon—Bentley makes and plants the College walks—King George visits the University—The Duke of Somerset—Behaviour of Grigg, the Vice Chancellor—Bentley creates some Doctors of Divinity in the King's presence—Bentley demands an additional Fee from the new Doctors—Dr. Conyers Middleton resists the payment—Grounds of Bentley's claim—Dr. Gooch, Vice Chancellor—Dr. Richard Warren—Vice Chancellor's Court—Dr. Gooch deprived of his Chaplaincy to the King—Bentley quarrels with the Vice Chancellor—Offends the other Heads—Decree to arrest Bentley—Proceedings of the Court—Bentley suspended from his Degrees—His Appeal refused—Prohibited from acting as Professor—The Chancellor comes to Cambridge—Refuses Bentley's offer of submission—Grace for the degradation of Dr. Bentley—Efforts of his friends in his favour—The Senate deprives him of his Degrees.

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Johnson's Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus.

At the beginning of the year 1717 Dr. Bentley experienced a rude and virulent attack from Mr. Johnson, the master of Nottingham school, on account of his edition of Horace. I have already mentioned my belief that this person is the same Richard Johnson who had been his youthful contemporary at St. John's College: in which case it is not improbable that early pique, or some offence at the neglect of old acquaintance, might have led to the immoderate bitterness of this publication. It seems, indeed, hardly possible to account for his malignity against our critic, except upon the supposition of personal hatred or resentment. The Horace having now been five years in the hands of all scholars in Europe, might well have been considered as past the danger of such harsh and ill-natured attacks. Johnson possessed an uncommonly accurate knowledge of the Latin language

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and the niceties of its grammatical construction: and had made himself known with considerable credit by his 'Grammatical Commentaries;' a book in which the errors of common grammars are noticed; as well as by other works of a similar tendency. Of his present undertaking he gives this account: on the perusal of Bentley's Horace, he was struck with several instances of perverted phraseology in the emendations, which he therefore thought might be demonstrated to be changes for the worse; and that he detected in the Latinity of the notes many inaccuracies. Of the latter blemish in our critic's writings we have already spoken. Johnson waited for a year or two in expectation that these faults would have been exposed by some other hand: but when he found that the edition, instead of being reprobated, was every where admired and extolled, and that it was generally placed in the hands of young men, he resolved to buckle on his own armour, and break a lance with this mighty Aristarchus; in order, as he says, that it might be ascertained, whether himself or those who praised the book had lost their senses. But his design was interrupted by a severe illness, accompanied with tormenting pain, which for a long time deprived him of the use of his limbs. On his recovery he again took up the Horace, and pursued his strictures till they had swelled to a volume of above 200 pages. This he styled *Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus*; the hint of which title was taken from Bentley's own assumption of the attributes of Aristarchus. Being unable to extend his critique through the work, he confined his censures to the text of the first book of Odes, and the Latinity of the notes in the whole volume. The first class of errors which he undertakes to point out are *forty-six* in number, the second *ninety*: and the very title page, in which the mistakes are termed *erubescendi* and *fædissimi*, shows what mercy they had to expect from the stern pedagogue. In his preface, indeed, he has the grace to condemn the habit of scholars abusing one another, but takes an exception in favour of his own case; and as an apology for out-doing all his predecessors in what he acknowledges a bad practice, he urges Bentley's arrogant commendations of himself, and contemptuous language towards others; stringing together all the passages in which he thinks him guilty of either of those enormities.

Upon the first fault I have already animadverted sufficiently: those boastful expressions, when brought together, have certainly a ludicrous effect; and such an exposure was in itself sufficient punishment, to have satisfied even a rigid censor. His second list of passages fails in making out a case against our critic. The instances of contumelious language, when raked together, are not very numerous; some of them are counterbalanced by compliments elsewhere paid to the same persons; and several of the censorious expressions are only such as might, I fear, be found in the writings of the mildest and most candid critics that ever illustrated an ancient author [1].

It is obvious that Bentley's delinquencies do not afford the slightest excuse for the insolent and abusive tone which pervades every sentence of Johnson's book. No term of contumely does he spare; but heaps contempt and reproach upon his adversary, much in the same terms as he would have used, when in his worst humour, to the exercise of a blundering school-boy [2]. He, like Mr. Ker, had passed his life in the detection of minute errors of construction; and here he obtains many triumphs over the great object of his antipathy. The Doctor's notes on Horace were composed with haste; and in so large a work some slips, more or less heinous, could hardly have been avoided. But

[1] It is perfectly preposterous to abuse and insult Bentley for such sentences as the following, which occur in his notes: "Crediderim equidem jam nunc interpretes judicii pœnitere; sed et adhuc aliud reliquum est nihilo minus pœnitendum."—"Nullus est omnium interpretum, quin ad hunc locum, veluti ad scopulum, naufragium fecerit."—"Hæc tot interpretes patienter tulerunt; quia sic invenerant in editionibus priscis. At si bonis uti suis novissent, meliora eos docere poterant codices scripti."—"Infeliciter hunc locum tentavit Nic. Heinsius, et infelicius multo Dacerius."—"Ecquid vero jam videtur? Annon sordet præ hac nostra lectio illa vulgata?"—"Cruquius in re, quæ maximi quidem momenti est, subinde annotanda nimium securus et indiligens erat."—"Quam conjecturam, etsi Rutgersio mirifice placuit, multo deteriorem esse judico."

[2] The following are a few instances of the manner in which the schoolmaster of Nottingham treats the first scholar of the age: these specimens are taken casually and without selection; the reader will find similar *dicteria* in every page:

"Videsne omnia sicca et sana esse, nihilque, præter ipsum te *ineptum* atque *inficetum*?" p. 12.—"Digna quidem *Bentleio*, non *Horatio* sententia. Quorsum hæc tam putida tendunt?" p. 34.—"Vide hominis levissimi, atque obliviosi inconstantiam." p. 45.—"Sapientiam tuam rerum cæterarum quæ sit, nescio; in hac te stultissimum præbuisti." p. 56.—"Satin' sanus es qui hæc dicas? Satin' sobrius?—Quin tu potius demirare insignem stultitiam atque hebetudinem tuam." p. 70, &c. &c.

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whoever takes in hand the *Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus*, in which the extracts from the notes, and Johnson's censures upon them are given alternately, will acknowledge the superiority of Bentley in the ease, perspicuity, and classical elegance of his language; and would be sorry to exchange it for the rugged exactness of his adversary.

Although many of Johnson's strictures are well-founded, yet it must not be inferred from his positive and contemptuous tone, that all the objects of his displeasure are 'shameful blunders.' Bentley might have found in his enemy's work sufficient matter for severe retaliation. But I am not aware that he deigned to take any notice, either public or private, of this attack, or even showed a consciousness of its existence: indeed, he omitted to correct some undoubted slips in language pointed out by Johnson, when his Horace was reprinted in 1728; from which we might infer that he had never seen the schoolmaster's production.

As an interlude between the two divisions of his book, *Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus* gave a burlesque criticism upon some lines of *Tom Bostock*, an old English ballad, in ridicule of Bentley's style. An extract of this scholastic *jeu-d'esprit* will be seen in a note. The absurd translation of Latin phrases fails to throw any just ridicule on the Horace, while it proves the author himself to have been a vulgar fellow. Nevertheless this must be acknowledged a curious hit: unless he had the gift of divination, he could not have foreseen that his adversary would ever publish emendations of an English poet: but whoever has read Bentley's notes on Milton, written fifteen years after this drollery, will confess that it is no bad caricature of the tone and language actually adopted by him in that extraordinary performance[3].

[3] "And now my hand's in, after the example of great authors, and the Doctor in particular, I shall not think much of my labour, for the reader's benefit, the honour of the English nation in general, and the family of the Bostocks in particular, to put down one stanza of a certain English Marine Ode, for so in good truth it is, and so it is entituled in all the parchments, and the first editions; how in the latter it came to be called a Ballad, I, for my part, can't tell; let them look to it that were the cause of it. But 'tis high time to put down the place. Why so it runs then,

Then old Tom Bostock he fell to the work,
He prayed like a Christian, but fought like a Turk,
And cut 'em off all in a jerk,
Which no body can deny, &c.

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Johnson did not very long survive his exhibition in the character of *Aristarchus*: he was overtaken by some mental malady which proved the precursor of his melancholy fate. Little more is known respecting him, but that in the year 1720 he drowned himself in the meadows adjacent to Nottingham [4].

Bentley's sermon before the King.

Immediately after the King's return from Hanover, Dr. Bentley preached before his Majesty in his capacity of Royal Chaplain. His sermon, which was printed, is a masterly dissertation on Rom. xiv. 7. *For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself*: this text he treats in his usual perspicuous and forcible manner, leaving nothing untouched which bears upon the subject. There are many readers who will be as much pleased with this discourse as any other

"Now you must understand, this Tom Bostock was chaplain, in Latin *capellanus*, in a sea-fight, a long time ago, and after the enemy had boarded the ship, cut 'em all off to a man. O bravo Tom! Thus much for the interpretation. Now to the reading.

"*Old.* I have a shrewd suspicion that all is not sound at bottom here; how sound a complexion soever the words may seem to have. For why *old* pray ye? What he hewed down so many lusty fellows at fourscore, I'll warrant ye? A likely story. I know there is *old boy*, as well as any of ye: but what then? And I could down with *old Tom* in another place, but not here.

"For once again, I say, why *old* Tom? What, when he was commending him for so bold an action, would he rather say, *old* Tom, than *bold* Tom? Was it not a bold action? Is not the word *bold* necessary in this place? And do you find it any where else? Thou, therefore, ne'er be afraid of being too bold, no, rather boldly read *bold* Tom, I'll bear thee out; in Latin, *me vide*. But you'll say, neither edition, nor manuscript hath this reading; I thought as much.

"What of all that? I suppose we have never a copy under the author's own hand: as for the librarians and editors, what can you expect from such cattle as they, but such stuff as this? One grain of sense (and God be thanked I don't want that) weighs more with me, than a tun of their papers."

* * * * * * * * * *

"*Tom.* Some would fain make us believe, that we are to read *Ben* here: much good may do 'em with their *Ben*. I for my part shall never believe that the poet would ever put *Ben* and *Bostock*, two words beginning with a B so near together: such grating stuff wounds the ears; such stuff could never come from so terse a poet as you may guess by the work: for as for his name, though no pains have been wanting, nor charge neither, in getting manuscripts from all parts of the world, I'll say that for myself, I cannot recover it. Besides, who ever heard of a *Ben* of the Bostocks? Tom, George, and Harry I'll allow ye; but only Tom was the parson though; and that this is spoke of the parson or chaplain of the ship is plain."—*Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus*, p. 109.

[4] See *Gilbert Wakefield's Life of himself*, p. 22.

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part of the Doctor's writings: they will, perhaps, not find much that is new to them; but when they see the ability with which he illustrates a sacred text, they will not fail to wish that he had devoted more of his time to benefit the world in this department. The following extract is interesting, as showing the sentiments of so powerful a mind upon an important and much controverted point:

"But let none of my hearers so misinterpret our Apostle; as if, by saying, *None of us dies to himself*, he taught that none of us could be accessory or contributing to his own death. Without doubt he was not of their opinion, that believe the time, cause, and circumstances of every man's death to be fixed as immoveably by God's prescience, as by necessity or fate. God can foresee contingencies, the free resolves of rational agents, as well as the most necessary events in the material and inanimate world: but the divine prescience does not superadd nor imply a fatal necessity. That notion robs us of our free-will, of our reason, of our very soul; is repugnant both to observation, and the revealed word of God. 'Bloody and deceitful men,' says the Royal Psalmist, 'shall not live out half their days:' so that impiety and guilt deprived them of half that space of life, that in a natural course of things they might have arrived to. And does not daily experience teach us, that intemperance, temerity, and violence, cut men off in the flower of their age, and in the very meridian of life? And again, how many are daily reprieved and rescued from the very jaws of impending death, by the saving care and skill of the physician? But then withal, though the space of life may be thus shortened, and the thread of it broken by such accidents (though even those too come to pass, not without the foreknowledge or permission of God) yet perhaps it can never be lengthened by all the power and wisdom of man. A flower or fruit may be plucked off by force before the time of their maturity; but they cannot be made to outgrow the fixed period, when they are to fade and drop of themselves. The hand of nature then plucks them off, and all human art cannot withhold it. And as God has so appointed and determined the several growths and periods of the vegetable race; so he seems to have prescribed the same law to the various kinds of living creatures. In the first formation and rudiments of every organical body, there are contained the specific powers both of its stature and duration. And when the evolution of those animal powers is all exhausted and run out, the creature expires and dies of itself, as ripe fruit falls from the tree. So that, as we cannot add one cubit, one inch, to our stature; so neither can we add one day, one hour, to our years, beyond that fixed limit of natural life, to which our original frame and constitution was made to extend. So certain is it, that none of us either liveth, or dieth to himself, but all of us to God; who has given to each of us his particular body, with the determined powers and period belonging to it." *Sermons*, p. 391.

Regius Professorship of Divinity.

Our narrative has now arrived at an interesting epoch of Dr. Bentley's life—his accession to the Regius Professorship of Divinity. This

office, the most valuable as well as most dignified in the University, had been for some time the object of his ambition; and during the last year, when the declining health of the Professor, Dr. James, the President of Queen's College, caused the expectation of a vacancy, he suffered it to be publicly known that he aspired to succeed. The prevailing sentiments of the University were far from favourable to his pretensions. Besides the odium which he had incurred from causes already related, there was an obstacle of a legal nature in the way of his obtaining this high appointment. The statute of foundation of the three King's Professors of Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, which allots them stipends and residence in Trinity College, and gives a preference, in case of parity of merit among the candidates, to Fellows of that Society, concludes with forbidding them to hold along with their professorships any other office either in the University or in that College. The words of this prohibitory enactment are, *Nemo prædictorum Lectorum, durante tempore Lecturæ suæ, ullum officium, Magistratum, aut Lecturam aliam vel in dicto Collegio, vel in Academia habeat, sub pœna prædicta.* Hence it was contended that the Master of Trinity was distinctly and pointedly excluded from the chair: and this express prohibition was confirmed and accounted for by various other enactments, which commit the jurisdiction and superintendance of the Regius professorships to the Master of the College, jointly with the Vice Chancellor. A Professor is, upon his election, to be sworn and admitted by the Master, who is also to admonish him should he neglect his duty, to be his judge in case of complaints against him of heresy or any notable crime, and to deprive him upon hearing and conviction. It was urged, therefore, to be plainly impossible that the statute could contemplate or allow the Master's holding a situation, where he might become his own visitor and his own judge. In opposition to these arguments, it was alleged by Bentley and his friends, that two of his predecessors, Dr. Richardson and Dr. Arrowsmith, had held the Divinity professorship each for the space of two years, along with the mastership. Upon the latter precedent, indeed, no stress could be laid, it having occurred during the Usurpation, when the statutes were frequently violated by the arbitrary mandates of the Protector. Dr.

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Richardson, one of the Translators of the Bible, having held the professorship some years before he was appointed Master, his case was not exactly in point: it was, however, a clear proof, that the union of the two offices, whether legally or not, had once been permitted. Besides, the statute reposes the choice in the breasts of the electors, who are sworn in a particular form, appealing strongly to their consciences, to choose the candidate most likely to confer honour upon the University, and benefit upon the students. If, therefore, a majority should judge Dr. Bentley to be, under all circumstances, the fittest and most eligible candidate, it was contended that nothing could invalidate their decision. The electors to these offices are the Vice Chancellor, the Master and two Senior Fellows of Trinity, the Provost of King's, and the Masters of St. John's and Christ's Colleges; the concurrence of four of those seven in favour of the same candidate being necessary to constitute an election. Three of them, Dr. Adams, Dr. Jenkin, and Dr. Covell, the Heads of King's, St. John's, and Christ's, declared themselves against the pretensions of the Master of Trinity, being convinced that he was excluded by the positive enactment, as well as the whole scope and

Nov. 3, 1716.

tenor of the statute. At the election of a Vice Chancellor in November, it being thought improbable that Dr. James could survive another year, this subject appears to have influenced the proceedings; at least I am aware of no reason for setting aside the ordinary course, except that Dr. Bradford was believed to be a favourer of Bentley. His exclusion seemed a great blow to the Master's hopes; particularly as Mr. Grigg, who was chosen, avowed an opinion similar to that of the three Heads just mentioned. When to this we add, that the two Senior Fellows of Trinity had been for four years and a half his determined prosecutors, and were sufficiently mortified at the failure of their endeavours to remove him from the mastership, they could hardly be supposed favourable to his views. To have persevered under such discouraging circumstances, proves the sanguine character of Bentley's mind, and the reliance which he placed upon his own ingenuity and resources.

Death of Dr. James, the Professor. March 15, 1716-17.

The above detail has been necessary to enable the reader to comprehend the extraordinary proceedings which ensued on the death of Dr. James. The Vice Chancellor happened to be absent in London, whi-

ther he had gone with an address of congratulation to the King upon his safe return, and the disappointment of the scheme for a Swedish invasion in favour of the Pretender. The Heads being assembled at the funeral of the deceased Professor, Dr. Lany, the acting chief magistrate, consulted the Master of Trinity upon the steps to be taken for the election of a successor. Bentley asked him, whether he had received his appointment as deputy under the hand and seal of the Vice Chancellor; and being answered in the negative, put an end to the conversation, by telling him that 'then he had no concern with that affair.'

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Bentley tries different methods to obtain it.

The statute orders that on the day after the vacancy becomes known, the Vice Chancellor shall, with the consent of the Master of Trinity, convene the electors to a meeting, at which they are to issue a public notice, and fix a day for the examination of candidates. This not having been done, Bentley was prepared to maintain that the professorship had, by non-compliance with the statute, fallen to the appointment of the King, as representative of the Founder. Accordingly, when the Vice Chancellor returned about the end of the month, and applied for his consent to the meeting, he flatly refused it; alleging that the office had now lapsed to the Crown[5]. His next step was to have been a solicitation of it for himself. Ingenious as this scheme certainly was, there were evident obstacles to its success. The statute is silent upon the subject of a lapse; the words which fix the time for the meeting, *postridie quam locum vacare intellexerint*, do not prohibit a reasonable interval, for the vacancy to become known to a Vice Chancellor who may happen to be absent: the King's Ministers would hardly have assumed the appointment without a legal assurance of their right; and however they might be disposed to oblige the Doctor, he could not expect them to be forward to embark in a

[5] Another account of this affair, by Dr. Colbatch, states that Bentley first refused to give his consent to the proceedings, except upon the condition of the other electors declaring, under their hands, that they made no exception to the eligibility of the Master of Trinity: and that upon their declining to say any thing of a matter not yet before them, he withheld his consent, and at length declared that the office was lapsed. The narrative in the text is taken from the account of Atwood, the Esquire Beadle, whose duty kept him in constant attendance on the proceedings of the Vice Chancellor, and who wrote down all occurrences with great care in his Diary.

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quarrel with the University. This precarious plan, therefore, was only to be adopted, if all other measures were hopeless. But he did not despair of making an impression upon the Vice Chancellor. Mr. William Grigg was chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, and had been appointed by his patron Master of Clare Hall, the votes of the Fellows at the election being equally divided between two candidates, (one of them Mr. Laughton, the celebrated disciplinarian and instructor, with whom the reader is acquainted), and the nomination having thereby lapsed to the Chancellor of the University, as Visitor. What arguments the Doctor could use with this gentleman it is not easy to conjecture: but as no connection or friendliness appears ever to have subsisted between them, I am inclined to suppose that the interest made in Bentley's favour was not with Grigg, but with his patron the Duke; and that at his instance he listened to the Doctor's proposals. Having, however, already declared himself against his eligibility, he could not with decency aid in choosing him Professor. But Bentley's fertile invention suggested a stratagem to overcome this and all other embarrassments: it was, that Grigg should go out of the University, at the same time constituting him Deputy Vice Chancellor: the rest was to be left to himself. Accordingly, after above a fortnight passed in negotiations, this scheme was put into execution. On the 17th of April, the University learned with amazement that the Vice Chancellor was gone, and had appointed Dr. Bentley his deputy. The main obstacle was now forced, and the field open for his operations. Uniting in himself the two characters of Vice Chancellor and Master of Trinity, he summoned the electors to meet in the Schools on the following day. The statute orders that if any one of the number be Vice Chancellor, his place shall be supplied by the President of Queen's College: during the late time of suspense, Dr. Davies, the editor of Cicero, whose attachment to Bentley we have had occasion to remark, had succeeded Dr. James in the Headship of his College; and in that capacity claimed the place of an elector. The two Senior Fellows of Trinity were unable to be present; the first, Dr. Stubbe, residing in London, and the second, Mr. Cock, being prevented by age and infirmity from quitting his rooms: but their places were supplied, agreeably to the

Grigg the Vice Chancellor.

Bentley Deputy Vice Chancellor.

April 18.

Dr. Davies President of Queen's.

statutes, by the two next in order, Modd and Bathurst, both of whom the Doctor had found means to render propitious to his views. These four issued a *programma* appointing a day for examination of candidates. The other three electors chose to absent themselves from a proceeding the evident tendency of which they disapproved.

The expected candidates.

No mention has yet been made of any other candidates for this important professorship. There were, however, at least three in the public contemplation: Dr. Colbatch and Mr. Waterland were wished by their respective friends to be introduced to a chair for which each was thought highly qualified: but various circumstances detailed in the last chapter will account for neither of them opposing the Master of Trinity. The person generally fixed upon was Dr. Charles Ashton, the Master of Jesus College. This gentleman, who possessed in a high degree the respect and regard of the University, during the unexampled period of fifty-one years that he continued one of its Heads, was among the most learned men of his time, and particularly versed in the departments of knowledge required from a theological professor: and he it was, I apprehend, whom the seceding electors had designed to support. But, like them, he did not think proper to present himself at the meetings summoned by Dr. Bentley.

April 25.

On the day appointed the Master of Trinity appeared in the schools as Vice Chancellor, along with Davies, Modd, and Bathurst; when after waiting in vain for the other electors the space of one hour, he declared himself a candidate, and offered to be examined according to the statute. The conclave declined a public examination as unnecessary; but appointed him a day to read his *prælectio*, or probationary lecture. No other candidate appearing, the meeting separated.

Dr. Bentley elected Professor, May 2.

On the 1st of May Dr. Bentley delivered his prælection before a crowded audience, on the disputed text of the Heavenly Witnesses in the First Epistle of St. John: and on the following day he was chosen Regius Professor of Divinity by the four votes of himself, Dr. Davies, Mr. Modd, and Mr. Bathurst.

The daring manœuvre by which Bentley attained this object of his ambition, astonished and confounded his opponents. If they had hoped to defeat his operations by keeping aloof, they found them-

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selves completely in error. It might be true, that the peculiar conjuncture of circumstances was the result of intrigue and collusion; yet it could not be denied, that from the moment when he was constituted Deputy Vice Chancellor, the proceedings had been conducted with strict attention to the forms of the statute. The electors who contended that the Master of Trinity was absolutely excluded and ineligible, had, by withdrawing from their post, lost the opportunity of protesting against such an election as illegal, in case they could not have prevented its taking place. The absence of other candidates supplied an argument in favour of those who elected Dr. Bentley: in the event of litigation they would naturally have alleged that they had no alternative; that they were bound to execute their functions, and no other person was offered to their choice. Whatever was the mortification of his opponents, they were compelled to digest it in silence: no attempt was at that time made to dispute his title; and he was suffered quietly to take possession of the theological chair [6].

Bentley's prælection on the disputed text in St. John.

The subject of his Prælection being the authenticity of the disputed verse of 1 St. John v. 7., great curiosity has lately been expressed respecting it; all persons agreeing that much weight must be attached to the sentiments of the prince of critics upon such a question. The composition excited great sensation at the time and long afterwards: it was preserved in manuscript, and perused by some scholars little more than forty years ago. I hope and believe that it is still in existence, and may ere long be brought to light: but all my endeavours to trace it have hitherto been ineffectual. It has, however, been in my power to collect such testimony respecting its contents, as must put an end to all the doubts which have been started relative to Bentley's judgment upon the controverted text.

Controversy on the verse.

The dispute upon the genuineness of this verse had lately been revived: a summary of the opposite opinions appeared in Dr. Mill's *Prolegomena*. It was attacked by Emlyn the Arian, and defended

[6] Hearne writes thus, on May 7, 1717. "Dr. Bentley is elected Regius Professor of Divinity of the University of Cambridge, in the room of Dr. James, deceased. He was opposed by Dr. Ashton, Master of Jesus, who had got it, had not Bentley used knavery. Ashton was best qualified." MSS. in the Bodleian library.

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by Martin, the French refugee priest of Utrecht; and the controversy just then maintained by those combatants, drew the attention of all theological readers to the merits of the question. In the December preceding, Bentley received a long letter from a layman, whose name has not been preserved, written in consequence of a report that the verse would be omitted in his promised edition of the New Testament. This correspondent argues earnestly for its genuineness, upon the evidence of the context of the whole passage; the sense of which, he contends, would be incomplete without it. To this epistle our critic returned an answer, explaining clearly and concisely the nature of his proposed edition, the object of which was to restore the text as it stood in the days of St. Jerome in the fourth century. Upon the point in question, he adds,

Bentley's letter on the subject. January 1, 1716-17.

"Now in this work I indulge nothing to any conjecture, not even in a letter, but proceed solely upon authority of copies, and Fathers of that age. And what will be the event about the said verse of John, I myself know not yet; having not used all the old copies that I have information of.

"But by this you see, that in my proposed work, the fate of that verse will be a mere question of fact. You endeavour to prove, (and that's all you aspire to,) that it may have been writ by the Apostle, being consonant to his other doctrine. This I concede to you; and if the fourth century knew that text, let it come in, in God's name: but if that age did not know it, then Arianism in its height was beat down, without the help of that verse: and let the fact prove as it will, the doctrine is unshaken." *Bentley's Letters*, p. 210.

His correspondent rejoined with a further expostulation, urging the necessity of admitting a verse, the rejection of which he thought, like many other orthodox persons, would afford a triumph to the Unitarians. He afterwards published the three letters, with some additional remarks of his own, which proved nothing but his disqualification to discuss such a subject. Bentley, however, finding how much the question interested the public mind, and perceiving that there was expected from the editor of the New Testament a clear expression of opinion on this point, applied himself in the course of the four following months to examine all the evidence on both sides. Having chosen this as the subject of his Prælection, he gave a regular history of the verse, and an account of the manner in which the passage of St. John

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Decides in rejecting the verse.

is quoted by ancient writers; and concluded with a decided rejection of the verse; maintaining at the same time the doctrine of the Trinity in its orthodox acceptation, and showing that it stood not in any need of such dubious support.

My account of this Prælection does not rest, like other narratives of Dr. Bentley's life, upon the statement of Whiston; which is confessedly given only from hearsay: I have more than once had occasion to notice the credulity and inaccuracy of that writer, which makes his sole authority an unsafe guide in every instance[7]. But the following evidences are liable to no such exception. First, Atwood the Esquire Beadle, who was present and heard Dr. Bentley's composition, says in his manuscript journal, 'that he read away the text (1 St. John, v. 7.) to the utmost of his power.' Secondly, Conyers Middleton, who probably heard the discourse, and who at all events wrote in the University, and for readers who had heard it, speaking four years afterwards of Bentley, says, "He has already, *we know*, determined against the genuineness of the famous passage of St. John, 1 Epistle v. 7. For what reason has he condemned it as spurious? Why because some manuscripts and some fathers have omitted it[8]." My third evidence is Professor Porson, who had in his youth seen this Prælection, and in his Letters to Travis observes, that 'Bentley read a public lecture, which is still extant, to prove the verse spurious[9].' Lastly, Dr. Vincent, the late learned Dean of Westminster, had once the original

[7] *Whiston's Life of Dr. S. Clarke*, p. 77. "This treatise, as I have been informed, was alluded to by Dr. Bentley in his own famous lecture at Cambridge soon afterward, when he stood candidate for the chair of Regius Professor of Divinity: wherein he also entirely gave up that text, and publicly proved it to be spurious. I have been also informed, that when Dr. Waterland was asked, 'whether Dr. Bentley's arguments did not convince him;' he replied, 'no: for he was convinced before.' Nor does the Doctor, I think, ever quote the text as genuine in any of his writings; which, in so zealous and warm a Trinitarian, deserves to be taken great notice of, as a singular instance of honesty and impartiality." Little credit is due to Whiston's information upon this matter, as is justly observed by the present Bishop of Durham, in his Life of Waterland, p. 25. In fact, the latter part is distinctly contradicted by Waterland himself, in a letter to Mr. Loveday. Works, vol. x. p. 410.

[8] *Middleton's Works*, vol. ii. p. 373.

[9] *Porson's Letters to Travis*, Pref. p. viii. That Porson had himself seen this lecture, I have learnt from two of his friends to whom he communicated the fact. It is mentioned by Mr. Kidd, in his *Misc. Tracts*, Pref. p. xlvi.

of this piece in his possession, lent to him by a relative of Bentley: a letter of his now lies before me, containing the account of the contents which I have just given, and adding, that to him 'it was conviction[10].'

Duties of the Professor.

The duties of his newly-acquired office were various and important. The Regius Professor is expected to preside and moderate at all disputations in the Theological Schools; to deliver his own judgment or 'determination' on the subjects of discussion; to present candidates for theological degrees; to create the Doctors of Divinity with appropriate speeches; to deliver lectures twice in the week during term; and to preach in Latin before the University on certain stated days. There can be no doubt but that the new Professor was admirably qualified to discharge all these duties with honour to the University, and reputation to himself. Notwithstanding his addiction to other pursuits, theological studies had, at certain periods of his life, occupied much of his attention; and for the scholastic disputations, his prompt and clear-sighted judgment, his acuteness in the detection of fallacy, and his logical turn of mind, admirably qualified him: while his peculiar attainments were sure to temper with classical elegance the dryness of school-divinity. It is impossible not to wish that Bentley, having now attained the age of fifty-five, had devoted himself entirely to the professorship; with

[10] This letter, addressed by Dean Vincent to the late learned Dr. Charles Burney, Sept. 3, 1806, has been obligingly communicated to me by his son, the Rev. C. P. Burney, D.D. It gives an account of some papers of Bentley's lent him by a relation of the great critic, who had two sons under him at Westminster. "They consisted," says he, "of several sermons, or rather dissertations in form of sermons, all on learned questions: one on the three heavenly witnesses, was in Latin. It was not a *Concio ad Clerum*, but as well as I remember, a sort of inauguration discourse as Professor of Divinity. Another was an argument to prove that the Epistle to the Ephesians was the last Epistle to the Laodiceans, and, *I think*, in English. What the remainder consisted of I do not recollect: it is five and twenty years ago since I saw them. That on the Three Heavenly Witnesses, was a regular and historical narrative of the manner in which the context in this part of St. John was cited by different authors from the earliest date down to Erasmus, and a decided rejection of 1 John v. 7. Maintaining, however, the doctrine in its most orthodox acceptation. To me it was conviction: and I have always felt the charge of Emlyn, who reproaches the Church of England for having in her first translations, printed the verse in a different character, and afterwards dropping the character, and suffering the verse to stand without remark, like any other indifferent text. The doctrine, as Bentley observed, did not stand in need of a false support: but this was doing evil that good might come of it."

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which the care of his edition of the New Testament would have been consistent. Such were his capacity and power of application, that he would perhaps have reaped a greater accession of fame than could now accrue from any other pursuits; and the remembrance of the manner in which he possessed himself of the chair, might have been effaced by the applause that followed the execution of its duties. Being now invested with increased sanctity of character, it is greatly to be wished that he had adopted a different course in the government of his College. Had he so done, the road to conciliation and tranquillity was open; and it is probable that every legitimate object of ambition would still have been within his grasp.

His inaugural speech.

Our Professor, on first taking possession of the chair, delivered an inaugural speech in the Divinity Schools, which occupied not less than an hour and a half; giving a full account of himself, his pursuits, his works, and his designs. Some notice of this speech has been preserved in a letter addressed to Bishop Nicolson from David Wilkins, Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury: it is written in a sneering and ironical tone; nor can there be a better instance of the truth of the poet's observation, *nihil est—Quin male narrando possit depravarier.* This letter will be seen in the note, and is sufficient to make us regret that the production itself, delivered in the gaiety of his heart, and in the moment of triumph, has not been preserved [11].

[11] "My Honoured Lord, "*Bene't College, June* 9, 1717.

"If the Cantabrigians had the advantage which the Oxonians enjoy, to write daily by the post to London, your Lordship should have had an account of Professor Bentley's remarkable speech, at the entering into his office, by Friday's post.

"The whole discourse contained in substance nothing but an enarration of his performances done, and some that are to follow. He began to give us the reasons why, now he was *in limine senectutis*, he desired to be made Professor, in spite of his *ringentes* rivals; and *patefecerit viam* to that place which he refused eighteen years ago, because he formerly had other views. He liked the company of great men at Court; but now every place in London was full of contention, quarrel, and tumult. *Jam Cantabrigia placet, placent bibliothecæ, placet aer, placent eruditorum hominum mores*; so that he designs to live and die here. He thanked the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, the Master of Queen's, and his two Senior Fellows, for choosing him Professor, and put at the same time a slur upon the three Heads of Houses that should have been present at the election. He was full of praises of his predecessors, of whom some were made Bishops, some Archbishops; and that he was sensible how unworthy he was to succeed them; especially

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Bangorian Controversy.

It will be recollected that at this very time, the celebrated Bangorian Controversy was in full progress; and perhaps it may be wondered that the newly-elected Professor of Divinity did not engage his ready pen in a dispute which interested and divided the whole nation. Attention to his new functions was, it is true, sufficient to absorb all his time and thoughts; but the reader has seen him capable, when urged by any strong motive, to abstract his mind in the pursuit of heterogeneous objects, even at the busiest and most anxious moments of his life. Had he, however, been tempted to engage in this great controversial combat, there was, if I mistake not, an insuperable reason, which kept him aloof. His opinions on the subject in dispute would probably have led him to

since all the world knew that he had studied more the *Humaniora* than divinity. But yet he said that he has had Thomas Aquinas in his study these thirty years, and had read him; that he had studied Syriac, Chaldaic, and other Oriental languages, till he was like to fall into a consumption. It was true indeed that he had printed Phalaris, Callimachus, Menander, Tully's Tusculan Questions, and Horace; and that thereby he had shewed himself a philosopher and a critic, rather than a *theologus*. But yet he had printed some Sermons at Boyle's Lectures, which were translated into several languages; that he had refuted the Free-thinkers, for which he had the University's solemn thanks; and *Augustissimi Principis Matrona* had ordered him the printing of it. Besides this, he said, that he has read a great many of the Fathers, Greek and Latin; that he had Clemens, Origen, and Eusebius, ready for the press; and if that would not deserve him the title of a *theologus*, he said, that under Beaumont * he had taken his Doctor's Degree. But that, says he, is no proof, because a man by being a Doctor of Physic is not supposed to be a physician; nor a Doctor of Laws to be a lawyer (which he intended for a reflection upon the Professors † of those two faculties). Then he desired his auditors not to judge his abilities at present, now he begins his office: *detur crescendi copia*; and after-ages will show that he is a *theologus*, by reason of his excellent design of a new edition of a New Testament; of which, by the help of Origen and St. Jerome, and some very old MSS, he will make the text so undoubtedly true, *ut e manibus Apostolorum vix purior et sincerior evaserit*, which shall for ever be a standard of Religion to Christianity. At last he promised to read over the Scholastic Divines; and whatever of modern divinity the pamphlets contained he would buy, and exercise himself and his disputants; to whom he *sancte* promised to be very civil: assist the respondents; and give room for the opponents to exercise their talents; and moreover that he would encourage any body in printing of divinity books; and so concluded.

"In his answer to the question about the Supremacy of the Pope, he asserted, that abundance of Christian Bishops ought not to give place to the Bishop of Rome; and that, if he was to meet in a place with the Archbishop of Canterbury, our Archbishop should take place of him."—*Bishop Nicolsons's Correspondence*, p. 458.

* "Joseph Beaumont, D.D.; Divinity Professor, 1672; died Nov. 22, 1699."

† "Francis Dickens, LL.D. and Christopher Green, M.D."

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take part with Sherlock, Snape, and the High-church combatants; while his acquaintance, connections, and interests, lay entirely with the opposite party.

Value of the Professorship.

Dr. Bentley's income received a large addition from the revenue of his new office. The professorship of Divinity, like those of Hebrew and Greek, was originally endowed with the fixed stipend of forty pounds; a sum sufficient in the reign of Henry VIII. to maintain the respectability of the holder. But in process of time, the altered value of money having rendered this salary utterly inadequate, King James I. gave to the Divinity Professor the rectories of Somersham, Pidley, and Coln, in Huntingdonshire. The income of this endowment was reputed to be about 300*l.* a year: the new Professor, considering the rent inadequate, took into his own hands the great tithes, which he collected by the agency of Kent, his bailiff, to whom he let the small tithes. From this measure he expected to raise the value of his office, with the addition of stipend and fees, to 600*l.* a year.

Bentley's expensive improvements of his Lodge.

The Fellows of Trinity found themselves no gainers by the prosperity of their Head: the increase of his University preferment made the prospect of his removal, with which the mal-content party had consoled themselves, less probable than before. And his determination to increase the comforts and convenience of his residence, subjected the College to a series of renewed expenses. About this time an old summer-house belonging to the Master, being in want of repair, Bentley thought it more advisable to pull it down, and build a larger one contiguous to his own study: and here he made a bath, supplied with water by a pipe from the College conduit [12]. This edifice the malignants termed 'a banqueting room.' In this year and the following the garden of the Lodge was newly laid out with walks and grass-plots; and a terrace was made on the bank of the river, which continued to be Bentley's favourite walk for the remainder of his life. All this was executed without any order from the Seniority; but the expenses were allowed at the audits. These works, and a double-vaulted cellar for his wine, being undoubted improvements of the College premises, might

[12] *Middleton's Present State of Trinity College,* Works, vol. iii. p. 362.

have produced little or no murmuring (though the cost was about 900*l.*), had it not been for another fancy of the Master's. Two out-houses in the back premises of the Lodge, heretofore used as a dove-cote, and a lumber-house, he converted into a spacious granary, at an expense of above 300*l.* and immediately filled it with large quantities of tithe wheat and malt, conveyed in barges from his rectory of Somersham. In the course of the next two years the greater part of these articles were sold to Trinity College for the supply of the bakehouse and brewery. As this transaction took place on the mandate of the Master, and as the largest prices were paid for them by the College officer, an immediate outcry was raised against Bentley as exercising the trades of 'a farmer and a maltster[13].' Nor was this all: it happened that the malt was damaged by an insect called the weevil; and in this state the brewer was obliged to take it to the amount of 700 bushels, although he declared the impossibility of its making good liquor; an assertion which Bentley either disbelieved or disregarded. The brewery of this College had always been noted for its peculiar excellence: and when, on the great College festival, the badness of the beer was complained of, and the butler questioned in the Hall respecting it, that officer, to obviate further examination, declared that 'it was brewed from the Master's malt.' Hardly any particular in Bentley's life subjected him to more scandal than this transaction: the story, circulated and improved by his enemies, conveyed the joint imputation of meanness, rapacity, and indecorum. In the fullness of time it became a matter of judicial investigation, and the facts were deposed by various persons. The evidence of Kent the bailiff, which there seems no reason to dispute, shows that the malt was really not the Doctor's; but that he himself, being a maltster, had purchased the tithe barley, and sent it, when malted, to the Trinity granary, and that the Master received the money on his account. But this statement does not, it must be confessed, materially alter the complexion of the case; since it is evident that Dr. Bentley used his magisterial power to obtain a better and more certain market for the commodity than it could otherwise have com-

His granary.

Damaged malt sold to the College.

Trinity Sunday, 1719.

[13] *Middleton's Present State of Trinity College*, Works, p. 370. "He immediately became the greatest farmer and maltster in the country."

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manded: he was, in one shape or other, the gainer by the arrangement; and whatever risk or loss was incurred, fell upon the Society, whose interests it was his duty to protect[14].

Junior Bursar refuses to pay for the granary.

The granary had been made without permission of the Seniors, the Master having only casually mentioned before some of them that he was preparing a place to hold oats for his horses: a pretence so different from the real design, that it added not a little to the odium he incurred. Mr. Myers, the junior bursar, to whose office all works on the College buildings appertained, having been cautioned by Dr. Colbatch, scrupled to pay for the granary, as being executed without the authority required by the statutes. But his conscientious behaviour had no other effect than to bring upon himself the resentment of the Master, who, at the ensuing election of officers, opposed his re-appointment. On this occasion, however, he met with unusual opposition; six of the eight Seniors having spirit enough to vote for Myers. But the Doctor overruled them by the exercise of his prerogative, and chose Richard Walker, who being of the standing of Bachelor of Divinity, was disqualified for this office by a law of his own making, on the importance of which he had laid so much stress a few years before.

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Richard Walker.

The character now introduced to the reader will play no inconsiderable part in the sequel of our history, being of all Bentley's friends the most sincerely attached and devoted. His intimacy, which began at this period, was kept up by daily intercourse as long as the Master lived; and he continued to cherish his memory the whole of his own life with remarkable affection. This gentleman had but lately resumed his residence in College, having been absent since the year 1708, serving a curacy at Upwell in the Fen-country; whence his contemporaries facetiously distinguished him from others of the same name by the title of *Frog Walker*; a nick-name by which he is still designated. His friendly disposition, his liberality and public spirit, and his almost chivalrous devotion to the fortunes of his Master, have procured him a

[14] The details of this transaction are given by Dr. Colbatch in several manuscript papers, and are told with much bitterness by Middleton in his *State of Trinity College*, &c. My account is taken from an examination of the various witnesses on both sides, at the trial at Ely House, in 1733.

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celebrity in University annals, to which his talents and acquirements do not seem to have entitled him. His first appearance on the stage was far from being creditable: he paid the bills for the granary, as well as all other works which it pleased the Master to order, during the four years that he continued College Edile, without once troubling the Seniority for their consent; and when he brought his books to be approved at the audits, he was found to have so intermixed the charges of the Lodge with the general expenses of the College, that it was in vain to think of disentangling them.

Sept. 28, 1717. Bentley accused of a collusive sale of wheat.

Another heinous accusation was brought against the Master, relating to the produce of his rectory: he was reported to have managed a collusive sale of wheat in Cambridge market, on the day when the prices of that article, according to which the College tenants pay their half-year's rents, were to be determined. It was said that Porter, the College butler, made a purchase at 5*s.* a bushel of Kent, his bailiff; while no other wheat was sold in the market at more than 4*s.* 7*d.*; and that in order to cloak the transaction, he had stipulated with one Rule, a farmer, noted for the excellence of his wheat, to give him 5*s.* for a quantity of it, if brought to sale on that day: in the market, Kent produced a sample of the Somersham tithe wheat, which being compared with the other, and pronounced equal, if not superior, appeared entitled to as large a price. A double purpose was here effected; the College rents were fixed unduly high, and the Master's own tithe wheat was sold out of his granary to the College at a greater price than it was worth. The story being circulated with surprising industry, Bentley's enemies charged him with an offence of peculiar magnitude; that of bringing public disgrace upon his College. However, after a careful examination of the evidence on this subject, I must declare that the charge of fraudulent or dishonourable conduct is not made out; nor are we warranted in believing that the collusion, if any existed, took place with Bentley's cognizance. Porter, the butler, distinctly denies it: he was, it is true, the creature of the Master; but unless we suppose him guilty of wilful perjury, the accusation was untrue; and this I am the rather led to believe, because Dr. Ayloffe, the bursar, allowed to have been a scrupulous and conscientious man, jealous of all irregu-

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larities, and not favourably disposed to the Master, could not have been ignorant of the deceit, had any been committed.

Bentley kept his tithes in his own hands for three years; when either to avoid further obloquy, or finding the advantage not commensurate with the inconvenience, he let them to Kent, who was still accommodated with the use of the College granary. But the late transactions were not forgotten, and ever afterwards made a prominent figure in all the complaints of his adversaries.

Bentley's nomination of scholars.

The Doctor's College administration in the years 1717 and 1718 presents little more than the same absolute disposal of places, honours, and preferments, as we have already witnessed; and to this assumption of authority all resistance now seemed hopeless. At the election of scholars in 1717, he allowed none to be candidates but those previously selected by himself, and their number was exactly the same as that of the vacancies. Some young men, not included in his list, having entered their names, he immediately ordered them to be erased. This continued afterwards his ordinary practice; and that there might be no doubt of the Master being the sole fountain of honour and reward, he gave the candidates this subject for a theme, *Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.* Such an exercise of patronage, besides overturning all but the semblance of statutable election, had another mischievous tendency. The disputes of their governors were found to descend to the young men; and it had been for some time observed that the students were divided into two parties, the friends and enemies of the Master: many from their first coming to the College attached themselves to one or other of the two factions; and it was suspected, that in the selection of students to be admitted on the foundation, these party attachments were not overlooked [15].

Of College servants.

The Master's appointment of the various College servants seemed to proceed upon the idea of those situations (some of them posts of considerable trust) being appendages of his own household. Thus the places of butler, porter, and cook, were given to his domestics; of

[15] In the year 1717 the Master forbade the sizars being candidates for scholarships before their third year: a rule which has in practice been followed, with few exceptions, from that day to the present.

which no complaint would have been made had they been qualified for their respective posts: but when he conferred the place, or rather the emoluments, of porter upon his coachman, and after his death upon his son, a boy of fifteen, a serious abuse ensued. He suffered the duties in both cases to be executed by deputies; who having no remuneration except such fees and presents as they could obtain, opened the gates to young men at unseasonable hours of the night, to the destruction of College discipline, and injury of the morals of the students.

Colbatch's two letters to Bishop Fleetwood.

Dr. Colbatch was able to watch and denounce, but not to arrest the proceedings of the Master. Being foiled in all his efforts to procure a visitation by petitioning the Crown, he now obtained leave from the Bishop of Ely to lay before him a detail of the College grievances. This he did in the year 1717, in two letters, couched in the severest language, and well calculated to communicate the indignation with which he was himself inspired. The first contains an exposition of Dr. Bentley's government, as concerned the elections, discipline, and studies; the second, of his malversation regarding revenues and expenditure. But the liberty of venting his complaints was the only satisfaction with which he was indulged. Bishop Fleetwood remained immovable in his resolution to take no steps as Visitor of the College, until he was empowered and required by the King's command; and he now urged, in addition to his former reasons for not interfering, that the Petition of the Fellows to the King remained still unanswered.

Commemoration Sermon. Dec. 17, 1717.

Thus repulsed, Colbatch had no further resource; but in a sermon which it was his turn to preach in the College Chapel at the Commemoration of Benefactors, he made a powerful appeal to the religious feelings of his auditors, laying before them the real objects of the foundation, and the duties particularly demanded of the governors of a College; adding a dignified rebuke upon what he deemed an abandonment of those obligations: a censure, perhaps, the more felt, because its tone was calm and temperate. This discourse was published, and appears to have excited considerable sensation. Bishop Smalridge, then Dean of Christ Church, was said to have declared that it ought to be read once a quarter by every governor of a College;

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and Dr. Bentley himself felt it right not only to avow his approbation of it, but to say he was ready to subscribe to every word [16].

Bentley makes and plants the College walks.

The only particular of Bentley's administration at this period, which can be recorded with satisfaction is, that he laid out and made those beautiful walks across the river Cam, which are so great an ornament and convenience to the College and University. This ground, previously called the back-green, had been purchased above a century before by the exchange of more than 30 acres of land in the outskirts of Cambridge: it appears, however, to have been left in its original state of a fen. In the years 1717 and 1718 the present walks were formed, and the beautiful avenues of lime trees, the very perfection of academic groves, were first planted. Though the Doctor became a planter at a somewhat advanced age, yet he lived long enough to enjoy the shades of his own rearing. It is, perhaps, right to add that the cost bestowed upon the walks, though amounting to 500*l.* and that too without order of the Seniority, seems to have been so well laid out, that it never gave rise to any murmuring or discontent.

KingGeorge visits the University.

The visit of King George I. to the University, was followed by results so curious and unexampled, as to form a kind of episode in our academical history. As the transactions of the day itself had considerable influence upon the subsequent events, it is my duty to detail from the beginning all that I find to have taken place on that occasion.

Oct. 4, 1717.

His Majesty having, in imitation of his predecessors, visited Newmarket with his court, the Vice Chancellor, Heads, and other members of the University went over to invite him to honour Cambridge with his presence, and took the opportunity of thanking him for the late signal instance of his munificence. The Sovereign gave them a gracious reception, and promised to visit the University on Sunday the 6th,

[16] See Preface, to *Middleton's Further Remarks*, Whiston's Life, p. 356. In this Sermon Colbatch paid a remarkable tribute to the merits of Laughton, the tutor of Clare Hall, which deserves to be recorded; and is the more honourable to both, from the fact of their being of opposite parties. "We see," says he, "what a confluence of nobility and gentry the virtue of one man daily draws to one of our least Colleges."

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and by this short notice precluded as far as possible all expensive preparations. We noticed in our account of Queen Anne's visit, that when the Monarch is present in this University, it is customary to give Doctors' and other degrees to all whom the Royal pleasure may nominate for such dignities. Upon the present occasion a list was prepared, comprising 27 noblemen and others in the King's suite, who were to be made Doctors of Laws, and 32 of the most distinguished members of the University, on whom the degree of Doctor of Divinity was to be conferred. To Bentley belonged the twofold duty of creating the Doctors as Professor of Divinity, and receiving the Royal guest at his lodge, as Master of the leading College. But the University was destined to be honoured on the same day with the presence of another august personage, its Chancellor, who is generally known by the appellation of 'the proud Duke of Somerset;' and his reception was as much a matter of care and punctilio as that of the Monarch himself. Having determined to receive the King at the head of the University, he signified his intention of coming over at nine in the morning; his Majesty being expected at eleven. His Grace was himself a member of Trinity College: his two sons the Earl of Hertford, and Lord Percy Seymour had successively occupied a large set of rooms in the Great Court, consisting of what had formerly been the Old Library, which were first fitted up for the reception of the former; and in those apartments the Duke designed to take up his own residence on the present occasion.

The Duke of Somerset.

Accordingly, on Sunday morning, Mr. Grigg the Vice Chancellor, attended by a number of other Heads, proceeded to Trinity Lodge, in order to greet the Duke upon his arrival. Dr. Bentley, to whom it appears that no previous intimation had been given of their design, was surprised and displeased at this arrangement. We may suppose him to have been occupied at that moment in giving directions for preparing his house and his College for the reception of the Sovereign, or in meditating a Latin oration which he was to deliver two or three hours afterwards, before an august and critical audience. In either case the intrusion must have been as inconvenient as it was unceremonious. He accordingly represented to the Vice Chancellor and

Oct. 6. 1717. Behaviour of Grigg the Vice Chancellor.

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Heads that the Consistory was the proper place in which to receive the Chancellor; adding that the state apartments of his lodge were kept for the reception of the King. Hereupon, the other Heads departed; but Grigg, not caring whom he offended so long as he was but showing attention to his own patron, resolved to remain: and in effect, he, the Senior Proctor, and three Beadles made good their lodgement in the house-keeper's room, there to wait for the arrival of the great Duke. At 10 o'clock his Grace came accompanied by the Earl of Thomond and Bishop of Norwich; they were met about the middle of the quadrangle by the Vice Chancellor, and conducted by him to the lodge of the Master, who found these august visitors forced upon him contrary to his expectations, and before he had time to change his undress gown, and put on his robes for their reception [17]. He did, however, receive this unwished-for honour with proper deference and courtesy; the Chancellor, after viewing the handsome apartments of the lodge, went in procession as Head of the University to the Regent House, and having there transacted the preliminary business, descended into the Consistory, to await the coming of his Majesty. About 11 o'clock the King alighted from his carriage at the Regent-walk, in the middle of which he took his seat in a chair of state in the open air; and after a short compliment from the Chancellor, was greeted in a Latin speech by Dr. Ayloffe, the Public Orator. His Majesty was then conducted with a mixture of royal and academical ceremony, to the Regent-house, where his chair was placed at the upper end of the table, which was covered with a cloth of gold.

[17] "About 10 o'clock his Grace came. As soon as he entered the College gate, the Vice Chancellor, (the three Beadles going before him in their tufted gowns, velvet caps and hoods, without their coifs,) advanced to meet him; which he did about the middle of the court.

"The Duke was very courteous; seemed wonderfully pleased to find himself in the University; and indeed carried a very cheerful air in his countenance during the whole day.

"After compliments were over, the Beadles turned their staves and preceded the Chancellor to the lodging.

"At the second door, Dr. Bentley, in his morning gown, with his hat under his arm, received his Grace; and though he was not all submission, he was pretty near it.

"While he entertained the Duke in discourse, there stood the Earl of Thomond and Bishop of Norwich, unregarded: and there they might have stood, if one of the Beadles had not touched his sleeve a little; and then he vouchsafed them a welcome also."—*Atwood's Journal.*

Hereupon the creation of some of the new Doctors, the only specimen of academical proceedings, which the shortness of time would allow, took place with full ceremonial. After the grace had passed for the degrees of all persons named in the Royal Mandate, Dr. Bentley, as Regius Professor, presented to the Chancellor three of the number, who were Heads of Houses, Mr. Grigg, Dr. Davies (previously only Doctor of Laws) and Mr. Waterland: after their regular admission, the Professor, turning himself to the King, delivered an appropriate speech, upon what must be allowed to have been a most interesting occasion. He then created the three Doctors of Divinity with all those ancient ceremonies to which he has added so much interest, in the Commencement-speech prefixed to his edition of Terence.

Bentley creates some Doctors of Divinity in the King's presence.

The academical business thus concluded, the august company went in procession to the magnificent Chapel of King's College, the glory of the University; in the nave of which the King was addressed in another speech from the Provost; his Majesty probably understanding these Latin orations better than any thing else which he heard that day. Here service was performed, and a sermon preached by Laughton, the Tutor of Clare Hall. The procession then left the Chapel for Trinity College, where his Majesty was to lodge, and where a banquet was prepared for the whole company. A distressing mistake now occurred. The Vice Chancellor wishing that his own beautiful College should have its share of the Royal admiration, chose to conduct the procession the back way to Trinity, in order that it might pass by Clare Hall. Thus his Majesty, after a passing glance at that House was led to the Queen's Gate at Trinity: but no intimation having been given of Grigg's design, and his arrival being, of course, expected at the King's Gate, the Master and the whole College were drawn up there for his reception, while all the inhabitants of the town were assembled on the outside: meantime the other entrance had been closed to prevent the irruption of the populace into the quadrangle. Thus did the King find the entrance of his Royal College barred against him, and was compelled to stand five minutes in the lane, which is described to have been at that time 'a most dirty, filthy place,' before the tidings of his arrival could reach the Great Gate, and the postern be thrown open

The King finds himself shut out of Trinity College.

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for his reception. At length his Majesty obtained admission, and Dr. Bentley at the head of the Society, meeting him about the middle of the court, bade him 'welcome to a College which he might call his own,' and conducted him to his lodge. The King next visited Trinity Library, the noble work of Sir Christopher Wren; but he declined honouring the public banquet with his presence, preferring to dine at the Master's Lodge with a select company of ten noblemen: while the Duke partook of the dinner prepared in the Hall, with the Royal retinue and the University. In the evening his Majesty attended service at the College Chapel, and then taking his leave, returned to Newmarket, and on the next day to Hampton Court; having gratified the University by his goodness and condescension, but leaving some of its members irritated against one another by certain occurrences of the day[18].

Our narrative of this day's proceedings is principally drawn from the journal of Atwood, the Beadle, whose duty kept him in close

[18] The following notice of this Royal visit is in a letter from Dr. Wilkins to the Bishop of Carlisle, (*Bp. Nicolson's Correspondence*, p. 464.)

Lambeth, Oct. 15, 1717.

My honoured Lord,

I am but just returned from Cambridge, where I had the good fortune to be created Doctor of Divinity by Dr. Bentley. The good Bishop of Norwich had so much kindness for me, as to put me in the King's list of his own accord, by which I saved a great sum of money; only my exercises I had composed in vain, and reckon so much time lost. His Majesty has made a general conquest of the affections of grumbling people wherever he was; and expressed a great deal of satisfaction in being so kindly received by the University. The Duke of Somerset (who is said to glory more in being Chancellor of Cambridge than in his other titles) exerted himself in a fine speech, which he thus concluded: *If our University is not the learnedest society in the world, your Majesty's late present will make us so.* The University Orator made a very ingenious, learned, Latin speech, which, as well as Dr. Bentley's, the King said, he understood every word.

As long as the King staid at Cambridge, one heard nothing (although it was upon a Sunday) but ringing of bells, *Vivat Rex!* King George for ever! The country people came ten miles and farther to see this solemnity; and the King was pleased to shew himself openly; admitted every body where he dined, made presents to the poor of all parishes, to the two gaols, to the ringers of every Church, and to the Sizars of Trinity College. What will the Sister University say to this?

Your Lordship's always dutiful son,
and most obedient humble servant,
D. Wilkins.

attendance on the leading personages, and gave him the fullest opportunity of observing every thing that occurred. But this gentleman seems to have entered so strongly into the feelings of the party hostile to Bentley, that he was resolved always to find him in the wrong: nor could he perceive that his own narrative would convince any unprejudiced person that the Doctor was in this case at least, 'more sinned against than sinning.' The behaviour of Grigg, the Vice Chancellor, was not only at open war with good manners, but his mode of introducing both the King and the Chancellor into Trinity had a tendency to throw upon the Master the appearance of inattention; and might, therefore, have been provoking to a meeker spirit than Bentley's. On the other hand, the only complaint which his enemies could make against him was, that he had endeavoured to appropriate to himself and his College, all the honour of the Royal visit [19].

Oct. 7. Bentley demands an additional fee for creating the new Doctors.

On the following morning, the adjourned Congregation met in the Senate-house, to complete the business decreed at the *Regia Comitia;* when the Professor of Divinity required from each of the Doctors whom he was about to create, a fee of four guineas, in addition to a broad-piece, which was the ancient and established compliment on this occasion. Three or four of them complied with this demand; but the greater part protested against it, as unreasonable and unwarrantable. A long and warm altercation ensued, in which Bentley maintained the justice of his claim, and refused to give creation to any who would not acquiesce. Among the incepting Doctors, the person most prominent in the argument against the Professor was CONYERS MIDDLETON; whom we have already had occasion to notice more than once as taking a part unfriendly to our hero. This eminent and accomplished scholar occupied a house at Cambridge, where his society was much courted and enjoyed by the leading characters of the University. He had contracted an early and violent antipathy against Bentley, which only waited for such an opportunity as the present to

Dr. Conyers Middleton resists the payment.

[19] Middleton makes this a subject of complaint against Bentley, in the controversy which took place in 1719. Great offence was given by Hacket, the College dean, saying Grace at dinner. Beadle Atwood says, "Dr. Hacket had the presumption to say Grace, though the Vice Chancellor was present, and he too chaplain to the Chancellor."

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display itself. His intimates seem to have been for the most part ill-disposed to the Doctor, and in party views he was opposed to him; but I find no trace of any personal offence having ever passed between them, unless it were that Bentley had expressed contempt for his love of music, by terming him 'the musical Conyers,' or 'the fiddling Conyers.' In the course of the present dispute, the Professor, though he declined any appeal to the University authorities, repeatedly argued that he demanded only his right; adding that he was the King's Professor, and declaring his readiness to refund the fee, provided the case were decided against him by the King, or any commission or authority emanating from his Majesty. Accordingly, several of the new Doctors, and Middleton among the rest, agreed to pay the required fee, taking a promise under Dr. Bentley's hand, that he would restore the four guineas should it be adjudged by such authority that his claim was ill-founded. The Congregation was then adjourned to the following day: in the meantime the Vice Chancellor and Heads sent over a statement of the dispute to the Chancellor, who was at Newmarket, and received from his Grace a reply, that they must not suffer the University business to be interrupted by the Professor; along with an assurance that he would himself support their authority, if necessary, in person.

Opposition by the University.

On the 9th Dr. Bentley performed the ceremony of creating those Doctors who had given him the required fee: but some others being refused creation, appealed to the Vice Chancellor and Heads, who pronounced at once that the demand was extortion, and ought not to be complied with. Bentley replied by denying their right of interference; told them that if they obstructed him in his demand of four guineas he would require ten; and positively declared that there should be no more creations. Hereupon it was suggested that the agency of the Regius Professor was not indispensable in this ceremony, and that it might be performed by any other Doctor in Divinity. Accordingly Dr. Bardsey Fisher, the Master of Sidney College, was directed by the Vice Chancellor to create those whom the Professor refused; which he immediately performed, receiving the broad-piece as his fee; though the confused manner in which he blundered

through the ceremony, prompted by the Beadle, was such a contrast to the able and dignified manner of the Professor, as afforded the latter considerable matter for triumph[20]. However his best friends, and among them Davies and Laughton, disapproved of his obstinate adherence to such a point; and it seems to have been partly at their instance, and partly from apprehension of this new interpretation of the statute, that he conceded so far as to create the remaining Doctors, upon their giving a note promising him the four guineas, if it were decided to be his just demand.

Grounds of Bentley's claim.

The reader may now be desirous of knowing upon what grounds Dr. Bentley defended a claim, which raised such extraordinary disturbance. The matter originated thus: candidates for theological degrees are exempted by the statutes from two Opponencies, part of the prescribed exercises, provided, when they keep their Acts, they have a doctor for their Opponent. In order to secure to the Respondent this advantage, the Professor himself, who moderates, sometimes adduced arguments against him; and Bentley's two predecessors, Dr. Beaumont and Dr. James, had fixed a charge, the first of two guineas, and the last four guineas, as a remuneration for this extra-trouble. Dr. Bentley, finding the latter sum an established charge, considered it an addition to the fee for a doctor's degree, and as such had claimed and received it from those who were created at the preceding Commencement. Supposing the duties to be really performed, since it was voluntary on the part of the Professor, and a considerable accommodation to the person graduating, there appears to be nothing unreasonable in the principle or the amount of this demand. But he went further: he argued that the King's visit to the University, being intended as a measure of grace and favour, ought not to operate to the prejudice of any one; that, had it not taken place, each of the Royal Doctors would probably have taken his degree in the ordinary way, and thus the required fee would have been paid to the Professor. He contended, moreover, that no hardship could be complained of, since they now obtained their doctorships at an expense of not more than *20l.*; while, in the ordinary course, it

[20] Cole, MSS. vol. xxx. p. 106., having occasion to allude to Dr. Fisher, describes him as a 'very pleasant, facetious, and witty man.'

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would have been 100*l.*: thence it was every way unreasonable that he should be the sufferer in his emoluments. When it was alleged that this demand rested upon no statute, authority, or precedent, he replied that the two other Regius Professors of Law and Physic demanded and received from each of the doctors created in their faculties the sum of 14*l.*, for which they had no better authority to plead. But, above all, he urged that Grigg himself, by whom this payment was condemned and prohibited, did at the same time receive himself four guineas for each of the new graduates; two as Vice Chancellor, and two as Chancellor's Secretary, without the authority of statute or the pretence of trouble, but simply upon the same principle as the demand made by the Divinity Professor. This last argument tended to make unprejudiced persons believe, that the opposition to Dr. Bentley's claim was the result of personal or party animosity.

The argument of the other Professors being undisturbed in their larger claim, was rebutted by saying, that those two officers having only the paltry stipend of 40*l.* were in a manner compelled to seek a more adequate support of their station by means of fees and perquisites; but that the Divinity Professor, being endowed with a noble benefice, had no pretence or excuse for grasping at further emoluments. After all, however, it probably will be allowed that Bentley's claim was not without grounds, which deserved consideration, had the question been referred to any competent authority; but that he was greatly to be condemned for making and enforcing such a demand by his own unsanctioned will; while his obstinate perseverance in what was held pecuniary extortion, was injurious to his personal reputation, and derogatory to the sacred character with which he was invested.

Dr. Gooch, Vice Chancellor.

The election of a new Vice Chancellor shortly ensued. The persons nominated were Dr. Bradford, Master of Corpus Christi, and Dr. Gooch, Master of Caius College. Bradford was the senior; but the Tory party determined again to set him aside: it was apprehended from his intimacy with Dr. Bentley, that upon disputed questions, he might incline to his interest: accordingly a contest took place, and Gooch was elected by a majority of 95 to 51.

Nov. 4.

The gentleman now invested with the chief magistracy belonged to

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a good family in Suffolk, and was at this time about his forty-fourth year. His political opinions had so strong a Tory cast, that they were suspected of Jacobitism. Having, while Fellow of Caius College, been chaplain to the late Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, he preached the funeral sermon at the death of that prelate, when he mentioned, in terms of the highest praise, the advice which he had given to Queen Anne, (whose preceptor he had been) to reject the two Whigs, recommended for bishopricks by her Ministers, and to assert the Royal prerogative by a choice of her own. Gooch afterwards received from Bishop Robinson the archdeaconry of Essex; and in 1716 was elected Preacher of Gray's Inn, and Master of his College. He then married the sister of Dr. Sherlock, and a close confederacy existed throughout their lives between these two brothers-in-law; both of whom were raised, by Sir Robert Walpole's government, to high stations on the Episcopal bench. His contemporaries describe Dr. Gooch to have been a courtly gentleman in his manners, possessed of much address and subtilty. His letters, which I have seen, are only remarkable for a pointed and laconic style of expression.

Dr. Bentley in the meantime made no progress towards confirming his claim to the additional fee, by the interference of the Court. He had been encouraged by the indications of favour on occasion of the late Royal visit, and expected that he, being leader of the ministerial party at Cambridge, would meet with the support of the Government. But his applications for this purpose were altogether ineffectual. Lord Sunderland did not think it right that either the name or authority of the King should be interposed in a dispute of so invidious and personal a nature; and he, I presume, was 'the great Minister of State,' who was said to have assured the Vice Chancellor that 'Government would not meddle with the matter[21].'

Bentley gives up the third part of his Remarks on Free-thinking.

At this resolution he seems to have been sufficiently chagrined; and perhaps his mortification was increased by the marks of favour bestowed on Sherlock, the leader of his opponents, who had recently been made Dean of Chichester. Our Professor had been introduced into the select

[21] *Proceedings of the Vice Chancellor and University of Cambridge against Dr. Bentley Stated and Vindicated*, p. 7.

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coteries of the Princess of Wales, in which she enjoyed the conversation of the most learned men in the kingdom; and it was at her Royal Highness's special request that he resumed the third part of 'Phileleutherus's Remarks on Freethinking.' We learn that he happened to have that work in hand just at this period; but on experiencing what he conceived ill usage, he threw it aside with indignation, complaining 'that those whom he wrote for, were as bad as those whom he wrote against.' Two half-sheets had actually been printed when he broke off his manuscript in the middle of a page, and could never be prevailed upon to resume it [22].

Dr. Richard Warren. June 19, 1718.

I find it recorded that Richard Warren, of Jesus College, who took his doctor's degree in 1718, when he kept his Act in the Schools, was used somewhat hardly by the Professor: happening to preach on the Commencement Sunday, he took the opportunity of retaliating in his sermon; but Dr. Bentley, two days afterwards, in his speech on creation of the doctors, rejoined with much severity. What was the subject of this dispute, I can only surmise; but its effect seems to have produced a lasting resentment in the mind of Dr. Warren, who treated Bentley with much asperity in an edition of Hierocles, which he published a great many years afterwards, principally with the view of decrying the emendations of our critic [23].

Dr. Middleton hearing no more of his four guineas, which were to abide the Royal decision upon the fee, thought fit to apply to the Professor for their restoration, first by letter, and afterwards in person.

[22] This account is distinctly given by his nephew and executor, Dr. Richard Bentley, who had heard it from his uncle himself. See his Advertisement to the eighth edition of the Remarks, published in 1743, and containing the last pages written by the author. His statement coincides with that given by Dr. Salter, from Bentley's own mouth.

[23] *Rud's Diary*. I find, from a letter dated University College, Oxford, Aug. 18, 1718, that a report had reached the sister University, that Cambridge was in a great ferment, on account of Dr. Bentley having on occasion of a Divinity Act, made a speech, condemning the Epistles of St. Ignatius, and afterwards refusing to hear the Respondent, who attempted to reply. The whole of this is given as hearsay; but it was the talk of the Long Vacation; and as Bentley's Commencement Speech, alluded to by Rud, (who was himself created D.D. on the same day) was the last public exhibition before the vacation, and as Rud makes no mention of any other altercation occurring in the Schools about this time, it is at least probable, that his dispute with Warren, and that upon St. Ignatius, were the same. If the Professor's opinion was delivered in his 'Determination,' he was perfectly correct in not suffering a reply.

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No regard being paid to his applications, he resolved to seek the recovery of his money by suing for it as a debt, in the Vice Chancellor's Court. This tribunal possesses an extensive jurisdiction both of a criminal and civil nature, for the maintenance of discipline, the punishment of offences, and the decision of causes, in which any members of the University are concerned: the sole judge is the Vice Chancellor, who acts, however, with the advice of his assessors: but an appeal lies against his decisions to the Court of Delegates, who are either three or five individuals chosen by the Senate for the purpose. This academical Court, though armed with great and comprehensive authority, is by no means one of frequent resort. A Vice Chancellor sometimes passes through his year of office without being once called upon to preside as judge. But in the time of Dr. Gooch, the functions of the Court were displayed with unwonted activity. Mr. Bull, of Queen's, who has been noticed as a friend and partizan of Bentley, was prosecuted for defamation by Mr. Warde, a Fellow of the same College: whether the quarrel between these two gentlemen was of a private or a public nature, it is needless to enquire: it probably partook of both characters. Bull was convicted and censured; but the Vice Chancellor did not escape some outcry from the whig party, who charged him with partiality to the prosecutor. The defendant then appealed to the Delegates, who however confirmed the sentence. Soon afterwards, proceedings were commenced in the Court against Philip Brooke, a Fellow of St. John's College, one of the Non-jurors, who was then Library Keeper of the University, for disaffection to the King. When the prosecution had advanced some way, he resigned his office; whereupon all further proceedings were closed: though the Government party charged Dr. Gooch with disloyalty, on the score of his forbearance and lenity to the accused. An appeal was also presented to the Vice Chancellor in capacity of Visitor of Corpus-Christi College, against the Master, who had pre-elected his son, William Bradford, to a fellowship, in a College Meeting at which only four of the twelve Fellows were present: but before he could deliver his judgment, Dr. Bradford (who was about this time made Bishop of Carlisle) obtained an order from the King in Council, prohibiting his further proceedings;

The Vice Chancellor's Court.

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and the dispute was made up in the Society. Nor was this the only occasion on which the Government showed a disposition to countenance their adherents in the University. Dr. Sherlock and Dr. Snape having given umbrage by their zeal in favour of the High-church party, both in Convocation and in the Bangorian Controversy, their names had been erased from the list of King's Chaplains. It was now thought that the activity of Dr. Gooch merited a similar disgrace; he was accordingly deprived of his chaplaincy; and to make this expression of displeasure more pointed, Mr. Bull, who had just suffered by his sentence, was constituted King's Chaplain in his room [24].

Dr. Gooch deprived of his chaplaincy to the King.

Bentley quarrels with the Vice Chancellor.

Dr. Middleton having announced to the Vice Chancellor his resolution to institute a process against Dr. Bentley, that officer endeavoured to procure a termination of the business, by advising the Professor to return the four guineas. Though a personal friend of Middleton, and participating in the dislike of Bentley felt by all his party, Dr. Gooch acted in the outset of this affair as became a person in his station, anxious to save the University and the Church from the scandal of such a dignified character being involved in so paltry a proceeding. He held many conversations with the Professor, and as an argument to induce him to give up the point, plainly told him that if the matter came into his Court, he must decide it against him. This intimation, joined with the fact of his intimacy and frequent communication with his adversary, convinced Bentley that he had no prospect of a favourable decision during the Vice-chancellorship of Dr. Gooch: he chose, therefore, to take such a course as might at least postpone the matter; and continued to flatter himself with the hope of Government interfering in his behalf. Once, however, he did yield so far as to send the four guineas to be placed in the hands of the Vice Chancellor: but he happening to be out at the moment, they were brought back by the messenger; and in the meantime the Doctor's mind was altered, and he was fixed in his unfortunate resolution to pursue a

[24] Bull's opponent, Mr. John Warde, shortly afterwards experienced far more valuable patronage from the hands of the University; who presented him to the large living of Simonburn in Northumberland; the advowson of which belonged to a papist.

contest, from which, whatever might be the decision, neither credit nor advantage could accrue— CHAP. XIII. 1718.

Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos.

He would have been satisfied, however, to have got out of the dispute, could that be effected without the appearance of a defeat; for on one occasion he said to Gooch, that 'he would end the dispute as the Germans and Turks had done, with a *uti possidetis*.' But on being told that the complainant demanded the decree (which is in fact an arrest, the first step in the action), and that it could no longer in justice be refused, he cautioned the Vice Chancellor how he proceeded to arrest a Doctor without the consent of nine Heads of Colleges. Upon this a meeting of the Heads was summoned, the statutes examined, and a determination made and published, that in case of a civil action a Doctor possessed no exemption or privilege, different from other members of the University. The Vice Chancellor immediately wrote to Bentley, communicating this interpretation, and again begging him to reconsider the matter, and to end the dispute without bringing it into Court. This letter was answered by the Professor in person, who called at Caius Lodge, and in high terms expostulated with Gooch, saying, among other things which gave offence, that 'he would not be judged by him and his friends over a bottle.' His own statement is, that he was treated with incivility by Gooch, who remained seated, while he was left standing during the whole of the visit. This fact, which was stated in print, and not contradicted, may serve as a curious illustration of the importance assumed in those days by official rank; though it does seem amazing that a gentleman, described as possessing courtly manners, could have so demeaned himself to one considerably his senior in years, and immeasurably his superior in all other particulars, except the ephemeral office with which he happened to be invested.

Offends the other Heads.

It may here be mentioned, that Dr. Bentley had given personal offence to many of his brethren the Heads, partly by contemptuous expressions, and partly by the nicknames which he was said to bestow upon them. Tradition reports that on occasion of some meeting,

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where, after a question had been long discussed, Dr. Ashton observed, that 'it was not yet quite clear to him,' the Master of Trinity briskly demanded, 'are we then to wait here till your mud has subsided?' The Vice Chancellor he termed 'the empty *gotch* of Caius;' and to Sherlock, whom he found to be the real mover and manager of every thing in the University, he gave the title of Cardinal Alberoni: an appellation which appeared so appropriate that it adhered to him long after its origin had been forgotten. This contemptuous treatment of his brother Heads may account for their combining to crush the Master of Trinity; a fact which might otherwise be extraordinary; as the *esprit de corps* in that order is generally observed to prevail over party feeling, whenever those two impulses are brought into collision. Certain it is, that there never was a period at which the Heads less deserved to be held in disrespect; for of the whole number of sixteen, no less than eight were known to the world as scholars and divines of the first eminence: even at the present day the names of Bentley, Covel, Ashton, Jenkin, Bradford, Sherlock, Waterland, and Davies reflect lustre upon the University which claims them as her sons.

Sept. 23, 1718. Decree to arrest Bentley.

After repeated postponements, a decree at length went forth from the Vice Chancellor, for arresting Dr. Bentley at the suit of Dr. Middleton; it was committed to Edward Clarke, one of the Esquire Beadles, who proceeded immediately with it to Trinity Lodge. The Master's behaviour towards this functionary constitutes the principal, or, I may say, the only ground for the severe and extraordinary measures which ensued. He cavilled at the form and questioned the legality of the document; saying, that the King, and not the Vice Chancellor, was his judge, and repeating that 'he would not be concluded by what he and four or five of his friends determined against him over a bottle:' having then asked for the arrest, he refused to give it back to Mr. Clarke, alleging 'that he had further occasion for it.' The Beadle unwillingly left it in his hands; but went the next morning to reclaim his document, when Dr. Bentley positively refused to give it him at present. The Vice Chancellor being informed of this usage, issued another decree, with which Mr. Clarke went to Trinity Lodge,

Sept. 24.

but was denied admittance. The next day he went to complete the

arrest, and got into the dining-room; when after a time, there came to him not the Master, but Dr. Ashenhurst with two other friends, Witton and Lisle, who demanded how he presumed to remain in another man's house without his leave? They then offered to give him back his decree, which however he declined to receive from any hands but Dr. Bentley's, and resolved not to leave the house without seeing him; whereupon Ashenhurst, not thinking it prudent to turn him out, locked the doors of the room upon him. Afterwards the Master's servant, having in vain desired him to depart, locked him up and left him a prisoner. Having remained in durance from two till six o'clock, he knocked and was let out of his confinement. Two days afterwards he Sept. 26. tried again to execute his commission, but the Doctor would not be seen. Bentley's object in this strange proceeding, was, as he afterwards avowed, to gain time, in order either to procure support from the Ministry, or legal directions for his conduct. Clarke was all along told that he would consent to be arrested in a few days. But this zealous Lictor was not destined to have the glory of *hooking the Leviathan*, as he termed it: for he was himself arrested by a severe fit of the gout. In the meantime the Master of Trinity was said to make himself merry at his simplicity in parting with the arrest. The examination for fellowships being just then in progress, he gave as a theme to the candidates, the following line:

Ἄλλους ἐξενάριζ', ἀπὸ δ' Ἕκτορος ἴσχεο χεῖρας.

However, in a few days Atwood, one of the other Beadles, waiting Oct. 1. upon him on different business, Bentley asked whether he was not come to arrest him; saying he was now ready and expecting to be arrested. Thus invited, Atwood went and fetched from Clarke the decree which he had been himself unable to execute, and completed the arrest: Dr. Baker, one of the Fellows of Trinity, being bail for his appearance at the Court to be holden on the 3rd of October.

In the meantime the Vice Chancellor held a consultation with all his brethren who were in the place; when it was resolved to curb the refractory spirit with which they had to deal, by the severest measures, and to revenge the slight put upon academical authority by the

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exercise of the strongest power with which the statutes have armed the chief magistrate for the maintenance of discipline, and punishment of contumacy.

Oct. 3. Proceedings of the Court.

On the Court day Dr. Bentley sent, as his representative, Denys Lisle, a young civilian, lately made College Auditor and Register, who had shown extraordinary activity and zeal in promoting all his wishes and interests. He could have no doubt, after the intimation of the Vice Chancellor himself, that the result of the action would be against him; and there is reason to believe that he intended to have appealed against the decision, on the score of a prejudice in the mind of the judge[25]. But the proceedings of the day were of a very different character from what he anticipated. The Vice Chancellor took his seat, along with six of the Heads as his assessors, Doctors Covel, Ashton, Adams, Lany, Jenkin, and Grigg; when Dr. Middleton, the plaintiff, appeared, and asked permission to name Mr. Cook, as his proctor, to conduct his cause; which was granted and registered: but no defendant appeared. Mr. Lisle declared himself commissioned to act as his proctor; but the Vice Chancellor would not admit him in that character, because the defendant did not *in person* solicit it. This point, upon which the statutes are precise, could hardly have been overlooked by Bentley, who probably considered it as a mere technical form, not likely to be insisted upon. He thought that the arrest, having been satisfied by his putting in bail, was not to be regarded as a personal citation or summons. Proctor Cook then began to address the court, charging the defendant with contempt; at the same time calling for the beadle's return to the first decree. Whereupon the Vice Chancellor, having previously sent Mr. Grove the Registrary to take the deposition of Clarke, who was himself unable to attend, ordered it to be produced and read in court. This evidence gave a full detail of all the occurrences; and though coloured and exaggerated by a person irritated by the joint action of resentment and of gout, yet the main facts of the case, the detention of the decree, confining the officer, and Bentley's expressions respecting the Vice Chancellor, admitted of no dispute. As

[25] *Review of the Proceedings*, &c. p. 78.

soon as the deposition had been read, Middleton's proctor again addressed the court; but the Vice Chancellor interrupted him, waving his hand, and saying that he postponed the cause for the present, and would consider Dr. Bentley's contempt of the authority and jurisdiction of the University, in calling a regular meeting of the Heads, to which he had himself been invited, 'the Vice Chancellor and his friends over a bottle.' He then consulted his assessors, who all agreed both as to the fact of contempt, and the propriety of inflicting the heaviest punishment in the power of the court—a suspension of the offender from all his degrees. Immediately the Vice Chancellor, uncovering himself, pronounced, in solemn and awful terms, the judgment of the court—'that Richard Bentley was suspended *ab omni gradu suscepto.*'

Bentley suspended from his degrees.

This extraordinary act of power, though privately determined upon before-hand, struck with amazement the audience in the Consistory, who could scarcely believe the reality of the scene, when they heard such a punishment pronounced upon a Doctor in Divinity of twenty-two years standing, who possessed the highest preferments, as well as the greatest literary reputation, of the whole University. Dr. Gooch was not able to sustain the dignity which such an occasion demanded: while pronouncing the sentence, he trembled and turned pale, like a person alarmed at the magnitude of his own measure. Mr. Lisle, who yielded to no man living in courage and assurance, immediately exclaimed against the hardship of punishing any one upon a charge to which he was not summoned to reply, and on evidence which he himself could in part refute: but the Vice Chancellor silenced him in an angry tone, threatening to 'suspend him also if he interfered;' saying that there was no reason to disbelieve the beadle, as he had himself heard similar language from Dr. Bentley; and he added, with much warmth, "Go, tell your friend from me, that if he does not come and make his submission, and acknowledge his fault within three days, I will declare his professorship vacant." Having then ordered the proceedings to be recorded by the Registrary, he dissolved the court.

His appeal refused.

As soon as tidings of this blow were carried to Bentley, he resolved to appeal from the sentence of the court to the Delegates; and the next morning sent Lisle to lodge his appeal, drawn up and attested in a

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legal form, with the Senior Proctor Sympson, whose duty it was to inhibit the Vice Chancellor from all proceedings pending the appeal. The Proctor went, along with the Registrary, to Dr. Gooch, who was at first startled at this step, which he had not expected; but he presently maintained that no appeal lay against a sentence for contempt of court, and peremptorily refused to allow it; nor did the two officers, both of whom partook of the feelings of the prevailing party, attempt to oppose the decision of the chief magistrate.

The Master of Trinity next sent Lisle to the Vice Chancellor to inquire the meaning and consequence of the sentence pronounced upon him. Dr. Gooch's reply to these queries seems sufficiently laconic and pithy: 'the meaning was, that Bentley had now no degree in the University; the consequence would be, that unless Bentley came to the court, acknowledged his fault, owned the justice of his sentence, and prayed for its reversal, he would declare his professorship vacant:' adding, 'that he would not admit of any defence.'

The Vice Chancellor held two courts on the 7th and 9th of October, for the sole purpose of giving the suspended Doctor an opportunity of making his submission, and having his sentence reversed; but no Bentley appeared. On the latter of those days it is ordered by the statutes that the Regius Professor of Divinity shall preach at St. Mary's a Latin sermon *ad clerum*; and Bentley sent to apprize the Beadle Atwood that he should perform that duty in person. Dr. Gooch being informed of his intention, despatched the Lictor to caution him that none but graduates could ascend the pulpit, and that he would not suffer him to officiate. Being requested to declare in writing that he prohibited the performance of a duty prescribed by the statutes, he declined; but he forbade the bell to be rung, or the doors of the church to be opened.

Prohibited from acting as Professor.

Dr. Gooch and his counsellors were now embarrassed at the predicament into which they had thrown themselves. Under the impression that they had an extraordinary personage to deal with, they had judged that measures of unusual vigour were requisite to humble his spirit, and calculated that fear of losing his rank and preferment would certainly and immediately reduce him to submission. But when they found themselves mistaken, and saw the object of their severity braving all

The Heads embarrassed at their own measure.

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consequences with calmness, they felt themselves uneasy; and began to consider whether so sudden and vigorous a resort to extreme measures admitted of justification. The only ground upon which Bentley's punishment could rest was the deposition of Beadle Clarke; for the failure of his personal appearance in court, after he had given bail, was a circumstance commonly overlooked in actions of debt; and if noticed at all, was only punishable by the forfeiture of the bail. He had, therefore, been convicted and sentenced upon a charge of which he had no notice, unsummoned and unheard; without opportunity of disproving, or explaining, or apologizing for the alleged contempt. Whatever might be the opinion of his conduct in the affair of the fee, it was hard to vindicate so plain a deviation from the common maxims of law and equity as these proceedings presented. To add to the embarrassment, the Vice Chancellor had committed himself by a public threat, which he dared not execute, of declaring the professorship vacant. The Heads were therefore anxious to change their position, and obtain the countenance and support of superior authority. For this purpose they applied to the Duke of Somerset, whom the sports of Newmarket had brought into the vicinity of his University. At their instance the Chancellor came over on a Sunday, to Caius Lodge, where he dined with the Heads between the two services at St. Mary's. Bentley on his part, being sufficiently desirous of getting out of his awkward predicament, if that could be done with honour, availed himself of this opportunity to invite the Duke to Trinity Lodge, and at the same time to offer submission to his Grace, and his authority, for the alleged contempt. This proposal the Duke not only declined, but ridiculed, in presence of the Heads. The Master of Trinity next sent Dr. Baker to propose that Dr. Gooch and himself might appear face to face before his Grace. The Duke merely replied, that 'he did not come to Cambridge to try the Vice Chancellor.' Bentley made a third attempt, by offering to wait upon the Chancellor at Clare Hall Lodge, and there to make his unconditional submission: his Grace, who entered entirely into the feelings of the Heads respecting their delinquent brother, answered, that 'the injury had been done to the Vice Chancellor, and to him the submission must be made.' In the afternoon he held a consultation

Apply to the Duke of Somerset.

Oct. 12. The Chancellor comes to Cambridge.

Refuses Bentley's submission.

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with the Heads, and offered to preside at the court, which was to be held on the following day, for the purpose of giving one more chance to the great culprit. Had he done so, it is probable that Bentley would have appeared, and the business might have been terminated. But the academical aristocracy, satisfied with the Duke's unqualified approbation of their proceedings, were not desirous that his personal interference should be carried any further.

Oct. 13.

The next morning, the Chancellor having left the University, Dr. Gooch sent the Registrary to inform the Master of Trinity, that a third court was to be held that day, for the purpose of receiving his submission; adding, that he should wait for it no longer. Bentley inquired, what kind of submission was expected, whether to the justice of the accusation, or of the sentence, or both; he was told that 'he must come into the Court, acknowledge his fault in the contempt offered to its jurisdiction, ask pardon, and beg to be restored to his degrees.' To this intimation he returned no reply[26].

The tribunal assembled at the appointed hour, but the suspended Doctor was not there. At the suggestion of Dean Sherlock, who was one of the assessors, Richard Bentley was summoned by name. The Vice Chancellor then declared 'that he would deliberate on preserving the jurisdiction of the University,' and dissolved the court.

The Heads having certain misgivings as to the legality and propriety of what had been done, and knowing that the Suspension might be reversed by another Vice Chancellor, found it expedient that the matter should not rest where it then was; and a meeting was held at the lodge of Dr. Richardson, the Master of St. Peter's College, who was prevented by ill health from leaving his apartment. This gentleman having great experience and knowledge of academical laws and customs, was much referred to by his brethren on occasions of emergency. It was here proposed to pass a sentence of expulsion upon the refractory Master; but more cautious counsels prevailed. The Heads determined to engage the whole body of the Senate to adopt the proceedings as their own, by passing a grace for taking away his degrees. The Senate is not a

[26] Minute by Mr. Grove, in the Registrary's office.

Court of Justice, but possesses an extensive and undefined power; and this act was intended to resemble a Bill of Attainder, whereby the Legislature sometimes takes upon itself to inflict punishments, which Courts of Justice cannot or will not sanction. This idea seems to have originated with Dr. Richardson, the same person by whom it has been mentioned that Dr. Bentley was married. By this shrewd and ingenious plan it was designed that the Suspension would merge in the Degradation, and the responsibility of the act be shared by the whole body of the University. CHAP. XIII. 1718.

The Vice Chancellor was accordingly desired to prepare a grace for taking away Dr. Bentley's degrees: and a Congregation was assembled. But when the Caput was called, Dr. Waller, the representative of the medical faculty, being out of town, Dr. Ashenhurst stepped in and supplied his place. Hereupon the Vice Chancellor, knowing that he would quash the whole measure by his *veto*, kept back the grace which he had ready to produce; and after mentioning some other business, dissolved the Congregation. Oct. 16.

On the following day the Senate was reassembled; precautions having been taken by the party of the Heads to secure the attendance of a Caput favourable to their views. As the measure itself was without precedent, so the mode of proposing it to the body was unusual. The Vice Chancellor commenced proceedings by convoking the two Houses, and delivering to them a Latin speech; opening and enlarging upon the offence committed by Dr. Bentley. He next ordered the deposition of the beadle, Clarke, to be read; and then proposed to the Senate the following grace: Oct. 17. Grace for the degradation of Dr. Bentley.

"Cum Reverendus Vir, Richardus Bentley, Collegii Trinitatis Magister, ad summos in hac Universitate Titulos et Honores vestro favore dudum promotus, adeo se immemorem et loci sui et vestræ autoritatis dederit, ut debite summonitus ad comparendum et respondendum in causa coram Procancellario obedientiam recusaverit, Ministrum Universitatis summonentem indignis modis tractaverit, Procancellarium et Capita Collegiorum opprobriis impetiverit, jurisdictionem denique Universitatis, longo usu, Regiis Chartis, et autoritate Parliamenti stabilitam pro nihilo habendam esse declaraverit; cumque idem Richardus Bentley super his causis ab omni Gradu suspensus fuerit, et postea per tres dies juridicos expectatus comparere tamen neglexerit; Placeat vobis ut

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dictus RICHARDUS BENTLEY ab omni Gradu, Titulo et Jure in hac Universitate dejiciatur et excludatur."

Efforts of his friends in his favour.

This grace being laid before the Caput, an ingenious attempt was made by the Professor's ever active friends to arrest its progress. Dr. Otway, one of the members, was suspected to be a Non-juror: could he have been removed, Dr. Johnson of Trinity Hall, a warm partizan of Bentley, would have stepped in and negatived the grace. Accordingly, Ashenhurst and Bull went up and required the Vice Chancellor, as a magistrate, to tender the Oaths to Dr. Otway. But he, regarding this an impertinent and malicious interruption of the business of the University, sent them back to their places with anger and menaces.

Dr. Otway.

The Caput now sanctioned the measure with their approval; though there was one individual of that body whom the reader will be surprised to find engaged in such a business. This was Jeremiah Markland, one of the most justly celebrated scholars of the eighteenth century, who in the opinion of some takes his rank in the class after Bentley; upon whose model his critical taste and skill were formed. He was at that time a young man, Fellow of Peterhouse, and happened to represent the Regent Masters in the Caput. Many a scholar might have envied the opportunity which fortune thus cast in his way, of saving by his single voice the great hero of literature from the unseemly fate which awaited him. But in the heat and clamour of that day, the voice of learning had little chance of being heard.

Markland.

The Senate deprives him of his Degrees.

At the second Congregation, in the afternoon, the question of Degradation was proposed to the votes of the Senate at large. Great efforts were made by both parties for this struggle. It is important to record that, whatever might have been his conduct in his College, of all the Fellows of Trinity, there were but four (one of whom was Dr. Colbatch) that took part against their Master on this occasion. His friend Dr. Laughton had interest enough to bring six of his brother Fellows from Clare Hall to his assistance. But from the other Colleges there were few who voted in his favour: in addition to party and personal feelings, the statements just laid before them by the Vice Chancellor inflamed their resentment against Bentley. Several, however, declined taking

any part in a question which involved so much personal acrimony. But on the votes being taken, the grace for degrading Dr. Bentley was carried in the Non-regents' House by 46 voices against 15; and in the Regents' by 62 against 35.

This unexampled measure was thus effected by more than a double majority; but among the dignitaries of the University, a still greater proportion was found on the side of severity. An eye-witness records that a greater display of scarlet robes appeared in the Senate-house on this day, than ever had been seen in the memory of man[27]: of thirty Doctors present, no less than twenty-three voted for the Degradation of their brother; and of ten Heads of Colleges, all but one joined in the same cause[28].

[27] *Rud's Diary.* Rud, who had become D.D. the preceding year, and was himself one of the 50 who voted in favour of Dr. Bentley, would appear from the following remarks not to have been greatly mortified at the catastrophe. "So the great Dr. Bentley was reduced to be a bare Harry-Soph, being not able to gain above 50 votes in the whole University; though a great many did indeed stay away, that they might not offend him by voting against him; yet 108 appeared against him."

[28] The single Head who voted in Bentley's favour, I conclude to have been Davies, the President of Queen's. Bradford and Waterland were out of the University during the whole of the proceedings.

CHAPTER XIV.

Bentley petitions the King against the University—Gooch re-elected Vice Chancellor—Lays an account of the University proceedings before the King in Council—Matter referred to a committee of the Privy Council—Pamphlets by A. A. Sykes—Sherlock—Middleton—Bentley's own Tract against Middleton and Miller—Agitation of the University—Pretended plots against Dr. Gooch—The Fellows of Trinity renew their exertions to procure a hearing for their Petition—Lord Chancellor Parker's promises—The Petition again read in Council—Bentley concludes a treaty with Serjeant Miller—It is at first rejected by the Seniority—Dr. Baker procures signatures in favour of Bentley's scheme—The bargain is ratified by the Seniors—Arguments for and against the transaction—Subsequent history of Miller—Bishop Fleetwood again refuses to interfere—Abuses of the Master's authority—Appeal to the Visitor by Charles Squire—Middleton writes a pamphlet against Bentley's College government—It is censured by the Seniority—Bentley's attempt against Colbatch—Prosecutes the publisher—Middleton confesses the authorship—Is prosecuted—Colbatch claims the vacant rectory of Orwell—The struggle between him and the Master—Bentley obliged to give way—Humphreys admitted Fellow—Lectures on the Catechism, &c.—Treatment of Malled and Craister—Bouquet—The design of a Royal Visitation of the University abandoned—Dr. Gooch elected a third time Vice Chancellor—Application to the Court of King's Bench to deprive Bentley of his Professorship—Election for M.P. of the University.

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THE reader having seen with what alacrity Bentley sometimes embarked in disputes where no necessity urged him, will be prepared to find a still more stormy course of events, now that he was compelled to maintain a struggle against exasperated enemies, who were determined to allow him no quarter. The blow already struck was severe, and its effects permanent; for the infliction of such a censure by a great majority of his University, as had never before been passed on a man of dignified station, was a blemish to his reputation, which no time or circumstances could altogether efface. But nature had given him strong nerves, and an intrepid spirit; and though sometimes carried away by temper, he never lost his acuteness in detecting error or weakness in the cause of an adversary.

Bentley petitions the King against the University.

When the news reached him of the vote passed for his Degradation, he observed, 'I have rubbed through many a worse business than this[1];' and immediately drew up a petition to the King, as supreme

[1] *Middleton's Full and Impartial Account*, &c.

Visitor, briefly stating the facts, and complaining that he had been suspended from his degrees by the Vice Chancellor, without hearing or summons, and inhibited from discharging his duty as Regius Professor; adding the refusal of the Vice Chancellor to administer the Oaths to Dr. Otway, as well as the grace of the Senate, by which he stood degraded and excluded from all rank in the University; and praying redress from these grievances. His Petition met with readier attention than that of the Fellows of Trinity, being read at the Council Board on the 30th of October, and an order being made by the King that the Vice Chancellor should attend the Board on the 6th of November, with an account of the proceedings.

Gooch re-elected Vice Chancellor.

The office of Vice Chancellor annually terminates on the third of November. This summons gave Bentley's adversaries a good pretext to re-elect Dr. Gooch for a second year. In the earlier times of the University it had not been unusual for the same person to be chosen Vice Chancellor twice or thrice in succession; but there had been no such instance for several years. The turn now came in its rotation to Dr. Davies, the devoted friend of Bentley; to whom his brethren naturally were unwilling at this moment to entrust the office[2]. They, therefore, nominated Dr. Gooch and Dr. Davies for the votes of the Senate: the partizans of Bentley supported the latter, but the Tories returned Gooch with their usual majority of two to one[3].

Lays an account of the University proceedings before the King in Council.

The Vice Chancellor immediately on his re-election went up to present his statement to the King in Council. The account which he gives of the transactions distinctly attributes Bentley's Suspension to his non-appearance in the action for debt; a ground which was the weakest that could have been taken. In order to obviate all enquiry into the legality of this exercise of power, he takes care to inform his Majesty that 'the Suspension was sunk in the Degradation;' and adds, 'The said Vice Chancellor humbly conceives that he is not personally answerable for an act of the body corporate of the University of Cambridge, whereof he is but one member:' which last sentence uninten-

[2] Dr. Bradford, the Master of Corpus-Christi, being just raised to the bishoprick of Carlisle, was, according to the practice of the University, exempt from the Vice Chancellorship.

[3] The numbers were: Dr. Gooch 122, Dr. Davies 60. *Atwood's Diary.*

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tionally reveals the real motive that suggested the grace for Degradation. The complaint which Bentley had artfully advanced against him, of refusing to administer the Oaths to Dr. Otway, Gooch answers at some length; and satisfactorily shews that this was no ground for charging him with disaffection to the Government.

Matter referred to a committee of the Privy Council.

The pressure of political business prevented the Privy Council entering further into this academical dispute at that moment; but in the following month they referred the consideration of the business to a committee of their body, and a general opinion prevailed that the result would be a Royal commission to visit the University, and inquire into and redress all abuses and grievances. The Whigs were much elated at the prospect of seeing their opponents humbled; and there was a considerable disposition in the other party to question whether the power of the Crown could legally be thus exerted. A certain degree of uneasiness exhibited itself at Oxford; an apprehension was entertained of the Royal commission being extended to that University; and there were thoughts of questioning, if necessary, the validity of this kind of jurisdiction [4].

In the meantime this extraordinary feud attracted the attention and divided the opinions of the whole kingdom. The reputation of the parties concerned, the unparalleled character of the transactions, and the public questions likely to grow out of the dispute, all concurred to make this a topic of extreme interest. The subject presently became one of party, and persons' sentiments upon it were different according to their political bias. While the Tories exclaimed against the arrogance and insolence of Bentley, for which they considered him justly punished, the Whigs contended that the whole proceeding was the effect of disappointed party malice; that the real offence for which he had been deprived, was his being leader of the ministerialists in the University; that the conduct of the Vice Chancellor and his abettors had been arbitrary, oppressive, unjust, and such as ought not to be tolerated in a free country. Lawyers also very generally demurred to the

[4] These apprehensions are mentioned in a letter to Bishop Smalridge, dated Feb. 10, 1718-19, preserved in the Bodleian Library; also in a letter from G. Clarke, Dec. 9, 1718, in the same collection.

legality of the measures employed in his overthrow. The prosecutors and judges now found that they had to defend themselves at the bar of public opinion; and the war of pamphlets, which we have seen so repeatedly excited in the discussion of Bentley's merits, recommenced with uncommon vigour and asperity.

Pamphlets by A. A. Sykes.

The attack was begun by Mr. Arthur Ashley Sykes, whose acquaintance with Bentley we have already had occasion to mention. His residence in the vicinity of Cambridge, had given him particular and accurate information respecting the various transactions. And he was induced to come forward in this cause from his devotion to the interests of the Low-church party, against whom he thought that a blow had been struck in the oppressive usage experienced by the Divinity Professor. This unwearied polemic, whose whole life may be termed one long altercation, had scarcely ceased from his labours in the Bangorian Controversy, when this new dispute invited his co-operation. He probably felt that another opportunity was here afforded for pointing his weapons at Dean Sherlock, who in the late protracted combat, had been the especial object of his hostility. Accordingly, after the Suspension of the Master of Trinity, Sykes addressed a letter to the St. James's Post, giving a detailed account of the proceedings of the Vice Chancellor; and a second upon the Degradation, complaining in strong language, of the injustice and tyranny with which the great scholar and Professor had been treated. With some allowance for the spirit of party, his statements and arguments are as fair as could be expected from a professed advocate in the heat of the moment. They were generally read, and it being found that a reply was indispensable, the powerful pen of Sherlock was called forth to defend the conduct of the academical aristocracy, of which he was himself believed to be the main-spring. He immediately gave the world his own narrative and view of the affair in a pamphlet, called 'The Proceedings of the Vice Chancellor and University of Cambridge against Dr. Bentley, Stated and Vindicated. In a Letter to a Noble Peer.' The Dean here displays all the art of an experienced controversialist in making the affair of Bentley's demand of the fee a

Sherlock

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prominent feature in his statement. That matter had nothing to do with the Suspension or Degradation, nor any bearing upon the case; but as it happened to have led to those proceedings, and was strongly calculated to prejudice liberal minds against the Professor, it is made the leading topic and placed in the most invidious light. He then makes the most of the inflammatory matter in the Beadle's deposition, and prepares the public for further measures intended to deprive Bentley of his professorship. A continuation was promised of the defence of the University proceedings; but Sherlock soon found himself relieved from that task by an able, willing, and persevering combatant.

Middleton.

Conyers Middleton being the original author of the feud which so greatly agitated the University and interested the public, felt himself called upon to vindicate the conduct of the majority, who had so readily embraced his cause. This distinguished writer was not one of those who are early familiar with the press; his present pamphlet happens to be the first published specimen of a style which for elegance, purity, and ease, yields to none in the whole compass of English literature. In this first essay he showed himself to possess all the talents, and to understand the use of all the weapons of a controversialist. The acrimonious and resentful feeling which prompted every line, is in some measure disguised by the pleasing language, the harmony of the periods, and the vein of scholarship which enlivens the whole tract. Middleton's management of the subject is uncommonly artful. While he pretends to vindicate the proceedings of the University, he is in fact only endeavouring to hold up Dr. Bentley in odious and detestable colours. He not only dwells largely upon the business of the fee, as if that were the real question at issue, but refers to all the instances of his College government, and public conduct, which he thinks best calculated to raise a prejudice against him. His pamphlet is termed 'A Full and Impartial Account of all the late Proceedings in the University of Cambridge against Dr. Bentley:' but to the epithet *impartial*, its claim goes no farther than the title page. It breathes the most violent personal resentment; and the manifest object

of the writer was to ruin the reputation and fortunes of his adversary. Its partiality is conspicuous in the compliments bestowed on his friend Gooch's dignified, equitable, and dispassionate conduct; which commendations are not borne out even by his own narrative of the transactions. Having already put the reader in possession of all the facts, carefully sifted from the opposite statements in this controversy, it will be needless for me to cite specimens of Middleton's account; but the following sentences will show the bitter spirit, as well as the powerful language in which this new antagonist assailed the Master of Trinity. Speaking of the Divinity Professorship, he says:

"For besides, that its forfeiture might be fairly argued from his present want of degrees; that by its foundation it is made inconsistent and incompatible with the mastership of Trinity College; that he obtained it by bullying, and holds it by violence: besides all this, I say, as the statute has made it a necessary qualification of a Professor, that he have no blemish or infamy upon his character, I would desire no other foundation to prove the necessity of his being ejected. He has been publicly accused by his Fellows of many great crimes, which he never has nor can clear himself of. And his trial which never came to a sentence, has left the marks of such an infamy upon him, as by all the notions which the civil or canon law has of it, would be sufficient not only to incapacitate him from being chosen Professor, but to deprive him when in possession."—*Full and Impartial Account, &c.* p. 21.

"But even this will hardly seem strange from him, who dares to give out, that the King and his Ministry will interpose to reverse our statutable proceedings against him: that for the sake of a single person so justly odious, so void of all credit and interest amongst us, his Majesty will set a mark of his displeasure upon his famous and loyal University. But it is to be hoped that an insolence so criminal, so apparently tending to alienate the affections of his people from his Majesty, may meet with the just severity and chastisement of the law."—*Ibid.* p. 34.

"Thus fell the Great Bentley from all his degrees amongst us; a sacrifice, as his writer says, to 'the madness of the people,' but, as I have plainly shewn, to his own;

Quos Jupiter vult perdere dementat prius.

His conduct will bear me out in the application, and shews the plain marks of a judgment and infatuation upon him. By the restoring of four guineas, which he had shamefully extorted, he might have saved himself the great trouble and expense which his obstinacy has involved him in. By an easy, and perhaps private submission, he might have saved himself the shame of this public disgrace: but for the glory of never having been known to submit, he has risked not only his credit, but, what is much dearer to him, his preferments, on the quarrel. By this censure, which now lies upon him, he stands

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actually incapacitated both for his mastership and professorship; by his own rashness he has at once brought upon himself, what all the petitions and remonstrances of his College could never effect:

—quod optanti divûm promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.—Ibid. p. 39.

"We may strip him of his titles, but we never can, we see, of his insolence; he has ceased to be Doctor, and may cease to be Professor, but he can never cease to be Bentley. There he will triumph over the University to the last; all its learning being unable to polish, its manners to soften, or its discipline to tame the superior obstinacy of his genius."—*Ibid.* p. 42.

"There is something so singularly rude and barbarous in his way of treating all mankind, that whoever has occasion to relate it, will, instead of aggravating, find himself obliged to qualify and soften the harshness of his story, lest it should pass for incredible."—*Ibid.*

"To observe a decency and complaisance towards him who has no notion of it, would be interpreted only as the cowardice or weakness of his adversary. A controversy with him must always be a fighting without quarter; for it is but necessary not to give any, where you are sure of finding none."—*Ibid.* p. 43.

Sykes immediately replied to his two opponents in a third and fourth letter in the St. James's Post. He now vindicated Bentley's conduct respecting the fee, as far as it was capable of defence, and by comparing the circumstances of Grigg, of Gooch himself, and of other officers receiving similar fees, contended that the outcry raised against the Divinity Professor's demand was the result of party malice, or personal dislike. Aware that the weakness of his adversaries lay in the want of distinct authority in law, statute, or precedent for their proceedings, he grapples with this part of the subject, and shows that on this head their vindication was incomplete; and consequently, that his original complaint against the transactions remained unanswered.

These letters being published, along with their two predecessors, in the form of a pamphlet, called 'The Case of Dr. Bentley Truly Stated,' were answered by Dr. Middleton, in 'A Second Part of the Full and Impartial Account of all the late Proceedings;' to which all the remarks made on his first are applicable: the tone is indeed even more confident and overbearing, from the applause which his former publication had met with, and the effect which he saw that it was producing.

There is shown the same talent for saying sarcastic and bitter things in polished and even eloquent language; the tone, whether of irony or invective, is perfectly sustained; and there is hardly a sentence but what is calculated to inflict a wound upon his adversary's character. He again rakes up the most invidious stories, with which memory or hearsay could supply him, to blacken his reputation for honour and honesty. His severity is now not confined to Bentley, but is shared by those friends who ventured to take a prominent part in his favour; Johnson, Ashenhurst, Bull, Lisle, and his literary champion, Sykes. Of this the two following specimens will suffice:

"A certain angry Doctor of ours, learned in the law, 'had rather,' he says, 'live under the Great Turk, than under the power exercised by our Vice Chancellors;' yet he has already spent the best part of his life under it, and is himself an infallible proof of its mildness and lenity: but let him go whenever he pleases, our Church will lose no credit by his turning Mahometan."—*Second Part of the Full and Impartial Account, &c.* p. 17.

"If *Mr.* Bentley indeed has a mind to be tried upon the foot of a Tory, we will readily join issue, and find proof enough to convict him; especially if Dr. Ashenhurst would but turn evidence against him, as I am confident he will, when the Court has once dropped him: this sole favourite of his, though he has taken the Oaths himself, yet for the respect he declares for Nonjurors, has taken withal a resolution never to accept any fees from them, and he hopes, as he says, that the one will atone for the other; but I know how he will come off from this, by telling us that it was in pure zeal to King George that he insinuated himself into their favour; it being the surest way of destroying his enemies by making himself their physician."—*Ibid.* p. 26.

Sykes rejoined in another pamphlet, termed 'The Case of Dr. Bentley Further Stated;' in which he resolved to repel the personalities of his antagonist, by a similar species of warfare; and accordingly brought up the ridiculous story of Dr. Laughton having, when Proctor, invaded the political party assembled at the Rose tavern, eight or nine years before. It may be recollected, that among the persons whom that over-zealous officer accused of breaking the discipline of the University, were Mr. Middleton and Mr. Gooch; which individuals were no other than the present prosecutor and present judge of Dr. Bentley. Sykes, therefore, judged it fair to remind those who now pretended such a regard for discipline, and urged the necessity of upholding it by the severest penalties, how differently they had themselves been treated

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when guilty of a real violation of the laws of the University. But it appears amazing that an experienced controversialist could commit so palpable an error. Laughton's complaint was so frivolous, and his conduct on that occasion so extravagant, that it was scarcely possible to speak of it with gravity; and to revive the memory of such an affair was not the act of a judicious friend. This provoked a third pamphlet from Middleton, wherein his tremendous powers of invective are exerted to their full extent upon his adversary Sykes; at the same time he exposes with much dignity the weakness and folly of those who would attack the characters of Gooch and himself on such paltry grounds.

"It was to little purpose for the author to conceal his name, for every soul who could get through a page or two, cried out presently, it must be Sykes:

Ubi ubi est, diu celari non potest.

Nature, which in kindness to the world has set a mark upon his countenance, has given us infallible ones of his productions. Wherever you find a writer surprisingly trifling and dull, glorying in never being in the right, discovering an antipathy to Church and University, with a special malice to Dr. Sherlock, the principal champion and ornament of both, there's your man; pronounce it to be Sykes; you need not be afraid of counterfeits. When the work is too foul and scandalous for any other man to engage in, Sykes is a sure card, that never fails his friend in distress:

Cum nemini obtrudi potest, itur ad me.

He always keeps himself in readiness for service; and like a famous lawyer I have heard of, can be advocate or evidence, as occasion requires; and as a true dragoon, fights either a foot or on horseback. It has been wondered at by some, how a man, who had no relation to or business in the University, no particular acquaintance or friendship with the Professor, could, out of pure love to wrangling, thrust himself into a controversy, which he had not the least concern in. But there is, it must be owned, another good reason very obvious; his friend Ashenhurst had been roughly handled by me; and that was touching him in a tender part; there his own character was nearly concerned; for if talebearing and informing could once be brought into discredit and contempt, his business was done at once, and all his parts and talents made useless and unserviceable. Ashenhurst and Sykes are terms convertible, that have always signified the same thing in the University;

——— *Par nobile fratrum*
Nequitia et nugis, pravorum et amore gemellum.

Their names are proverbs in every College, to give at once a full and adequate idea of a disturber of the peace of the Society, and an accuser of his brethren."—*Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet, &c.* p. 6.

Of the invective just quoted, the part intended to be most cutting, was the identification of Sykes with Ashenhurst, whose acquaintance he could not be proud of acknowledging.

A strong expectation prevailed at that moment that a Royal mandate for the restoration of Bentley's degrees would be forthwith sent to the University; and we find from this tract that the party of the Heads talked loudly of their determination to refuse compliance.

"To tell us of his being redressed, without making a satisfaction suitable to his offence, is to talk to us like children: we know ourselves and constitution too well to believe that we can ever be obliged to it. We are threatened indeed every day with the expectation of a Royal mandate to re-establish him; and he himself, I hear, gives assurances of it to his friends; if ever we should receive such an one, we shall hardly be at a loss how to behave ourselves with a becoming duty and regard to it; we should use it, without doubt, with the utmost reverence and respect. But should we obey it without reserve or hesitation, before the law has convinced us that we are in duty bound to do it, his Majesty himself would, I dare say, have the worse opinion of us; the world, I am sure, would despise us for it." *Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet, &c.* p. 24.

All the publications in this controversy were anonymous. But people being just then familiar with the writings of Sherlock and Sykes, their hands were at once detected. Middleton, being a new writer, was not known till he himself acknowledged his first tract, when he found how well it was received by the public[5]. In point of literary merit in this contest, the palm is unquestionably due to Middleton; but it is equally certain that in Sykes's pamphlets the arguments are sounder, and the representation of facts more just and candid. The reason is, that the latter embarked in the question as the advocate of a party; his design was only to represent Bentley's case in the fairest light, and say all that he thought could justly be urged in his favour; and at the same time to oppose on public grounds the arbitrary and

[5] Mr. Zachary Pearce, on the perusal of that pamphlet, was convinced that the author was Dr. Colbatch, to whom he wrote a letter of compliments on the occasion. He had himself communicated to the Doctor the anecdote of Bentley having said to Dr. Hare, the Dean of Worcester, '*I am your Pope, your only New Testament is in my hands,*' which he found repeated in the same words in this publication. It had passed from Colbatch to Middleton. The three pamphlets are reprinted in the third edition of *Middleton's Miscellaneous Works*, in 4to. in 1752; but in the 8vo. edition they are omitted.

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oppressive proceedings of his adversaries. Middleton's views, on the contrary, were directed against Bentley as a man whom he personally hated, and for whose destruction the present crisis seemed to afford an opportunity. It was accident alone that united him with the High-Church party, for whose principles he cared nothing, and regarded them only as far as they were auxiliaries in his cause. The consequence is, that his writings will be found, on a dispassionate examination, not only deficient in fairness and candour, but replete with malignity and rancour.

Bentley's own tract against Middleton and Miller.

One piece still remains to be noticed in this controversy; which, though anonymous, I have no hesitation in attributing to the aggrieved Professor himself. It had been expected that he would immediately on the Degradation have made his appeal to the public; but Bentley seeing his cause taken up by other hands, preferred, in the first instance, employing all his efforts to procure redress from the Crown; and accordingly went to London, where he was indefatigable in soliciting the influential persons in Government. When, however, he supposed the controversy between Sykes and Middleton had reached its limit, he thought fit to make his enemies feel the severity of his pen. Of this *Review of the Proceedings against Dr. Bentley*, one half is dedicated to repel the attacks of Dr. Middleton, and the other to expose the unfair reasoning and bad principles of his old enemy Serjeant Miller; whose book, after two years' silence, he now determined to expose.

As the pamphlet evidently originated in some degree with Bentley himself, and bore marks of his style, at the same time that it was greatly unworthy of him, it was conjectured that it might have been drawn up by one of his intimates, and under his own inspection. That it was written by another hand from his dictation, seems highly probable; but the style, the contemptuous tone of criticism, and the peculiar turn of wit, oblige me to believe the whole of this piece to have proceeded from Bentley. That the publication, however, was not superintended by him, is proved by the extreme carelessness with which it is printed. All his works show him to have been an accurate corrector of the press.

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In this pamphlet the negligence of the printer seems to respond to the haste and slovenliness with which it was composed [6]. The object was to throw contempt upon the books of Middleton and of Miller, and to turn the authors into ridicule. In the case of the Serjeant, who was an awkward and embarrassed writer, the 'Review' frequently succeeds, and exhibits his strictures in a ludicrous light. Many of the censures are ingenious and humorous, but fall infinitely below what the author of the Remarks on Freethinking was capable of producing; and the whole tone of the book is unfitting a learned, dignified, and ill-used divine. The best thing that can be said of it is, that the treatment of Middleton and Miller, contemptuous and insulting as it is, exhibits a less rancorous spirit than may be found in their respective publications against Bentley.

Agitation of the University.

The whole of this literary conflict was fought at the end of 1718 and beginning of 1719. In the meantime the feud among the Heads, with its various ramifications, kept the University in a state of unceasing agitation. The disputes of their superiors, as is generally the case, descended to the young men. Mr. Towers, of Christ College, the Senior Proctor, chose as the subject of his speech, addressed to the students in the Philosophical Schools, the proceedings of the Heads, in the disgrace of their illustrious brother. This gentleman, who afterwards became Master of his College, was a zealous Whig, and had incurred some censure from the Vice Chancellor, for his behaviour in the matter of the Degradation, when he asked him publicly upon what

[6] It is a remarkable instance of the inattentive manner in which this pamphlet was put forth, that it bears two distinct titles; that prefixed to the first page is, *An Account of Dr. Bentley's Case, in Answer to a pretended Full and Impartial Account, &c.* But before it was published, a different title-page was hit upon: *A Review of the Proceedings against Dr. Bentley in the University of Cambridge; in Answer to a late pretended Full and Impartial Account, &c. With some Remarks upon Serjeant Miller's Account of that University: wherein the egregious Blunders of that Gentleman are briefly set forth.* 1719. The two mottoes, and the description of the author, bear marks of Bentley's humour:

"*Solventur risu tabulæ; tu missus abibis.*—Hor.

"Ανερι ΑΥΛΗΤΗΡΙ θεοὶ νόον εἰσενέφυσαν,
'Αλλ' ἅμα τῷ φυσᾷν χὠ νόος ἐκπέταο.—Anthol. Epig.

"By *N. O.* M.A. of the same University."

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law or statute such a grace was founded: but to bring a topic of this nature before young men, was, to say the least, a blameable act of indiscretion. On the two tripos days, when the academical honours of the year are announced, in compliance with ancient custom, some degree of licence among the youth was always tolerated, though frequent endeavours were made to contract its limits. At this time, disturbances being apprehended, the Senate took the precaution of appointing eight special Pro-proctors, to preserve order on those days. This measure which was perhaps, only designed as a reflection on the Proctor, the regular functionary, whose conduct had given great offence, was a step of very questionable policy; being calculated to excite the evil which it was designed to repress. A habit of insubordination, when once begun, is not quickly subdued; and it was deemed necessary to have recourse to the same precaution previous to the tripos days, in each of the ten succeeding years [7].

Pretended plots against Dr. Gooch.

The exasperation of parties had in the preceding age generally produced some real or imaginary plot, the belief or disbelief of which became a sort of political test. It would appear that at this period the taste for sham plots was not quite extinct, and that the conflict of party feeling in the academical world could not be satisfied without some admixture of this sort. The first symptom I shall give in the words of Conyers Middleton:

"Ashenhurst, when he was caught the other day alone and without leave in the Vice Chancellor's house, and in the absence of the family, set the whole University a thinking and talking of Young's plot upon the late Bishop of Rochester."—*Some Remarks on a Pamphlet, &c.* p. 7.

The other anecdote of a reputed plot has been preserved by tradition. It was reported about this time, that Dr. Gooch had been shot at through a window of his lodge, and the shot was surmised to have been fired from part of the premises of Trinity College: moreover it was asserted that the bullet had penetrated the wainscot. This story was probably not much believed even by those who reported it: but it continued to be preserved as a sort of legendary tale in Caius College; and the hole in the wainscot was still pointed out; although people

[7] University Register.

were incredulous about the cause. However, a few years ago, some repairs being necessary, the wainscot was removed, and in the recorded spot, the bullet was actually found in the wall. Had this examination taken place at the moment, it would have been held to confirm the report, that some emissary of Bentley had attempted to assassinate the judge of whom he complained.

The Fellows of Trinity renew their exertions to procure a hearing for their Petition.

Meanwhile, the Fellows of Trinity College, who had been so long vainly labouring to procure the interposition of a Visitor, thought that their Master had now himself brought matters to the desired crisis; and hoped that in the expected visitation of the University, the affairs of their Royal College could not fail to come under review. It will be recollected that their petition to the King, owing to Sir Edward Northey's neglect of his commission, remained still without effect. At this juncture Dr. Colbatch exerted himself afresh to procure attention to the greivances of the College: he renewed his solicitations to Archbishop Wake, to Lord Sunderland the Premier, and to Lord Parker, who was now made Lord Chancellor, and shortly afterwards became Earl of Macclesfield. From the Archbishop he received the fullest assurances of his support, whenever the petition should be brought before the Council, along with private advice for his proceedings. But his Grace had not much interest with the Cabinet Ministers, who were engaged in designs of no very friendly nature to the Establishment, and were resolved by every means in their power to discourage and break the High-church party. By his advice, however, a memorial was presented to Lord Sunderland, praying that the petition might be considered.

Lord Chancellor Parker's promises.

With the Lord Chancellor Colbatch had several personal interviews, and by his desire laid before him a detailed statement of the College grievances, and heard from him with great delight that it was intended to advise the King to grant the full visitatorial power to the Bishop of Ely, and that a patent for this purpose would pass the Great Seal; at other times his Lordship intimated his opinion, that the Bishop was already authorized to execute those functions. His Chaplain, Zachary Pearce, who had daily opportunities of conversing with the Chancellor, encouraged Dr. Colbatch with the same constantly repeated hopes of his taking some decisive step in this business.

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But Lord Parker was a politician, and an adept in the subtlest arts of political management. It appears to have been the feeling of the Ministry, that Bentley, being a professed and active partizan of the Whigs, must not be abandoned in the hour of his necessity: at the same time it was seen that if an absolute refusal were given to those who only prayed for common justice, the odium of the Master's proceedings would be transferred from himself to the Government. The Lord Chancellor continued for at least three years to amuse Dr. Colbatch with expectations that the prayer of the petitioners was immediately to be complied with. It may appear surprizing that a man of sense, who knew the world, should have suffered himself to be so long deceived; but the candor and frankness of the language held by the great man, and the confidence reposed in his designs by Pearce, his Chaplain, must account for this fact of his credulity.

May 26. The Petition again read in Council.

The effect, however, of Colbatch's perseverance was, that the petition of the Fellows of Trinity College, after having remained three years in the hands of Sir E. Northey, was called for, and again read at the Council Board; where the Lords Justices, one of whom was the Archbishop of Canterbury, presided in the absence of the King: and by them it was referred to the committee of the Privy Council, who had been directed to prepare a Royal Commission for visiting the University.

This was felt as a serious blow by Bentley; who had not expected the old petition to come again to light, and well knew that it would not be possible to obtain any considerable number of signatures to a similar one [8]. To get this document withdrawn from the Privy Council, was now an object which called for all his ingenuity and boldness. It will be recollected that when it was first read in Council, in 1716, he had attempted to effect a compromise with Miller who had presented it; but the Serjeant at that time breathed nothing but war and vengeance, and refused to listen to any overtures. He did not, however, take a

[8] The Archbishop had in fact recommended to Colbatch the presentation of a new petition: but the inefficacy of the former, added to the resentment shown by the Master against all the subscribers, to one of whom he had refused testimonials for Orders, made the Fellows unwilling to put their names to another.

sure method of gratifying revenge. His book about the University had only brought upon himself the resentment of all parties, without doing the least harm to his adversary. The intervening time had been full of angry and hostile measures. The condemnation of his treatise by the academical authorities, and his dismissal from the Deputy High-stewardship, wherein Bentley and his friends concurred with the Tories, have been already noticed. He was also summoned before the Vice Chancellor's Court on account of the same publication, through the agency of Bentley, who continued to press Dr. Gooch to exert the powers of a judge for his expulsion; till Middleton's suit against himself absorbed his attention. In retaliation, the Serjeant procured an information by the Attorney General against the University of Cambridge, upon some point relating to Mr. Worts's will, an affair in which he had himself been employed as Counsel for the University [9].

In Trinity College the usage experienced by Miller was not more agreeable. Some arrears to the amount of 30*l.* or 40*l.* were demanded, which he, considering that the College owed him the whole proceeds of his Fellowship for some years, refused to pay; whereupon Richard Walker, the officer, by the Master's direction, put him out of Commons. The Serjeant, who was a vindictive man, had recourse, as usual, to an action at law:

Servius iratus leges minitatur et urnam.

He prosecuted Walker for taking a pupil without having qualified according to an Act of Parliament. On this occasion, however, his temper blinded his legal judgment; for Walker was acquitted, and his expenses to the amount of 50*l.* were paid out of the College Stock [10]. In addition to this ground of vexation, Bentley had in his recent 'Review of the Proceedings,' treated Miller with unsparing severity, and made it his principal object to prove him 'the completest blockhead he ever met with [11].'

All these circumstances were discouraging to any hopes of ac-

[9] This fact I learn from the University Register.

[10] This anecdote was told by Walker himself in his evidence at Ely House, in 1733.

[11] *Review of the Proceedings, &c.* p. 39.

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commodation. But Bentley, who knew that the Serjeant was not indifferent to the pecuniary view of the question, and that he had small chance of recovering any part of his expenses except through an agreement with himself, made the attempt without delay; and found him willing enough to enter into a treaty. Through the intervention of one Edwards, an attorney in town, the terms of pacification were speedily arranged. Miller had received 105*l.*, voted by the Seniors, towards carrying on the prosecution before Bishop Moore; and he had been for some time urging his fellow-prosecutors to defray the remainder of his charges. He now engaged, on condition of receiving 400*l.* as costs in that cause, and half the dues of a Fellow since 1715, with the whole of his room-rent, that he would resign his Fellowship, and moreover withdraw both his own petition and that presented by him in 1716, in behalf of Colbatch and eighteen other Fellows to the King in Council.

Bentley concludes a treaty with Serjeant Miller.

It is at first rejected by the Seniority.

The Master had a two-fold object: to remove the probability of a visitation, by getting the Petition withdrawn, and to obtain the payment of his own expenses incurred in his late prosecution; which he considered a necessary corollary to the proposition for defraying those of Serjeant Miller. Losing no time in the execution of his project, he propounded the business to his Seniority, read to them the letters of Edwards, containing assurances of Miller's assent to the bargain; and then proposed that he should have 400*l.* besides the consideration for his Fellowship, paid from the College money; and that he should himself be reimbursed his own expenses, which he estimated at the like sum as Miller's. The opposition to his measures in this body was now generally such as he was able to overpower either by a majority of votes, or by the force of his prerogative: Ayloffe the Orator, and Bouquet the Hebrew Professor, both men of honour and integrity, were disposed to resist the abuse of power, which was now become, unhappily, frequent; but they had not the firmness or resolution of Colbatch, and were generally overborne and brow-beaten. On this occasion, however, the result was different. Dr. Colbatch firmly protested against such an extravagant and unreasonable appropriation of College money: with respect to the claims of Serjeant Miller, he urged, that if he produced the ac-

count of his expenses, they ought to be defrayed by those who had employed him to conduct the prosecution; and declared himself ready to pay his own quota: to which the Master replied, "You call yourselves the College; the College, therefore, is bound to pay:" adding, upon the authority of Edwards, that the Lord Chancellor had been heard to express his approbation of such a mode of settling the business. Colbatch then proposed that the question of expending so large a sum of money for such purposes should be submitted to the Visitor. This suggestion touched the very string most displeasing to the Master; to remove all chance of an appeal to a Visitor being the principal object of the whole device. He immediately assailed Colbatch with invective, as a disturber of the peace of the Society; and after one of those indecorous altercations, which were now become frequent in their debates, he put to the vote his proposal for paying both the Serjeant's expenses and his own: when, to his surprise and mortification, five of the eight Seniors answered in the negative. Bentley, though chagrined by this unexpected rebuff, was not accustomed to acquiesce in a defeat: soon afterwards he told Colbatch, that 'the money was none of his; and that he was resolved to have it, though by another way.'

Dr. Baker procures signatures in favour of Bentley's scheme.

The instrument employed for his new measures was Dr. John Baker, whom we have already had occasion to mention as his obsequious agent. This gentleman having been College tutor of the Westminster scholars, may be presumed to have possessed learning and ability; but I can meet with him in no character but that of an active, devoted, and unscrupulous minister to all the Master's views and projects. In order to give a colour to the intended bargain, Baker solicited most of the Fellows for their approbation of a measure, which he represented would at once restore harmony to the distracted College, and confer a great obligation on the Master: they were to sign a paper to this effect; "I hereby declare that I sincerely wish that an end may be put to the contests which have so long disturbed the College; and in order thereto, I desire that the charges of each side may be defrayed out of the common stock of the College." The Society had now for some time felt severely the effects of these protracted feuds, not only in the destruction of domestic tranquillity, but in the diminution of its numbers, and

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the general odium under which it lay. Baker, therefore, beginning with the newly-elected Fellows immediately on their admission, and canvassing all the juniors, many of whom had been his pupils, was successful in persuading them to a measure, from which he promised such great results; and they listened to his assurances that no future conduct of the Master would break the intended pacification. Their names, with the addition of all who could be influenced by Dr. Bentley, amounted to thirty-three. Baker declared that his agency in this business was at his own motion, and took credit to himself as being *totius rei inceptor et perfector*: but it was only calculated to give a colour and pretext for the measure, upon which it could have no real influence. A more effectual step was the intimation, that unless this order were passed, the Master would not consent to sealing any leases; while Modd, Barwell, and Brabourn, were alarmed with the idea of being obliged to pay their share of Miller's expenses, unless the whole were defrayed from the College funds. But it was found necessary to wait for Colbatch's absence. He being called by business to London at the latter end of November, Baker became his substitute in the Seniority; whereupon a meeting was called, and the measure of composition again proposed by the Master. Barwell, who had formerly opposed it, was now gained over either by threats or persuasion; and on the votes being taken, the bargain was ratified by the voices of the Master and five Fellows. By this decree Miller almost immediately received 528*l.* of the College money, for prosecutor's costs, his share of arrears, and, as I apprehend, of interest; Humphreys, who had been elected conditionally into the fellowship, had 58*l.* for his share of arrears; and the Master received 500*l.* for his expenses on the trial. Availing himself of the granting propensity of his majority, he obtained 284*l.* more for certain elegant furniture, which he had purchased for his house. In compliance with the stipulations, the Serjeant withdrew both his own petition against Dr. Bentley, and that of the nineteen Fellows, which he had in 1716 presented on their behalf to the King in Council; giving at the same time, a full discharge to the College and all its members for any further claims upon his fellowship.

The bargain is ratified by the Seniors.

As this is by far the greatest malversation ever charged against

Arguments for and against the transaction.

Bentley in his disposal of College funds, I have been careful to examine and compare the evidence deposed by each party, when it became a subject of judicial enquiry; and I am compelled to state that the pretences by which this misappropriation of public money was justified, are totally futile. He alleged that it was done at the request of the Fellows, for the purpose of restoring harmony to the Society: he had taken the opinions of two eminent barristers, Reeve and Lutwyche, upon the equity of defraying from the public stock the expenses of a cause, in which the Society had been almost equally divided; and their answer was favourable: Dr. Baker avowed himself the originator of the scheme, and assumed the whole merit or demerit of the management; urging besides, that the withdrawing the Petition was not the object, but only a consequence of the agreement. No one of these allegations will bear examination. The agency of Baker in procuring the Fellows' signatures was not thought of, till after the whole bargain had been negotiated between the attorney and Miller; nor before the Master had himself earnestly but unsuccessfully endeavoured to obtain the consent of the Seniors: the reference to lawyers was designed only as a blind; since this was a question of which professional men were no better judges than any other persons of sense and probity; and the case submitted to them, presumed that the contending parties in College at this time joined in the desire to settle their dispute by such an expedient: a supposition which was the reverse of the fact. The only ground upon which the measure could be justified, was, the restoring peace to the distracted College, and terminating those feuds which destroyed every object of its foundation: such a purpose would have been cheaply purchased by this or by even a larger pecuniary sacrifice. But the bargain now ratified with Miller had not a tendency to produce that effect; but was rather calculated to exasperate the party who were aggrieved by their Petition being withdrawn; and saw so large a portion of their common property employed in procuring the triumph of their adversary. The grant to Miller can only be regarded as pay for that which he alone could accomplish, taking away from the Council the consideration of giving a Visitor to the College. But for this object, Bentley would never have agreed to grant money to a

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hated adversary, from whose hostility he had nothing further to dread; but would have taken some other method to obtain the 500*l.* for himself; or would have abandoned all thoughts of it, rather than set an example of paying from the College funds the expense of prosecuting the Master.

Subsequent history of Miller.

Serjeant Miller experienced the just lot of treachery; he was despised by the party whom he served, and execrated by those whom he betrayed; no tongue and no pen ever attempted to urge the least apology for him. As he considered himself ill used by the desertion of his former confederates, he would not have been censured for making an agreement with Bentley, as far as he was himself concerned. But the essence of his present bargain was, that he should sell the interests of a third party, the petitioners of 1716, against whom he had no complaint, and who had confided themselves to his honour. Of the subsequent history of this personage I know little: he lived about twelve years after this time; but he left the Cambridge circuit, and never, that we hear, showed himself again in the University. He so far continued his adherence to Bentley's interests, that he refused all applications to give up the original affidavits sworn against him at his trial. He was afterwards a member of the House of Commons, where we find him maintaining the extreme opinions of the whig party: in 1725 he spoke against the bill for enabling Lord Bolingbroke to succeed to his family inheritance, after he had received the King's pardon; though this partial reversal of the attainder was recommended and supported by Walpole himself[12]: and not long afterwards Miller was made one of the Barons of the Exchequer for Scotland.

Bishop Fleetwood again refuses to interfere.

While this bargain was pending, Ayloffe and Colbatch laid a full statement of the case before the Bishop of Ely, and once more conjured him to interpose, and prevent such an injury to the Society. But the reply of that Prelate was a repetition of his former resolution, not to act as Visitor while the Petition to the King in Council lay still unanswered. When the compact was completed, and the Petition withdrawn, the only ground of the Fellows was cut from under them, and

[12] *Chandler's Parliamentary Debates.* Serjeant Miller was member for Petersham at the general elections of 1722 and 1727.

they were left in absolute despair of ever having a Visitor. Archbishop Wake, their only friend among the great, was hereby rendered unable to assist them, and it was understood that their Master was countenanced and screened by Earl Stanhope, who had succeeded to the seals of Secretary of State for the Home Department [13].

Abuses of the Master's authority.

Previous to this consummation, several exertions, or rather abuses, of the Master's power had taken place, with the intent of strengthening his influence over the Seniority. At the re-election of Mr. Modd to the vice-mastership, when Dr. Colbatch urged his not having put any one statute in execution, specifying that he had not kept the other officers to their duty, and that Dr. Ashenhurst had been suffered totally to neglect the lectureships which he held the last two years; the Master replied 'that objection concerned only the time past; what had he to object for the time to come?' a repartee uttered in the very wantonness of power; while at the same time he wrote down Ashenhurst for a third lecture for the ensuing year. He nominated to the Perpetual Curacy of St. Michael's, in Cambridge, Mr. Brabourn, a person nearly insane; though not one of the Seniors, except himself, would vote for committing the care of a parish to hands so obviously unfit and incapable. Shortly after, he chose the same person pandoxator, a College officer, through whose hands considerable sums annually pass. Hacket was made Vicar of Trumpington; which preferment had been augmented by a bequest of the celebrated Herbert Thorndike, who had annexed to the enjoyment of this augmentation the condition of residence. He was accordingly bound to reside in his vicarage by a bond of 1000*l.* given to Thorndike's trustees: one of these trustees was the Master; who soon made the performance of that condition impossible, by choosing Hacket senior-dean of the College. The statutes enjoin that the Fellows shall perform theological disputations in the chapel on Fridays; at which exercises the dean presides as moderator: Hacket being destitute of that as well as every other description of learning, the exercises from his time fell into disuse. He seems to

[13] This fact was positively asserted by Mr. Justice Page, during his stay in Trinity College, at the Lent Assizes in 1720. He was a friend of Miller, and had other opportunities of learning the fact.—*Colbatch's Journal.*

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have been originally chosen Fellow upon no ground whatever except his relationship to Bishop Hacket, the great benefactor of the College. This act, which took place before Bentley's time, though dictated by gratitude, is an instance of the lasting mischief which results from suffering any consideration but that of merit, to operate in admitting members into the Society.

October 1. Appeal to the Visitor by Charles Squire.

At the election of Fellows, in 1719, Charles Squire, whom some of the examiners considered the best qualified of the candidates, was rejected by the Master, though five of the Seniors voted for him. As this young man, besides his literary claims, had a blameless and exemplary character, his rejection was attributed to his being a pupil of Professor Pilgrim, whose attachment to Colbatch's party had brought upon him the resentment of the Master. He was advised, therefore, to appeal against the election to the Bishop of Ely as Visitor; and this design was encouraged by Dr. Colbatch: he well knew that the Bishop would decline acting as Visitor; but his object was to solicit attention by every means to the proceedings of the Master; thinking that publicity was now the only check upon his arbitrary conduct. We have already mentioned the statute by which Bentley justified his electing by his sole voice, unless the eight Seniors were unanimous against him: but it is to be observed that Colbatch always disputed his interpretation, and contended that the words *in plures partes divisi*, implied a division of the Seniors into more than two parts. This ground does not seem very tenable: but the Master was certainly in the habit of breaking the provisions of the statute, which require, that before his single nomination can take effect, the question must be three times put to the vote: a ceremony which he chose to omit as unnecessary.

The war excited in these once peaceful seats of learning continued to rage with unabated fury in several quarters at once: the reader, in perusing the proceedings which follow, will observe that they took place at nearly the same period; and that the feelings produced by each had great influence in blowing the flames of discord to a still greater height.

Middleton having successfully fleshed his maiden sword in the contest, and having by his three pamphlets raised much odium against his

Middleton writes a pamphlet against Bentley's College government.

enemy, resolved to pursue the war, which he considered must be one of extermination. It was thought that a public exposure of Bentley's conduct in governing his College was now the best, or rather the only method of obtaining the interference of some superior authority. Colbatch, who was both able and willing to effect this, knew that whatever he might publish against the Master would be interpreted as a statutable crime, calling for expulsion. Middleton, therefore, who owed Bentley no allegiance, and was disposed to give him no more quarter than he would have vouchsafed to a wolf or a tiger, undertook the task. He first borrowed some papers of Colbatch, who was in the habit of recording all events as they occurred, and afterwards detailing them in the shape of memorials to the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Chancellor, and other great men: and with this assistance he executed as keen a piece of invective as that period, however fruitful in such productions, can show. He termed it, 'A True Account of the Present State of Trinity College in Cambridge, under the oppressive Government of their Master, Richard Bentley, late D.D.:' and gave as his motto a sentence from one of Cicero's speeches against Verres; which he seems to have taken as the model for his invective against Bentley: *Prætermittam minora omnia, quorum simile forsitan alius quoque aliquid aliquando fecerit: nihil dicam nisi singulare; nisi quod, si in alium reum diceretur, incredibile videretur.* After stating that since the Court had apparently left Bentley to his fate, and given up the intended Royal Visitation, the members of Trinity, who had relied on this event for some redress, were left abandoned and hopeless to his tyranny and oppression; and were unable to obtain justice, or even a hearing of their grievances. Middleton enters into a detail of his different abuses of power, laying principal stress upon the occurrences of the last two or three years. Almost all these have already been laid before our readers, divested of the additions with which the malice and inveteracy of his enemies had clothed them. In Middleton's pamphlet every thing is represented in the strongest colouring; the Master's actions are charged with being not only unstatutable and illegal; but mean, dishonest, rapacious, oppressive, and inhuman: and his motives were charged as still worse than his actions. Middleton, to gain credit with

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his readers, challenged his enemy to refute the charge, in terms sufficiently uncompromising.

"The charge I have brought against the Master, is such, that no honest man can falsely make, any more than an honest man can be guilty of it,—*ita apertam vim habet, ut aut accusetur improbe aut defendatur.* The controversy is of that nature, as can never end but in the loss of all credit and character to one side or other; the quarrel is now come to such a head and crisis, that it is impossible for the contending parties to live with any ease together within the same walls; it is impossible for them to continue scuffling and wrangling thus perpetually, but to the irreparable damage and utter ruin of the Society. It is now become necessary, that one or other be made to submit and quit the field to his adversary; this is the issue that the complainants would gladly put the dispute upon. If their accusation should appear at last to be false and frivolous, they are content to become as justly odious, as their Master must needs be, if it is found real and unanswerable; they are content to suffer expulsion themselves, if they cannot prove him to have long deserved it."—*True Account*, &c. p. 38.

There was no question but that every page of this book contained libellous matter, but it was doubted whether Bentley would venture to resent it either by an action or the press: if he did, it was thought that the writer's object would be gained, in forcing the affairs of Trinity College into public notice. But this reasoning was erroneous. No sooner had he perused the book than he determined on his measures, and put them as promptly into execution. He called the Seniors together, read them some passages from the publication, and then produced a ready-written censure, denouncing it as a scandalous libel upon the College and its members, and declaring that the printer, publisher, author, or authors should be prosecuted at the public expense. This was five days before the accomplishment of the bargain with Serjeant Miller: Colbatch, as we have observed, was absent at that time; three of the Seniors, Jordan, Ayloffe, and Bouquet opposed the censure; but the Master with the other five decreed it in the terms given in the note [14]. Having carried this point, he advanced a step further, thinking

It is censured by the Seniority.

Nov. 30.

[14] "*Nov.* 30, 1719. Whereas a pamphlet was brought before us with this title: *A True Account of the Present State of Trinity College, in Cambridge, under the oppressive Government of their Master*, Richard Bentley, *late* D.D. *Printed for T. Bickerton, at the Crown in Paternoster Row*, 1720. Upon examining the said pamphlet, resolved by the Master and majority of Seniors, with the general approbation of the other Fellows, and the Scholars, that it is a false, and malicious, and scandalous libel, traducing this Royal foundation for a decay of all

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to crush all his enemies at a blow. The intimate knowledge of College transactions exhibited in this pamphlet, made him conclude that it must have been written, or the materials supplied, by one of the Seniority; and he had no hesitation in fixing upon Dr. Colbatch as that individual. Accordingly, assuming him to be either the author or instigator of the work, he proposed that as a punishment, he should at once be removed from the Seniority; and two of his adherents, Brabourn and Baker, entered unscrupulously into this measure. But here his support ended: Modd and Barwell, though they had, for the sake of avoiding broils, given an almost indiscriminate consent to the Master's projects, had yet virtue enough to refuse being made instruments in the ruin of a brother, whose crime was his perseverance in a resistance which they had themselves abandoned as hopeless. Bentley, therefore, unable to inflict this summary blow on his enemy, satisfied himself with a Power of Attorney under the College seal, enabling his own solicitor, Edwards, to bring whatever actions he pleased against the authors, printers, and publishers of the attack upon his government.

Bentley's attempt against Colbatch.

Dr. Middleton at first considered all this as the fulmination of empty menace; but a short time convinced him of the contrary, when he found a prosecution commenced against Bickerton, the publisher. Hereupon he resolved, with proper spirit, to avow the authorship; but wishing to give at the same moment another wound to his adversary, he added to this confession the articles of accusation, prepared by Colbatch to be laid before a Visitor, which had formed the ground-work of his pamphlet. The booksellers, however, were alarmed, and declined

Prosecutes the publisher.

good learning in it, for want of all discipline, for wronging and defrauding the College tenants in their rents, and many other wicked calumnies, tending to the detriment and dishonour of this flourishing Society; and that the printer, publisher, author or authors of the said libel (if discovered) be forthwith prosecuted at law, and an instrument under the College seal be made for that purpose.

R. Bentley, Master of the College.
Geo. Modd.
Matt. Barwell.
Ja. Brabourn.
John Hacket.
John Baker.

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publishing what they thought would be considered as a fresh libel upon the Master of Trinity. He was, therefore, obliged to be satisfied with acknowledging himself the author, in an advertisement; asserting, that the facts stated in his publication were only such as had been, or might be proved before a Visitor; that the only motive of the book was to bring on a Visitation; promising, that if the Master, or any friend of his, would answer it in print, he would either defend and prove every article, or give him the satisfaction of a public recantation [15].

Middleton confesses the authorship.

Is prosecuted.

Bentley did not think fit to accept this challenge, but continued his prosecution of the bookseller, till Middleton consented to subscribe, before witnesses, an acknowledgment that he was the author: whereupon an information was commenced against him in the Court of King's Bench, on the joint behalf of the King and of Richard Bentley. To this species of action he had exposed himself by a sentence or two, which complained that the Fellows of Trinity had been unable to obtain justice, or even a hearing, from the King in Council, or any Court of justice in the kingdom:

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[15] This document, being curious, must be given at length.

Cambridge, Feb. 9, 1720.

"Whereas the Master of Trinity College is prosecuting the author and publisher of a book, entitled *A True Account of the present State of Trinity College in Cambridge, under the oppressive Government of their Master*, Richard Bentley, *late D.D.* for the preventing all unnecessary trouble and expense in such prosecution, I hereby voluntarily acknowledge myself to be the sole author of the said book; and do declare, that the several facts therein mentioned are no other than what have either been proved upon the Master, at a public trial before the late Bishop of Ely (who died before sentence was given), or will certainly, with many more of the same kind, be charged and proved upon him by the Fellows, whenever there shall be a Visitor assigned for that purpose; for which they have long been petitioning: and I solemnly protest that I had no other design in writing the said book but to promote and bring on such a Visitation, by shewing the necessity of it, and to do justice to my worthy oppressed friends of that College (whereof I was not long since a Fellow), which they are not able to do of themselves, but at the hazard of their Fellowships; (the Master having, since the publication of the book, attempted to deprive a reverend and learned member of the Seniority for the bare suspicion of his being the author of it.) And I do now affirm, that I have said nothing material in the said book but under the utmost conviction of its truth, either from my own knowledge, or upon the best evidence and information, as will easily appear whenever there shall be occasion: and if, in the meanwhile, the Master or any of his friends, will undertake to answer it in print, I hereby promise either to defend and prove every article alleged against him, or to make him the satisfaction of a public recantation.

"Conyers Middleton, D.D."

"They have for several years past been labouring, by all the means they could, to procure a public and decisive hearing of their disputes, and have applied themselves for that purpose to every great man they could any way find access to: they have long been desirous to subject themselves to the visitatorial power of the Bishop of Ely, and to join in any addresses to Court or Parliament for such an explication of their statutes, as would confirm that power to him; their Petition to the King in Council to assign them a Visitor, has been depending there above four years, without any other effect, than from the little notice that is taken of them abroad, to find themselves trampled upon, with the greater spirit and insolence, at home.

"While the liberty of an Englishman is so much the envy of other nations, and the boast of our own, and the meanest peasant knows where to find redress for the least grievance he has to complain of; it is hardly credible, that a body of learned and worthy men, oppressed and injured daily, in every thing that is dear and valuable to them, should not be able to find any proper court of justice in the kingdom that will receive their complaints." *True Account, &c.* p. 5.

These words were construed into a reflection upon the King's government and the administration of the law. To arrest this prosecution it was in vain that Middleton produced affidavits of his good and peaceable character, and the general correctness of his details of the College affairs. The proceedings, however, though sure, were slow; harassing postponements took place from term to term; and before the case was brought to its crisis, many other incidents occurred of considerable moment to our narrative.

The senior Fellow of Trinity, Dr. Stubbe[16], who when superseded in

[16] Though we have had occasion to remark the high monarchical principles of Dr. Stubbe, yet I apprehend him to have been the last surviving member of Trinity College, who was educated under the Republican regime. His remains were brought for interment to his rectory of Orwell; where a monument was erected by Mr. Paris, to whom he left much of his property, with the following inscription:

Hic juxta sitæ sunt
Corporales Reliquiæ
Dignissimi Wolfrani Stubbe, S. T. P.
Hujus Ecclesiæ non ita pridem Rectoris.
Hic apud Cantabrigienses et Sacræ Linguæ Professor,
Et Collegii Trinitatis Vice-Magister fuit:
Hic ad extremum usque ætatis
In conservando Collegio
Strenue elaboravit,
Vires ultra sortemque senectæ.
* * * * *
Annos natus 82.

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the vice-mastership, had withdrawn into voluntary exile from the College, died about the end of October 1719, vacating the rectory of Orwell, in the neighbourhood of Cambridge. This living, being separated from the Vicarage, was a desirable preferment for a Senior Fellow, and had successively been held, ever since the foundation, by the oldest doctor in the College. Colbatch being now the senior graduate, immediately claimed it as his right. No opposition was offered by any one of his brethren[17]; but when the Master was requested to hold a meeting to give the presentation, which, by order of the statutes, is to be within a month after the vacancy has been announced, he flatly refused; alleging on this, as on similar occasions, that he was at liberty to postpone the presentation till the conclusion of six months; which opinion he maintained by an ingenious but sophistical argument, drawn from a comparison of provisions in other parts of the statutes. It may be remarked that his plan of keeping livings undecided till the last moment, was one of the methods by which he retained his Fellows in dependence. Colbatch thinking this a favourable occasion for fighting the battle, prepared himself, with the aid of his friend Dr. Exton Sayer of the Commons, to demand from the law that justice, which the Master was disposed to refuse him. He applied to the diocesan, Bishop Fleetwood, with the proofs of his claim, begging him to interfere as Ordinary, if he declined to do so as Visitor, and require that the statutable presentation should be made. But that prelate was inflexible in his resolution to take no step which might bring himself into trouble. However he made no secret of his opinion on the matter, but declared that Colbatch's right to the living was 'indefeasible:' and when a friend of the Master's hinted, that the Doctor was unfriendly to the Government, the Bishop promptly replied, that 'that was no reason why justice should be refused him.' Bentley now gave out that he thought of presenting himself to this sinecure, and appropriating the profits to a fund for the improvement of College preferment. Such a scheme was in plain opposition to the statutes, and probably was never seriously

Colbatch claims the vacant rectory of Orwell.

[17] There were three clerical fellows senior to Colbatch at this time; but they were only Masters of Arts, and no controversy was now raised against the right of the senior graduates to the preoption of livings.

entertained, but designed only as a veil of his real object, which was to make Colbatch surrender his fellowship on receiving this preferment. He reckoned that when he had once freed himself from that adversary, he would be left in undisturbed possession of his monarchy. The scheme appeared at first sight likely to succeed; the rectory was peculiarly desirable to a Professor of the University: Colbatch, in giving up his fellowship, would make but a trifling pecuniary sacrifice, as he might in that case retain his prebend at Salisbury: on the other hand, his continuance in the College held out little other prospect than that of interminable broils, injurious to the peace of mind, the feelings, and the studies of a scholar. But Bentley did not properly estimate the person by whom he was opposed. Colbatch acted upon principle; and would rather have sacrificed his life than abandoned a cause, which mainly relied on his support.

The struggle between him and the Master.

When, after five months' importunity, the subject was agitated at the board of Seniority, the Master offered the living of Orwell to Dr. Colbatch, upon condition of resigning his fellowship. The other firmly declined accepting upon conditions that which was his right by statute; contending that he asked no favour, but only justice: whereupon the Master as positively refused to consent to his having the presentation; alleging that he had two *causæ gravissimæ* against him—disaffection to the Government, and disaffection to the College. Of the first charge his proof was a hearsay report, that 'a certain gentleman,' whom he would not name, suspected of being a Jacobite, had praised Dr. Colbatch as 'a very worthy man.' On the second head, he urged, on the authority of 'a certain bishop,' that he had confessed having supplied the materials for Middleton's pamphlet. For this last allegation there was some ground: Colbatch had certainly told Dr. Trimnell, the Bishop of Norwich, that Middleton had seen some papers of his; a piece of information of which the good bishop made an indiscreet use. The only individuals who abetted the Master on this occasion were Brabourn and Hacket, two discreditable auxiliaries, who brought upon themselves a severe rebuke and exposure by Dr. Colbatch, from which no one interposed to protect them. It appears extraordinary that Bentley should have so far lost his sagacity and presence of mind, as to defer

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such objections until after he had, before witnesses, offered him the living upon condition of quitting his fellowship: whereby he supplied evidence of the futility of his own pretences. Colbatch, who was neither a vain nor arrogant man, says, that, on this occasion, 'he fairly threw Bentley on his back:' and this is the first time that I find it hinted that he was not the same man as formerly.

In a few days the Master altered his measures, and made overtures through Modd and Ayloffe, for an accommodation: offering to give his consent to Colbatch having the living, provided he would engage no longer to solicit a visitation of the College: he likewise proposed an amicable conference; to which the other unwillingly consented. The interview between these enemies took place in the presence of Modd, Ayloffe, and Hacket: but it resembled the meeting of Brutus and Cassius with the Triumvirs. Colbatch refused to make any promise or condition, and declared that he would only accept the living *pure et simpliciter*, as the oath of institution requires. To the wishes expressed by Bentley 'for the peace of the College,' he replied that this was the main object of his own desires; and that being persuaded it could only be secured by having a perpetual Visitor, he would not cease to labour for the appointment of one. Finally they parted in mutual defiance, the Master declaring that he would withhold his consent, though the living should thereby lapse to the Bishop. This last alternative, which was near approaching, proved very disagreeable to the Master's own partizans, who considered that it was a wanton loss of the College preferment; and pressed him that if Colbatch was not to have it, the presentation might be given to some other Fellow. Meanwhile some friends of Colbatch came up and remained in College, in order to be present at the meeting of the sixteen, which was necessary for affixing the seal: so that the result of the struggle was doubtful. But Bentley was defeated from an occurrence to which all courts are liable, a dissention among his own adherents. Hacket, whose support of his measures was mercenary, aimed at this rectory for himself: Baker, who disliked and despised Hacket, thought that if the statutable claim of seniority was to be set aside, his own services merited this reward; and Ashenhurst, a powerful auxiliary, espoused his cause. The two

Bentley obliged to give way.

aspirants were irreconcileable, each preferring that Orwell should be given to Colbatch, rather than to his competitor. Thus circumstanced, the Master had no choice but either to yield the point to his adversary, or hazard the breaking up of his own party. Accordingly he gave a reluctant acquiescence; but could not so far overcome his mortification, as to be present at the meeting which gave the presentation to Dr. Colbatch. The honest joy expressed by all the Fellows at this termination of the contest, is one of the few gratifying circumstances in this disastrous period of the College history: not only the rest of Bentley's partizans joined in testifying their satisfaction, but even Brabourn and Hacket made atonement for their former hostility.

April 11, 1720.

In the meantime other events had occurred, which though the biographer of Dr. Bentley can have no satisfaction in relating, it is yet necessary to mention, as being the steps by which he compassed his objects. It will be remembered that in 1714 David Humphreys had been chosen to fill Miller's fellowship, in case the King should before the expiration of nine months declare it to be void. An article in the late bargain with the Serjeant was, that the arrears should be divided between him and Humphreys, and that the fellowship should thenceforward be enjoyed by the latter, who was to have seniority according to his standing. Humphreys was deserving of the fellowship, and after a suspense of above five years, his admission seemed reasonable and equitable. But it was pointedly against the statutes to admit any one above the standing of Master of Arts: and the King never having declared Miller's fellowship vacant, all the consequences built upon that supposition were an evident nullity. When the treaty was completed, a meeting was called to admit Humphreys. The party in the Seniority opposed to the Master, being four in number, might, had they held firmly together, have obstructed most of his projects; but he generally carried his points in the absence of one of them. On this occasion Dr. Bouquet, thinking it useless to irritate the Head of the College by further opposition, after the main point had been decided, chose to be absent: Bentley also, finding that there were five Fellows on whom he could rely, and not wishing to have a gratuitous altercation

Humphreys admitted Fellow.

Jan. 2, 1720.

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with Colbatch, thought proper to stay away. After an indignant protest against any business being transacted by a meeting which did not consist of the eight seniors in College, and likewise against the unstatutable act of admitting a Fellow of Humphreys's standing, Colbatch and his two friends left the Chapel. To withdraw after a protest, instead of witnessing acts which they deemed illegal, was for several years the general practice of the malcontents; but the majority in this as well as every other instance completed the business, regardless of the secession of their brethren.

Lectures on the catechism, &c.

We have had occasion to notice the privilege of holding preferment allowed by statute to the College-preachers, but denied to the rest of the Fellows; as well as the patronage exercised by Bentley in the appointments to these preacherships. The statutes of Trinity enjoin that there shall be read in Chapel every Sunday and holiday a lecture upon some part of the catechism: in order that this exercise, at which all the scholars are to be present, may never be omitted, there are to be five or six Fellows appointed for the office: and at the vacancy of a preachership, one of those who have completed their course is to be elected. The undoubted intent of this provision was to supply to the students constant instruction in the principles of Christianity, and at the same time to give a direction to the studies of the junior Fellows, by calling upon them for an appropriate and useful exercise in divinity. That the institution had been eminently useful was proved by Dr. Barrow's published exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the Sacraments, which had formed part of his catechetical lectures in Trinity Chapel; and by Herbert Thorndike's treatise on Church-government, which was grounded upon his lectures on the 'Power of the keys,' delivered in this course. During Dr. Bentley's mastership these lectures had been intermitted for months and years together. The fact is that he viewed them only as the means of approach to a College-preachership; and being resolved to appoint no one but those on whose attachment he could rely, he would not even suffer their names to be entered as Catechists: and resisted all applications to keep up the statutable number, by appointing the Fellows in their order to read those lectures. In his defence he urged they had not been kept up

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according to statute in the time of the last Master: but the omission then arose from the neglect of the Fellows themselves, not from any design of obstructing the access to a preachership. The Master when strongly importuned at a College-meeting to consent to the nomination of Catechists, treated the application with scorn, saying, 'that it was nonsense to talk of putting up five or six persons to catechize at once.' Afterwards two of the persons proposed, Malled and Craister, waited upon him either to beg or demand his permission for that purpose: both these gentlemen having been subscribers to the Petition of 1716 for fixing a Visitor, had no great pretensions to his patronage. He very unceremoniously turned them from the door, and told the Seniority that 'he supposed they had sent them to bravo him.' However the Seniors did take upon themselves, in the Master's absence, to appoint Malled to catechize: the vicarage of Barrington was then vacant, and he wished for a preachership in order to hold it. Having performed the exercises, he again waited on the Master to solicit the appointment; but was plainly told that 'he was on a side,' and that 'he must change sides before he could be judged fit to be a College-preacher.' Malled did not choose to adopt this condition: he applied no more for that object, but took the first opportunity of quitting his fellowship for a living in the North. On the rejection of his senior, Craister called to beg that he might be suffered to qualify himself for this living; but was treated with still less ceremony than the other. The Master, after reminding him that he had voted for his Degradation, took him by the shoulder and fairly pushed him out of the door. As for the living, he designed it for his useful favourite, Richard Walker, who was considerably junior to those named; but finding that he could not gain consent to this mode of rewarding his services, he offered to present Craister, provided he would quit his fellowship. Failing in this also, he suffered the presentation to lapse and be lost to the College. Dr. Colbatch, who entertained a peculiarly strong feeling of the propriety of keeping up these lectures, suffered greater uneasiness from this than from any other part of the Master's conduct: at a time when his own interests in the affair of Orwell were at stake, he remonstrated on this subject in a Seniority, and earnestly begged that the statute might be executed for

Treatment of Malled and Craister.

February, 1720.

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the future: he then proposed the names of five persons for Catechists; whereupon the Master exclaimed, "you propose? and pray who are you, that you should propose?" to which the other replied, that 'it was not himself, but the statutes which made the proposition.'

But while Bentley repulsed with such a high hand, all who were disposed to mutiny against his authority, he was careful to throw open the doors of preferment to his supporters. About this time he made Uvedale, Parran, Whitfield, and Barnwell College-preachers, though all of them junior to Malled, who was refused. On the appointment of Dr. Whitfield, a scene took place, which spoke in the clearest terms, what must be expected by those who attempted to curb the autocrat of the Society. He and Dr. Bouquet had been appointed to preach probation sermons by the Seniors, during the absence of the Master in London; a presumption for which the old gentlemen were severely reprimanded. Bentley, hastening his return, held a meeting for the election: when Bouquet claiming a preachership as his right by long standing, was treated with threats and scurrility. He had opposed the Master in the Seniority on the bargain with Serjeant Miller, on the prosecution of Middleton's book, and on other favourite questions. He declared that 'he disapproved of his discourse, as he approved of Dr. Whitfield's, by report,' (for he had heard neither), told him that 'his sermon was out of the dripping-pan,' and hinted that his being a foreigner and not naturalized was a ground for ejecting him from his fellowship, if not from his professorship. He was accordingly put aside, and his competitor elected. Bouquet being a Doctor of Divinity of nine years standing, Regius Professor of the Sacred Language, and a person of unblemished character, it was preposterous enough to urge such objections to his becoming either preacher or incumbent: but in effect, although he remained Fellow of the College above half a century, he was excluded throughout life upon no other pretence.

Bouquet.

Whitfield.

Dr. Whitfield deserves a particular notice among the Master's adherents, as being attached to him, not like many others upon grounds of party or interest, but by personal regard and friendship, which I observe from some letters of his that have fallen into my hands, he retained long after he had left the Society. He was a man of extensive

reading and considerable ability; his theological opinions were suspected, but erroneously, I believe, of Arianism. About four years after this time he married, on the living of Dickleborough in Norfolk, quitting his fellowship before he had sullied his character by any unworthy compliances with the humour or schemes of his principal.

The design of a Royal Visitation of the University abandoned.

It may be remembered that Dr. Gooch had been re-elected Vice Chancellor in 1718, that he might in the character of chief-magistrate defend before the King in Council the proceedings of himself and of the University, relative to the Suspension and Degradation of the Master of Trinity College. The Committee of the Privy Council appointed to prepare a Royal Visitation, which was to settle all disputes in the University, did nothing: and the only advice which his Ministers gave to the King was, not to interfere in any way with these academical feuds. Matters, therefore, at the conclusion of Gooch's second year of office, were in the same state as at its commencement. Bentley was deprived of every degree, and all voice or interference in University business. He held, however, the station of Regius Professor of Divinity, although excluded from the performance of its duties. For some time after his Degradation the disputations in theology were entirely omitted and dispensed with, on the payment of *caution*: but upon the receipt of a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, objecting to this practice, and informing the University that he would not admit theological degrees, obtained without exercises, to be a ground of dispensation for holding two livings, some disputations did take place in the Schools. But as I find no person named, who presided at them as moderator, and as they are termed miserable and unfruitful, I apprehend that they were in fact little better than mere forms, intended to satisfy the letter of the law. Since this state of things was discreditable to the University, and there was now no prospect of Bentley's being restored to his degrees on the terms of submission, it was resolved to make an effort to deprive him of his professorship. Dr. Gooch had at the time of the Suspension, threatened that 'if he did not make his submission in three days, he would declare his professorship vacant.' He was probably not aware, when he uttered this menace, that it could only be executed by the joint agency of the Vice Chancellor and

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the Master of Trinity; but the latter being identified with the Professor, was not likely to concur in his own deprivation. A resolution being now taken of having recourse to the law for assistance, it was found necessary to elect the Vice Chancellor to a third year of office; the junta who ruled the University, not daring at that moment to entrust the chief magistracy to any one, whose views did not exactly coincide with their own. There was another ostensible ground for continuing Gooch in office; the first steps had been taken in the preceding year towards building a new Senate-house; this, however, appears to have been only intended as a colourable pretence. There having been no instance of the same individual holding the Vice Chancellorship three years together, since the reign of Elizabeth, the Heads did not think it safe to leave any option to the Senate; and, therefore, nominated along with Gooch the Bishop of Carlisle, upon whom they knew that the office could not be imposed. Bentley's party, however, chose to express their feelings on this occasion by a poll, in which 58 voted for Bishop Bradford, and 94 for Dr. Gooch.

Dr. Gooch elected a third time Vice Chancellor.

Nov. 4. 1719.

After long delays the attack upon the Professor assumed the form of a Rule of the Court of King's Bench, calling upon the electors to the professorship, to shew cause why a mandamus should not be issued, obliging them to fill up a supposed vacancy in the Chair. This was obtained in Trinity Term 1720, by the Attorney General, Sir R. Raymond, counsel for the University, upon the affidavit of Robert Simpson, one of the Esquire Beadles; who detailed the circumstances of Dr. Bentley's election, and deposed that the two Fellows of Trinity College, Modd and Bathurst, who had voted for him, were neither the *maxime seniores*, nor deputed by them, and that the whole affair was the result of collusion between the Master of Trinity and the other three electors; and therefore inferred that the place had never been legally filled since the death of Dr. James. This attempt was so weak, that it seems surprising how any success could have been expected from it. The collusion between the electors, to which he deposed, could only be matter of suspicion: in the absence of the two *maxime seniores*, the appearance of the next Seniors in their room was consistent both with statute and practice; and whatever objections might be made to the

Application to the Court of King's Bench to deprive Bentley of his professorship.

proceedings, were equally valid three years before; and were evidently brought forward at this time to serve a particular purpose. Bentley in reply to this deposition drew up three separate affidavits, from himself, Dr. Davies, and Mr. Modd[18]. The two latter negative the imputation of collusion, and make a judicious use of the fact of there being no competitor for the office, in justifying their choice of Bentley. His own affidavit is an able and artful composition; containing a plausible account of the election itself, as well as of many subsequent occurrences; and dwells particularly on the conduct of Dr. Gooch. Other affidavits were also filed in the Michaelmas term, in opposition to the Rule of Court, from some Fellows of Trinity, proving that the deputation of the electors which had taken place was consistent with forms and custom; and one from Lisle, deposing the treatment which the Professor had experienced from the Vice Chancellor. Whatever arguments took place in Court on this occasion have not been preserved: but it appears that the Rule was discharged[19]. November.

Election for M.P. of the University.

In the year 1720 political opinions were again brought into conflict in the University of Cambridge. The health of Dr. Paske, one of the representatives, having been for some time in a dangerous state, an active canvass was kept up, at least eighteen months, for the expected vacancy. Several candidates exerted their interest; but Dr. Paske dying in the latter end of the year, the contest lay between two—the Hon. Thomas Willoughby, second son of Lord Middleton, one of the twelve Tory peers created on the same day by Queen Anne, and the Hon. Henry Finch, son of Daniel, Earl of Nottingham. The latter gentleman had the interest of the Ministry in his favour; and he was also supported by Archbishop Wake, and others of the Hierarchy, in consideration of the long and powerful services rendered to the Church of England by Lord Nottingham. Thus the High-church party was divided: the Archbishop, anxious for Finch's success, soli-

[18] Mr. Bathurst had died in February, 1719.

[19] Copies of all the documents on this occasion have been furnished to me, from the records of the Court, through the kind intercession of Lord Chief Justice Tindal. Bentley's original draughts of the three first affidavits are among his papers. As they are curious, and relate to an important part of his history, they will be given in the Appendix.

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cited the support of Dr. Colbatch. He was on every account desirous to oblige the primate and the Earl of Nottingham; but his devotion to the cause of Trinity College made him resolve to support no one who was not likely to use his exertions, in and out of Parliament, to procure some hearing and redress for its grievances: accordingly, when he found that Bentley was exerting himself in favour of Finch, and that all his party, who formed a numerous body, were supporting him, he plainly saw that the Petitioners had nothing to hope from that quarter; and wrote to explain to the Archbishop his inability to comply with his Grace's wishes. The contest which ensued was severe; but so prevalent were Tory sentiments in the University, that Mr. Willoughby succeeded against the combination of such powerful interests; he polling 176 votes, while Mr. Finch had 143. The ministerial party seem to have been much chagrined at this defeat, and there is good reason to believe, that a consideration of the opposite sides taken in this election, by the friends and enemies of the Master of Trinity, had some influence upon the extraordinary occurrences, which are shortly to be the subject of our narration.

Dec. 14.

CHAPTER XV.

Account of Bentley's children—His intimate acquaintance—Dr. Davies's devotion to him—Second edition of Cicero's Tusculans—Bentley's domestic habits—Progress of his edition of the New Testament—Assistance of Wetstein—John Walker resides at Paris, collating manuscripts for Bentley—Benedictines of St. Maur—Ancient Italic version of the Scriptures—Montfaucon—Bentley's Proposals for publishing the New Testament—His Specimen—Middleton's Remarks on the Proposals—Written in a disgraceful spirit—Various persons suspected of having written the Remarks—Bentley's reasons for thinking that Colbatch had supplied the materials—His reply—Virulent abuse of Colbatch—Colbatch seeks redress for the injury—Bentley's Reply censured by the Heads—Colbatch prosecutes the printer in the Vice Chancellor's Court—Dr. Cross—Middleton's Further Remarks on the Proposals—Reported assistance by Ashton—Letter by Philalethes—Pearce's two Latin Epistles—Dr. Smalbroke's Letter—Mistaken opinion that Bentley's edition was stopped by Middleton's pamphlet—Great extent of the subscription—Fails in his attempt to import paper duty-free—David Casley—Middleton found guilty of a libel—Kept in long suspense—Change of ministry—Act of Grace—The Chief Justice advises a settlement—Middleton begs pardon of Bentley—Pays the costs—Made Principal Librarian of the University.

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Account of Bentley's children.

THE contentious topics, which have so long engaged our attention, have allowed us no intermission to notice the habits of Dr. Bentley's private life, and the circle of his family and intimate acquaintance. In regard to his progeny, he was eminently happy: his three children are described to have been every thing that the heart of a fond father could desire. His son Richard exhibited extremely quick parts; and the father determining that he should be educated under his own eye, admitted him a member of Trinity College, while a child of only ten years old. In adopting this uncommon and hazardous plan, he was probably influenced by the precocious talents of the boy, and imitated the only precedent for such a step which he had ever witnessed, that of his early friend William Wotton[1].

Elizabeth, his eldest daughter, is described by Cumberland, her nephew, 'to have inherited the virtues and benignity of her mother,

[1] Richard Bentley was baptized June, 1708; and admitted of Trinity College *sub tutela Magistri*, in 1718.

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with habits more adapted to the fashions of the world [2].' Her youngest sister, Joanna, was the object of universal admiration for her beauty, wit, and accomplishments; and she is said, from her earliest youth, to have captivated the hearts of the young collegians. Several hints lead me to infer, that this young lady inherited as large a portion of her father's spirit as could be amiable in so charming a creature. She was his favourite child; and having received from him the fondling appellation of *Jug* in her infancy, she continued to be called *Jug Bentley*, as long as she remained unmarried. Few beauties, even in an University, have ever been so much celebrated as this young nymph; and it was her peculiar fortune to have her praises first sung in her childhood. Mr. John Byrom, a name well known in literary history, for his versatile genius and varied accomplishments, when a Bachelor of Trinity College, wrote, for the amusement of Miss Joanna, a Pastoral, of which

Oct. 1714.

she was the Phœbe; and soon afterwards inserted it in the eighth volume of the Spectator, to which work he had been an occasional contributor. This piece is still celebrated as one of the most exquisite specimens in existence of playful poetry. Some sagacious critics have observed, that it does not breathe the full spirit of tenderness and passion. One doubts whether Colin was ever really in love with his Phœbe; another has discovered, from private information, that Byrom was not sincere in his attempt upon the heart of Miss Joanna, but being candidate for a fellowship, took that method of ingratiating himself with her father. Had these commentators happened to look at the dates, they would have discovered that when the poem came forth the young lady was only eleven years old! It is recorded, that when the papers of the Spectator appeared, Dr. Bentley heard them read with much delight. How great must have been the surprise of Phœbe if it was her turn to read on the morning when, instead of an Essay, there appeared the Poem, of which she knew herself to be the subject [3].

[2] *Cumberland's Memoirs*, 4to. p. 18.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 14. "When the *Spectators* were in publication, I have heard my mother say, he (Dr. Bentley) took great delight in hearing them read to him; and was so particularly amused with the character of Sir Roger de Coverley, that he took his literary decease most seriously to heart." The Pastoral is in Vol. viii. No. 603. Byrom was also the author of Nos. 586 and 587, in the same volume.

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His intimate acquaintance.

Dr. Bentley continued to pass in College the life of a severe student, relaxing himself in a small and select circle of acquaintance. Of the Fellows admitted to his society, his favourites were Ashenhurst, R. Walker, Witton, Barnwell, and Whitfield: the only persons in the rest of the University with whom he maintained any intimacy were Bishop Bradford, Dr. Davies, and Dr. Brookbank. In London, whither he was now frequently called by the contests into which he had plunged, he enjoyed the society of his old acquaintance Sir Isaac Newton, and Dr. Samuel Clarke; but more particularly of the celebrated physician, Dr. Mead. This gentleman, the glory of his profession, and universally distinguished by his learning and virtues, remained to the end of our critic's life his firm and zealous friend. Whatever impression the narrative of some late events may have produced upon the reader, Bentley's friends appear to have continued as much devoted to him as ever.

Dr. Davies's devotion to him.

Dr. Davies published in 1717 his first edition of *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, prefixed to which is an epistle of dedication to Dr. Bentley, expressing the highest admiration and warmest attachment: he not only praises his learning and talents in glowing terms, but speaks in the language of heartfelt gratitude of his constant kindness and uncommon favours conferred upon himself. The latter topic is somewhat surprising; since, as far as we have means of judging, the debt of gratitude lay wholly on the other side: it was but a short time before this publication that Davies's assistance had placed his friend in the Regius Professor's chair. The dedication itself will be seen in a note; and the reader will easily distinguish its tone of regard and admiration from the cant of adulation, which frequently disgraces such productions. It is incumbent on the biographer of Dr. Bentley, to show in what way he was estimated by the most learned and amiable of his acquaintance[4].

[4] "Viro summo Richardo Bentleio, S. P. D. Joannes Davisius.

"Si laudibus effundendis destinata fuerat hæc Epistola; vel ob eam caussam tuum, Vir præstantissime, nomen præscripsissem: non quod præclarissimæ tuæ dotes meo careant præconio, sed quod nemo me jure posset adulationis incusare, licet eas exquisitissimis encomiis celebrassem. Apud bonos enim in confesso est, æterna illa limatissimi tui judicii, miri acuminis, et in variorum generum literis eximiæ doctrinæ monumenta, ut a pessimis hic illic carpi queant ingeniis, ab optimis exæquari vix posse.

"Verum alia res erat, quæ hoc tempore non solum non omittenda, sed potissimum agenda

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Second edition of Cicero's Tusculans.

The devotion of the editor of Cicero to his brother Head, which came little short of idolatry, was exhibited some time afterwards in a still more remarkable light. The whole impression of Davies's edition of the Tusculan Disputations being sold, and a new one called for, Bentley applied himself afresh to this work, and corrected it throughout, introducing a vast number of his own emendations: of these some were sanctioned by the collation of manuscripts, and some rested only upon conjecture, in which, it may be remarked, that he grew bolder as his age advanced. Davies trusting to his friend as he would have done to a Pythian Oracle, printed, instead of the text of his former edition, that of Bentley; alleging in his notes the authority of our mighty Aristarchus, as the sole and sufficient ground for his numerous and daring alterations. The defence of these emendations was intended to come in the Appendix; and Bentley was altering and enlarging his former notes for that purpose: but when the text was printed off, and the booksellers were clamorous for its appearance, those annotations, upon which the whole fabric of the amended text rested, were not forthcoming. This was in the year 1723; and the overwhelming importance of the transactions shortly to be related, prevented his making up his

videbatur. Nimirum tu, literatissime BENTLEI, universo quidem orbi erudito summum virum, mihi porro fidissimum amicum, te probasti. Quamvis ergo voci publicæ meam lubens adjunxerim; tua tamen singularis in me bonitas flagitat, ut me tibi privatim esse devinctissimum et prædicem et glorier. Tu me modis omnibus ornasti; tu me continuis prosecutus es officiis; et, quod rei caput est, non quotidiano fatigatus convitio, sed ultro, nec rogatus, effusissimam in me benevolentiam tam rebus quam verbis ostendisti. Ingratus igitur essem, si tantam comitatem, indulgentiam tantam, mihi sane perhonorificam, tibi, spero, non ignominiosam, silentio præterirem, nec tibi gratias et haberem et agerem maximas.

"Id equidem simpliciter ac sine fuco jam nunc facio, nec facere desinam; hujus autem animi mei pignora, CICERONIS libros de Natura Deorum, mea cura non indiligenter, ut opinor, illustratos et emendatos, tibi, Vir ornatissime, consecro. Quod si benignam nimis opinionem de opere meo conceperim; in eo tamen non fallor, te, quod pro eruditione tua laudare non poteris, pro humanitate tua condonaturum.

"Quodcunque vero de meis lucubrationibus feratur judicium, tuæ certe rectissimo stant talo, et ut, quæ olim edidisti, doctiores omnes legunt avidissime, ita, quæ apud te premis, exspectant cupidissime. Honestissimis igitur eorum desideriis noli, quæso, repugnare; sed tum alios egregios animi tui fœtus, tum NOVUM præcipue TESTAMENTUM integritati suæ pristinæ restitutum, e scriniis expromas; ut ea ratione tu denuo summam gloriam, nos amplissimos fructus consequamur. Vale, Vir laudatissime, et iis omnibus, quæ DEUS O.M. pretiosissima largiatur, in hac vita diu, in altera semper fruare."

mind on all points, and completing the Appendix. Accordingly the book made its appearance, without the only addition which could justify, or render tolerable, the liberties taken with the text of Cicero. As the confidence of other scholars in Bentley's conjectures did not equal that of Davies, who considered them as certain as truth itself, this publication produced no small dissatisfaction, and people were in amazement at such an instance of one scholar's deference to the authority of another; of which the whole history of literature supplied no similar example [5].

Bentley's domestic habits.

The habits of Dr. Bentley's domestic life continued in the same simple and uniform course for many years. The greater part of each day he passed in his study, where he breakfasted alone; he joined his family at the other meals, and at ten o'clock for evening prayers; after which they retired for their night's repose. Habited in his dressing-gown, he pursued his studies with the same application as had distinguished the earlier periods of his life. The tempestuous feuds in which he was now embarked appear neither to have deranged his habits, nor affected his health. The only change which they produced in his course of life was by obliging him to make more frequent journeys to London, and pass a longer time at his residence in Cotton House. Once a year his family accompanied him; at other times he left them in College, travelling himself in the stage-coach. His constitution seems not to have required exercise; nor do I hear of his taking any, except that he sometimes walked on the terrace in his garden. But robust as his health is represented to have been, it was frequently affected by catching cold; a consequence of the recluse life which he generally passed [6].

Bentley's aversion to letter-writing increased with his years; and he seems for some time to have dropped almost all correspondence, except such as was called for by the imperious claims of business, or was con-

[5] A specimen of the feeling of foreign scholars on this subject may be seen in an article of the *Miscellaneæ Observationes*, tom. i. p. 399; which did not appear till 1732, and is rather elaborately written.

[6] These particulars of Dr. Bentley's private life and habits are distinctly told by Ellinger, who was his butler from 1709 to 1719; and by Atkinson, who succeeded to that situation. Both their depositions were given at Ely House in 1733.

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nected with the immediate objects of his literary pursuits, and the publications which he meditated. Peter Burman, who valued his friendship and correspondence in the highest degree, and considered it the legacy of his master Grævius, was deeply distressed at his protracted silence, which he presumed to arise from some inadvertent offence or omission of his own; and after waiting above two years for a letter, wrote in 1718, imploring to know the cause of the interruption of their correspondence. As his subsequent letters express no further uneasiness on this account, we may presume that Bentley satisfied his friend that his silence was not attributable to alienation of regard.

Progress of his edition of the New Testament.

We must now recall our attention to the Doctor's great undertaking, his edition of the New Testament; to which we have not adverted since its commencement in 1716. Letters and other documents prove, that for the first year he must have been diligently occupied with the work which he had taken in hand with so much spirit. In the two following years the imperious call made upon his time by his new professorship, and the extraordinary course of events which ensued, will account for the suspension of this great and laborious work; but it was an error to suppose, as some did, that he had abandoned the idea. So entirely had he resolved to give the world the most perfect text of the New Testament which could be supplied by manuscripts and criticism, that he spared no labour or expense in procuring the requisite materials. He made fresh collations of the two most ancient and precious copies in this country, the *Codex Alexandrinus*, belonging to the Royal Library of which he was Keeper, and the Greek and Latin copy of the Gospels and Acts, given to the University of Cambridge by the great Reformer, Beza. Collations of these manuscripts had already been published; but Bentley found that a more careful and precise examination would amply repay the labour. From the collection of the Earl of Oxford he procured several old manuscripts, which had not been used by Dr. Mill; one of these formerly belonged to the *Bibliotheque du Roi* at Paris, and appears to have been among the treasures stolen from that vast collection by the thief Aymond, and to have come by purchase into the hands of the ex-minister of England. His diligence was exerted likewise in making accurate collations of the manuscripts of the Latin Testament, to which

he attached much importance, as conducing to the recovery of that Version in the very state left by St. Jerome. He pursued the important task of collecting the quotations from the New Testament, which have been made by the early Fathers. Whatever might be the prevalent sentiment respecting this projected edition, there certainly was exhibited great liberality and readiness in all quarters to aid and facilitate the objects of the editor. Among other instances we may notice that of his predecessor, Dr. Montague, the Dean of Durham; who allowed some manuscripts from his Chapter Library to be transmitted for the use of the Master of Trinity. His most useful auxiliary at this period was Wetstein, whose acquaintance and communications with him have already been noticed. To serve the purposes of Bentley's edition, this ardent scholar, the ruling passion of whose life was to note various readings in the New Testament, took another journey to Paris, where he passed a few months in collating manuscripts; but his time was principally devoted to decyphering a very old vellum copy in the King's Library, which had originally contained the whole Bible in Greek capital letters; but the writing had been industriously erased, to make room for certain works of St. Ephrem. The obliteration, however, had not been so perfect but that the original could, in most places, be detected by good eyes[7]. Wetstein wished to continue in this congenial employment at Paris, and in other parts of Europe, provided Bentley would have held out such an inducement as might indemnify him for the sacrifice of his present livelihood: the fact was, that the future editor of the New Testament, although a Swiss by birth and education, was at that time a chaplain in the Dutch army; and the leave of absence given him by his commanding officer was near expiring.

Assistance of Wetstein.

1716.

[7] Wetstein entered his collation of this manuscript in the margin of a printed copy of the New Testament, on the fly-leaf of which he has written,

"Cum hoc codice collatus est Codex Ephrem MS. in Bibliotheca Regia, Parisiis, 1716.

"Lectio cui Asteriscus præfigitur, non ita certa est ac reliquæ; ita tamen videtur, quantum ex spatio et quibusdam literis non exesis conjici potest."

Bentley has added, "Codex manuscriptus est plus mille annorum, cui ob fugitivas fere literas jam ante sæcula aliquot superscriptus est Ephraim Syri Liber. Collatio hujus codicis constitit R. Bentleio quinquaginta Libris Sterlingis."

Wetstein gives a more detailed account of this copy in his *Prolegomena*, p. 27.

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Dr. Bentley did not choose to take this hint; and in November following received a letter from his correspondent, dated from his quarters at Bois le Duc, to which he had been compelled to return. In the course of the next year, Wetstein left a situation where he enjoyed neither books nor literary society, and returned to his native city of Basil, as assistant to his father in his clerical duties: but he was still on the alert to aid the intended edition of the New Testament; and in 1718 communicated to Bentley that he had discovered at Heidelberg a very ancient and valuable Greek and Latin manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, which had been purchased at his suggestion by his relatives, the Wetsteins of Amsterdam. The Master of Trinity immediately wrote to those booksellers, who, with much liberality, sent him the precious volume, charging only the same sum as they had themselves paid for it, 250 Dutch florins [8]. He now sent further injunctions to his correspondent to collate accurately all ancient Latin copies, which he could meet with, of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. All this Wetstein undertook to do, but plainly intimated that he must have secured to him some other reward for such labour, 'besides weak eyes, and a disqualification for other pursuits [9].'

1717.

July, 1718.

Bentley, however, did not think fit to purchase the further assistance of Wetstein, having found in his own Society a young man, upon whose fidelity and learning he could securely rely. We have already had occasion to mention the name of Mr. John Walker as one of three excellent scholars, who in 1716 became Fellows of Trinity College. He had been educated at Wakefield School, and was, while an undergraduate, honourably distinguished as the successful candidate for an University scholarship on Lord Craven's foundation, the only prize at

John Walker.

[8] This valuable manuscript, having formerly belonged to the Monastery of *Augia Major* (Rheinau in Switzerland) is known by the name of *Codex Augiensis*. A full account of it may be seen in Wetstein's preface to the second volume of his Greek Testament, p. 8; and in the Bishop of Peterborough's Notes to Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 664. It is now in Trinity Library, along with the rest of Bentley's manuscripts.

[9] Wetstein has printed the last mentioned letter of Bentley, with his reply, in his Prolegomena, p. 153. His other letters are among Bentley's papers. It must be confessed that the pecuniary value which he placed upon his labours was rather high; as it appears that the Doctor paid him 50*l.* for the collation of the MS. Ephrem, just mentioned.

that time open to competition. While only Bachelor of Arts he drew up a series of emendations upon Cicero's three books *De Natura Deorum*, and communicated them to Dr. Davies, by whom they were printed as an Appendix to his edition, and are a specimen of proficiency in critical learning highly creditable to so young a man. The Master having noticed and encouraged this promising scholar, and initiated him in the *arcana* of Greek and Latin manuscripts, and the proper methods of examining them, found him a person upon whose diligence and accuracy he might depend. Having now given up the design, which he formerly entertained, of going himself to the Continent to collate manuscripts, he sent Walker to Paris, in the year 1719, for that purpose; and never did an agent acquit himself with more industry or ability in fulfilling the wishes of his principal. He remained nearly a year in that capital, and in that time examined and collated a surprising number of manuscripts; and his letters, as well as his collations themselves, testify his zeal and care in the discharge of his commission. The expense of his sojourn at Paris, which fell upon Bentley, was considerable; for at that moment the scheme of the notorious Mr. Law, which was to have opened a new mine of wealth to the French nation, drew to the metropolis an extraordinary multitude of strangers, eager to participate in those ideal riches. Walker writes, on Feb. 10, 1720, "Paris has been so dear all this winter, that there is no living in it, but for those people who have dealt in the *actions* of Mississippi: I pay near half more for every thing than I did when I came first here."

Resides at Paris, collating manuscripts for Bentley.

Bentley had formed some acquaintance with the Benedictine monks of St. Maur, at the time when Wetstein was at Paris, and had promised to aid the edition of the works of Origen, then in the hands of De la Rue, one of that body, with a series of emendations on the tract Περὶ Εὐχῆς. This illustrious society contained at that time the Fathers Montfaucon, Martianay, De la Rue, Juillier, Sabatier, and others, who devoted their lives to those laborious and splendid publications which have distinguished them above all other literary fraternities. Walker being introduced to their notice was received and assisted with that kindness and courtesy which has at all periods distinguished the literati of France. His personal merits, his amiable manners, and

Benedictines of St. Maur.

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his skill in decyphering manuscripts attached them greatly to their young acquaintance; and it is pleasing to record the hearty zeal with which they promoted the objects of his mission. Besides communicating all their own manuscripts, and using their interest in procuring collations from their brethren of Angers, they accommodated him with a room and fire in their monastery of St. Germain des Prés for his work, and in order to abridge his task, several of them gave him assistance in the labour of collation. Walker's attention while at Paris was not confined to the manuscripts of the New Testament: he collated several Latin authors, partly to serve the purposes of Bentley's intended editions, and partly to gratify his curiosity: among others was the oldest and best copy of Suetonius; and I discover from a letter of our critic that he was meditating an edition of that historian [10].

Ancient Italic version of the Scriptures.

A curious circumstance was near losing Bentley the co-operation of the fraternity of St. Germain's. They had been for some time preparing an edition of the ancient Latin versions of the Scriptures, in use before the time of St. Jerome, and comparing them with the Vulgate. The two editors, Sabatier and Mopinot, had long laboured in their own and other Parisian libraries, transcribing the numerous versions of an earlier date than the Vulgate, with the view of recovering that identical 'Italic version' which St. Augustine had declared to be preferable to every other. An apprehension now occurred to them that Bentley, if suffered to have transcripts or collations of all their ancient manuscripts, would publish such a list of variations from the common version, in those copies on which they principally relied, as might in effect anticipate their own undertaking. Upon this there was a demur about admitting Mr. Walker to the use of their manuscripts: and the question was discussed at a meeting of the superiors of the monastery. Here Father Montfaucon, the most distinguished of the body, maintained the cause of Dr. Bentley with an ardour which shows that the spirit of chivalry may find its way into the regions of

Montfaucon.

[10] Of this letter, dated Sept. 13, 1719, the only one of Bentley's to Walker which has been preserved, a copy has been obligingly communicated to me by A. J. Valpy, Esq. I understand that all the rest were destroyed by some ignorant executor; a loss which is greatly to be regretted.

scholastic literature. He contended that the request of so great a scholar, from whom they had received obligations, ought by all means to be complied with, even though their own undertaking should thereby be prejudiced; and that he would rather send the treasures themselves to Cambridge for Bentley's use, than by refusing the indulgence requested, bring a disgrace upon the Benedictine name. His arguments so far prevailed, that they determined to write and ascertain the precise character of the new edition, with an assurance that they would render it all the assistance in their power, consistent with justice due to their own brethren. To this inquiry, conveyed in a most courteous letter from Father Thuillier, Bentley returned a satisfactory answer, informing them that his edition, the main object of which was to recover the Latin version as left by St. Jerome, would in no respect interfere with their intended publication. But at the same time they learned an opinion of our Aristarchus respecting their undertaking, which must have occasioned them no small surprise and dismay. Our only knowledge of the character or existence of the ancient 'Italic version,' which it was the object of the Benedictine work to recover, is found in the following sentence of St. Augustine: *In ipsis autem Interpretationibus* ITALA *ceteris præferatur; nam est tenacior verborum, cum perspicuitate sententiæ.* As there is no mention any where else of one among the numerous Latin versions, which was peculiarly known by the name of 'Italic,' and as it was probable that, had such been the case, St. Augustine would rather have termed it *Italica* than *Itala*, Bentley exercised upon these words of the Father his critical ingenuity; and thought he discovered the true reading to be, ILLA *ceteris præferatur*, QUÆ *est tenacior verborum*, &c. accordingly, he pronounced the *Italic version* to be a mere chimæra. This conjecture is very plausible, and ingeniously supported: but the question is still open to much doubt; and nothing which I have yet seen has quite satisfied me either of the correctness of the old reading or of Bentley's emendation. I shall, however, say no more in this place, than that a subsequent correction by Archbishop Potter, USITATA for *Itala*, which has received the approbation of high authority in our own times, appears to me somewhat less probable than that of Dr.

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Bentley [11]. The Benedictines received the communication of their learned correspondent not only with good-humour, but thankfulness; they instantly laid open their treasures to Walker, whose behaviour and learning speedily rendered them his personal friends; and an unreserved intercourse of good offices was maintained between the convent of St. Germain's and Trinity Lodge: Bentley sent them, among other things, a collation of the Latin version in the Beza manuscript; and when, after the lapse of twenty years, their splendid publication made its appearance, he was mentioned in a manner befitting the first scholar of the age [12].

Bentley's proposals for publishing his New Testament.

Upon the return of Walker from his mission in the year 1720, Bentley, having availed himself of the large accession to his stock of materials brought by that zealous agent, found himself in a condition to lay his undertaking before the public. The great expense of the work, and the uncertainty of its sale, having determined him to publish by subscription, he put forth a printed sheet containing a concise account of the object and nature of the intended edition, along with a specimen of its execution. From these proposals, which will be seen in a note, a clear idea may be drawn of the design: the promise of abstaining from conjectural emendation, as too hazardous a mode of dealing with the sacred text, was intended to obviate a general apprehension which Bentley knew to prevail, that he was likely to take the same liberties as he was accustomed to do with profane writers. The price of the two folio volumes being fixed at three and five guineas respectively for the small and large paper, must even at that day have been moderate; and the allotment of half the profits of the publication to Mr. Walker as a remuneration for the trouble of correcting the press,

[11] The Archbishop's correction proceeded upon the idea of a transcriber having omitted to repeat *us* in *usitata*, the same letters being found at the end of the preceding word *Interpretationibus*: the remaining word ITATA might then naturally be altered to *Itala*. This emendation is approved by the Bishop of Peterborough in his notes on Michaelis, and subsequently by Archdeacon Wrangham in his edition of *Walton's Prolegomena*, tom. ii. p. 271. But it has never yet been shown that the Common Version was known by the bare title of *Usitata*.

[12] The letters of the Benedictine Fathers, as well as those of Mr. Walker, have been preserved among Bentley's papers. An extract from Bentley's letter on this subject is given by Sabatier in the preface to *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ*, &c. p. 31.

appears an instance of great liberality to his young assistant[13]. The specimen consisted of the 22d chapter of the Apocalypse, the text

His specimen.

[13] "Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *Græce.* Novum Testamentum, *Versionis Vulgatæ, per S^tum Hieronymum ad vetusta Exemplaria Græca castigatæ et exactæ. Utrumque ex antiquissimis Codd. MSS. cum Græcis tum Latinis, edidit* Richardus Bentleius.

"PROPOSALS FOR PRINTING.

"I. The author of this edition, observing that the printed copies of the New Testament, both of the original Greek and ancient vulgar Latin, were taken from manuscripts of no great antiquity, such as the first editors could then procure; and that now by God's Providence there are MSS. in Europe, (accessible, though with great charge) above a thousand years old in both languages; believes he may do good service to common Christianity, if he publishes a new edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated copies, but as represented in the most ancient and venerable MSS. in Greek and Roman capital letters.

"II. The author, revolving in his mind some passages of St. Hierom; where he declares, that (without making a new version) he adjusted and reformed the whole Latin Vulgate to the best Greek exemplars, that is, to those of the famous Origen; and another passage, where he says, that 'a verbal or literal interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not necessary, except in the Holy Scriptures, *Ubi ipse verborum ordo mysterium est*, where the very order of the words is mystery;' took thence the hint, that if the oldest copies of the original Greek and Hierom's Latin were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be still found to agree both in words and order of words. And upon making the essay, he has succeeded in his conjecture, beyond his expectations or even his hopes.

"III. The author believes that he has retrieved (except in very few places) the true exemplar of Origen, which was the standard to the most learned of the Fathers, at the time of the Council of Nice and two centuries after. And he is sure, that the Greek and Latin MSS., by their mutual assistance, do so settle the original text to the smallest nicety, as cannot be performed now in any Classic author whatever: and that out of a labyrinth of thirty thousand various readings, that crowd the pages of our present best editions, all put upon equal credit to the offence of many good persons; this clue so leads and extricates us, that there will scarce be two hundred out of so many thousands that can deserve the least consideration.

"IV. To confirm the lections which the author places in the text, he makes use of the old versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic and Æthiopic, and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the first five centuries; and he gives in his notes all the various readings (now known) within the said five centuries. So that the reader has under one view what the first ages of the Church knew of the text; and what has crept into any copies since, is of no value or authority.

"V. The author is very sensible, that in the Sacred Writings there's no place for conjectures or emendations. Diligence and fidelity, with some judgment and experience, are the characters here requisite. He declares, therefore, that he does not alter one letter in the text without the authorities subjoined in the notes. And to leave the free choice to every reader, he places under each column the smallest variations of this edition, either in words or order, from the received Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes Sixtus V. and Clements VIII. So that this edition exhibits both itself, and the common ones.

"VI. If the author has any thing to suggest towards a change of the text, not supported by

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being restored according to the reasons and authorities given in his notes, with the common readings in the margin. The selection of the last chapter of the New Testament, was probably designed to intimate, what was really the fact, that the whole work was in an equal state of forwardness. There might indeed have been another reason for the preference: he had not yet obtained collations of the Vatican and some other MSS. of the Gospels; which copies not containing the Apocalypse, a specimen taken from thence was equally perfect in their absence.

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These Proposals were put forth at the critical time, when Bentley was resisting the attempt of his enemies to deprive him of his professorship; and an opinion was propagated, that his object was only to interest the public in favour of a person who was devoting his knowledge and abilities to so meritorious an undertaking. It was recollected that he had on similar occasions made successful efforts to occupy the public mind by his literary productions; and it was insinuated that he had not really prepared his edition, but that the whole was a vain pretext, to be abandoned as soon as it had answered its temporary purpose. To these suspicions Bentley himself added force by a strange indiscretion, of which we find more than one instance in his latter

any copies now extant; he will offer it separate in his Prolegomena; in which will be a large account of the several MSS. here used, and of the other matters which contribute to make this edition useful. In this work he is of no sect or party; his design is to serve the whole Christian name. He draws no consequences in his notes; makes no oblique glances upon any disputed points, old or new. He consecrates this work, as a κειμήλιον, a κτῆμα ἐσαεὶ, a Charter, a Magna Charta, to the whole Christian Church; to last when all the ancient MSS. here quoted may be lost and extinguished.

"VII. To publish this work, according to its use and importance, a great expence is requisite: it is designed to be printed, not on the paper or with the letter of this specimen, but with the best letter, paper, and ink that Europe affords. It must, therefore, be done by subscription or contribution. As it will make two tomes in folio, the lowest subscriptions for smaller paper must be three guineas, one advanced in present; and for the great paper five guineas, two advanced.

"VIII. The work will be put to the press, as soon as money is contributed to support the charge of the impression; and no more copies will be printed than are subscribed for. The overseer and corrector of the press will be the learned Mr. JOHN WALKER, of Trinity College in Cambridge; who with great accurateness has collated many MSS. at Paris for the present edition. And the issue of it, whether gain or loss, is equally to fall on him and the author."

years. The proposals and the specimen were drawn up, according to his own confession, in haste one evening by candle-light: the whole sheet bore marks of precipitation; and, what was worse, a sentence from St. Jerome, upon which he greatly relied, was misquoted, as it appears, from a slip of the pen; whereby he subjected himself to the imputation of falsifying authorities for the sake of supporting his hypothesis about the Latin version[14]. The truth is, that it never occurred to him as probable that his present adversaries, keen and inveterate as they were, would think of attacking him in the department of criticism; and a paper of proposals, which he regarded only in the light of an advertisement, did not seem to demand that care and circumspection which he reserved for the publication itself.

Middleton's Remarks on the Proposals.

It is painful to narrate the animosity and virulence which displayed themselves upon such a subject as a new edition of the Gospel of Peace. Middleton, inflamed with resentment against his great adversary, and indignant at the prosecution then hanging over him, perceived on the perusal of the Proposals, that Bentley had laid open some weak points, and that a skilful enemy might make a successful assault upon his credit. Accordingly he lost no time in writing Remarks upon the Proposals, taking to pieces every paragraph and every sentence, with a determination to find Bentley wrong in all his assertions, and unequal to his undertaking. The avowed object of this tract was to prevent the public being deluded by the bold promises of the author of the Proposals, whom he believed to have 'neither talents nor materials

[14] Bentley himself, in his printed defence of his proposals, makes a distinct confession of this haste and of its effects:

"We come now to the second passage, quoted by our Master, UBI IPSE VERBORUM ORDO MYSTERIUM EST, which our Censor works and sweats at for three whole pages together; resolving to undermine and demolish it, as the sole basis of the new edition."

"You'll please, Sir, to believe, when I tell you, that our Master's Proposals being drawn up in haste, in one evening by candle-light, and printed the next day from that first and sole draught, (which haste likewise hindered him from revising the sheet, and so left several false accents and points in the specimen itself,) he consulted not St. Hierom, but cited the passage by memory: whereby it happened, that for *ubi et verborum ordo*, he put *ubi ipse verborum ordo*. But, that *et* and *ipse* have the very same meaning here, every school-boy can see: 'tis just as in English, where *even the order of words*, or *the very order of words*, are perfectly equivalent."—*Dr. Bentley's Proposals, &c.* p. 18, 19.

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proper for the work he had undertaken;' or, in other words, to defeat the projected subscription. Middleton not only attacks his adversary with learning and argument upon the few points in the Proposals which admitted of a difference of opinion, but indulges the most captious and ill-natured sneers at almost every expression, however innocent or indifferent. There can scarcely be found a sentence in his book which is not dictated by the spirit of malice and unfairness. An instance or two of this determined injustice, will be sufficient to betray the temper of the writer: he charges Bentley with not dealing honourably towards his partner, Mr. John Walker, 'to whom he allotted half the profit, and *almost all the trouble of this work*, yet reserved the whole reputation of it to himself'—an unblushing misstatement of the fact. He accuses him of treating the first editors of the Greek Testament with 'barbarity and injustice,' in his opening paragraph. This is passionate language and speaks ill for the heart of the man who could use it; since Bentley's account of the manuscript sources of those early editions, was only such as Middleton must have known in his conscience to be true. In the same class may be placed the complaints of 'ingratitude' displayed to Dr. Mill, 'inconsistency' with passages found in his Remarks on Free-thinking and his Sermon on Popery, and an imputation of total ignorance of the Oriental languages. But the writer's sheer personal malice shews itself most when he speaks of Bentley publishing by subscription, (of which resource, by the bye, no person ever availed himself more beneficially than Middleton himself, in his Life of Cicero); 'we find,' says he, 'in these two paragraphs such sordid insinuations, such low and paltry higgling to squeeze our money from us, &c. &c., that it puts me in mind of those mendicants in the streets, who beg our charity with an *half sheet of proposals* pinned upon their breasts.' This happening to occur in the South-sea year, and in the height of the mania of speculation, he makes a dextrous use of the coincidence:

"But, indeed, most people are agreed in opinion, that he has borrowed his scheme from Change-Alley, and in this age of bubbles, took the hint to set up one of his own: for having invented a rare secret to make paper more durable than parchment, and a printed book, however used and tumbled about, to out-last any manuscript preserved with

the greatest care, he presently takes in a partner, opens books for subscriptions, and does not in the least question but that *Bentley's Bubble* will be as famous and profitable as the best of them."—*Remarks, Paragraph by Paragraph*, p. 18.

Written in a disgraceful spirit.

What makes this publication peculiarly disgraceful to Dr. Middleton is, that he gave his powerful aid to support the prejudices of those who condemned all attempts at correcting the common text of Scripture. It is well known that there long continued a superstitious feeling in favour of the precise words of the *textus receptus*, even where the readings of manuscripts were demonstrably preferable, and an undefined dread of sacred criticism, as tending to disturb the text which had acquired a kind of prescription. Middleton's character and turn of mind were sure to make him view such apprehensions in their proper light; but his malice against Bentley made him unscrupulous as to the means by which he endeavoured to injure him; and he therefore lent his support to the ill-founded clamour to which he well knew that every critical edition of the Scriptures was equally exposed.

Various persons suspected of having written the Remarks.

The appearance of so smart an attack upon our veteran critic excited great sensation in the literary republic: the author only styled himself 'A Member of the University of Cambridge;' and various persons, whose studies were considered to lie in that department, were immediately conjectured to have produced this well-written and formidable tract. Some attributed it to Dr. Colbatch, some to Dr. Waterland; while other guesses fixed upon Mr. Pearce of Trinity, Mr. Newcome of St. John's, and Mr. Thirlby of Jesus. Middleton, whose pursuits were not supposed to be of a theological nature, seems hardly to have been suspected; but he soon put an end to all surmises, by avowing the piece; and to prevent Bentley's resentment from fastening upon a wrong object, he took care to do this in the hearing of some of his intimate friends. The aggrieved critic, roused by this daring attack, resolved upon an immediate reply. The whole of Middleton's book was composed in so bad a spirit, that had Bentley confined himself to a dignified exposure of his malice, and refutation of his cavils, he would certainly have inflicted a severe punishment upon his enemy, and might perhaps have turned the tide of popular opinion in his own favour. But he was now no longer the same person as formerly: a course of violent

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animosities, and the indulgence of unrestrained indignation for many years, had impaired both his taste and judgment in controversy, and he forgot that whoever insults and abuses an adversary, neglects his own dignity, and is sure to be a sufferer in the conflict. It must be allowed, that in this instance, he had given no provocation; it was clear that the enemy with whom he had to deal was both malicious and inveterate; and that enemy he knew to be Dr. Middleton. But he was also aware that a close confederacy existed between him and Dr. Colbatch; by whom he had been supplied with the materials for the pamphlet about his administration of the College, for which he was then under prosecution; and a strong suspicion possessed him, that the same was the case in regard to the present publication. This notion was altogether erroneous; but Colbatch had given some cause for it, by declaring, in the hearing of the Master's friends, when the Proposals were first shewn him in the College Hall, that 'the whole was a sham; that no such design was really intended; and that these were Bentley's *veteres artes*, to interest the public in his favour when under prosecution:' a similar insinuation respecting 'the time, manner, and other circumstances of the Proposals' occurs in Middleton's pamphlet: where was also found another remark, made at the same time by Colbatch. Independently of this suspicion, the Master was irritated at the incessant applications which he knew that he was still making to persons in power, to procure a visitation of the College; and he was much galled at his late defeat in the affair of the rectory of Orwell. Accordingly, he gave full vent to his spleen and resentment in a Reply which assumed Dr. Colbatch to be the undoubted author of the Remarks, and abused him without compunction and without decency. Of Middleton he only took a contemptuous notice, as the publisher of the other's libels, and hinted that he was already 'in danger of the pillory.' As for the presumed censor, he spoke of him at the very outset in the following terms:

Bentley's reasons for thinking Colbatch had supplied the materials.

His Reply.

"The author at the first publishing might have been called Legion; for as his party is discovered in his very title-page, where our Master is named *Richard Bentley* without the honour of his degree; so of that party every one that was thought to have conceitedness and malice enough to write it, was suspected to be the author. But a day or two cleared up that point. The known image of the true author was stamped so visible on

it, that all suspicions soon centered in one. But his name I will not foul my letter with, since he himself thought it too scandalous for his own pamphlet. Nor is posterity concerned in the matter; for whenever he's carried to the grave, his memory will be buried with him. Let his name, therefore, be Suffenus, or Zoïlus, or Margites, or Timon, or which you please of these old heroes, whose shining characters were in whole or part so exactly like our author's [15]."

Virulent abuse of Colbatch.

He takes care, however, to leave no doubt as to the person designated, by perpetual references to his Casuistical professorship; styling him 'a casuistic drudge,' a 'plodding pupil of Escobar,' &c.; speaks of his residence in Portugal, his dissatisfaction with 'his two patrons, a noble Duke and a great Bishop;' charges him with ingratitude to himself, 'who had been, though the lowest, not the least of his benefactors;' says that 'a College squabble is necessary to keep up his spirits:'—"In the midst of College plenty, with five thousand pounds surplusage above all expenses, he can bawl, with tragical tone, and lungs stronger than a smith's bellows, *Destruction*, *Dilapidation*, *Ruin*, upon the laying out of five pounds [16]."—"He never broaches a piece of mere knavery, without a preface about his conscience; nor ever offers to us downright nonsense, without eyes, muscles, and shoulders wrought up into the most solemn posture of gravity [17]."—"Commend me to the man, who with a thick hide and solid forehead, can stand bluff against plain matter of fact [18]."—"We need go no further than this paragraph for a specimen of the greatest malice and impudence, that any scribbler out of the dark committed to paper [19]." These passages, and a hundred others equally insulting, with the abusive terms 'cabbage-head,' 'insect,' 'worm,' 'maggot,' 'vermin,' 'gnawing rat,' 'snarling dog,' 'ignorant thief,' 'mountebank,' and many more taken from the vocabulary of Billingsgate, are interlarded with the personal epithets 'hard-faced,' 'grinning,' 'swarthy,' 'of intellect as dark as his countenance,' 'opening his wide jaws with an agreeable yawn,' '*smiling horrible*, like Satan in Milton:' but all taken together do not come up to another device for hurting the feelings of Dr. Col-

[15] *Dr. Bentley's Proposals for printing a New Edition of the Greek Testament, and St. Hierom's Latin Version. With a Full Answer to the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer*, p. 9.

[16] *Ibid.* p. 11. [17] *Ibid.* p. 10. [18] *Ibid.* p. 13. [19] *Ibid.* p. 24.

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batch: he insinuates that he was under the repute of craziness and madness, and attributes his censures 'to the influence of the moon.' To this reflection, for which there was not the least foundation, he endeavours to give some colour, by allusion to the eccentricity of his brother, the Rev. George Colbatch, saying that 'he had a brother here in the neighbourhood, a harmless, quiet clergyman, and much the better of the two, who had taken a fancy, from a vow or a vision, to wear in the flower of his age a beard to his girdle, sufficient for a Greek Patriarch[20].'

Had these vulgar and personal invectives been collected together in one place, like those vented against Æschines by his illustrious rival, they might have been passed over by the reader, and the rest of Dr. Bentley's book have been perused with interest and approbation. But unfortunately there occur in every paragraph, and almost every sentence, such instances of bitterness against his imaginary antagonist, as would occasion disgust even were the subject one of profane literature. But what would in other cases have been an offence against taste and good manners, became, in a debate upon the text of the New Testament, a source of positive scandal, injurious to the cause of piety and religion. Thus did Bentley, although the person unfairly assailed, and in spite of his advantage of having the best cause, excite by his Reply an universal prejudice against himself; which neither his close and argumentative reasoning, nor the occasional scintillations of genius, worthy of his better days, could counteract.

The title-page only declares the author to be 'A Member of Trinity College, Cambridge;' and the pamphlet invariably speaks of Dr. Bentley in the third person, as 'our Master.' But the signature of I. E. the two first vowels in the names of *Richard Bentley*, and the undisguised allusions which run throughout the piece, prove that the veil was so thin as not even to be designed to conceal the author. The whole is written in a style of gaiety and confidence, and betrays the feeling with which he anticipated a triumph over his adversaries not

[20] *Dr. Bentley's Proposals for printing a new Edition of the Greek Testament, &c.* p. 39. G. Colbatch was of Christ's College, A.B. 1691, and Minister of Abington, near Cambridge.

less signal than that which had attended him in the controversy upon Phalaris[21].

January, 1720-21. Colbatch seeks redress for the injury.

This extraordinary production appeared at the beginning of the year, and excited a sensation still greater than that of Middleton had done. Colbatch, roused to indignation at the libel on his character, resolved to seek satisfaction by every legal and practicable method. His first step was to print a short paper, disavowing altogether the 'Remarks,' which were made the pretext for the attack, and denying the truth of other assertions contained in Bentley's book. He next displayed his reverence for the statutes of his College, by applying to the Vice-master to take cognizance, in conjunction with the other Senior Fellows, of the feud between the Master and himself: but this appeal promised little satisfaction. The feeble Mr. Modd, now sinking under the weight of age, excused himself, on the score of his infirmities, from taking any step in the business: but Bentley going to town in a few days, and a College meeting being held upon other matters, Colbatch exhibited the libel, and obtained from the majority a vote that it was 'false, scandalous, and malicious; and that if it should appear to have been written, as it professed, by a member of the College, the author should be proceeded against according to statute.' Brabourn, however, one of those who concurred in this censure, shortly afterwards recanted; nor was it ever entered in the College register. But, on referring the case to the Heads of Colleges, Dr. Colbatch obtained a public and substantial redress: they decided at once that he was the individual injured

[21] Instances of this retrospective triumph are seen in the two mottoes:

Cunarum labor est angues superare mearum.

Tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem Dejice—

And again in the fifteenth page:

"But now prepare for a stabbing push, a piece of capital and transcendent wit. Are manuscripts 'now accessible?' '*it's very certain then,*' says he, '*that library-keepers abroad have more humanity and less envy, than some I could name at home.*' What a pity 'tis, that this sparkling repartee is not new and his own; but borrowed from old Phalaris, *Pro singulari sua humanitate?* And methinks the very omen of it might have kept our Censor's fingers from pilfering such unlucky goods; from stealing cotton at Marseilles, while infected with the plague.

"*Ah, quæ te mala mens, miselle Timon?*

——Tune etiam telis moriere Dianæ?"—*Dr. Bentley's Proposals, &c.* p. 15.

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by the libel, and that cognizance ought to be taken of it as a violation of academical decorum; but they would not admit that the vehement presumption, which pointed at the Master of Trinity as the author, could be taken as a proof of the fact. However, after a long discussion, they agreed to censure the book in the strongest terms which could be used; declaring that 'Dr. Colbatch had just ground of complaint;' pronouncing 'the book to be a most virulent and scandalous libel, highly injurious to Dr. Colbatch, contrary to good manners, and a notorious violation of the statutes and discipline of the University;' and adding, 'that the author of the libel, as soon as he was discovered, should receive such censure as the statutes did in that case appoint.'

Bentley's Reply censured by the Heads.

This declaration, subscribed by the names of the whole meeting, among whom was Dr. Waterland, the former friend and ally of Bentley, was immediately printed and circulated by the authority of the Heads; and ought to have contented the aggrieved party, as the most effectual satisfaction for injured fame which the case admitted. But Colbatch's feelings were too sore to allow him to rest here; he considered it a duty not to desist till he had procured a personal censure of his enemy; and he thought the agitation of the question likely to draw attention to the grievances of his College. Accordingly he instituted a prosecution in the Vice Chancellor's Court against Crownfield, the University printer and bookseller, for having sold the obnoxious pamphlet; calculating that this proceeding must procure a public announcement of the author.

Colbatch prosecutes the printer in the Vice Chancellor's Court.

Dr. Crosse.

The chief-magistracy was now held by Dr. Crosse, who had in the preceding year become Master of Catherine Hall, on the resignation of Dean Sherlock. This gentleman being attached to the ruling party of the University, could safely be entrusted by his brethren with the authority which Dr. Gooch had held for three successive years: accordingly, he was elected Vice Chancellor in 1720, although Dr. Andrew Snape, the new Provost of King's College, was entitled, as his senior, to the precedence [22]. But he appears to have been a quiet and timid man, determined to avoid if possible a collision with the person

[22] On this occasion Bentley's friends voted for Snape. The numbers were for Dr. Snape 44, Dr. Crosse 70.

who had so long kept the place in agitation. He discouraged the institution of this suit as much as he could; and after two hearings, intimated to Colbatch his opinion that judgment must be given in the bookseller's favour, as it did not appear that he had sold the tract after it had been declared a libel. But upon the prosecutor hinting that he should appeal to the Senate against such a decision, the case was adjourned; Dr. Crosse being resolved to escape, by procrastination, from the difficulties which threatened all proceedings in this business. But an anxiety was shown by him as well as the other Heads, to testify such a sense of Colbatch's merits as might soothe his wounded spirit. A suitable occasion for so doing had just occurred: Dr. Gastrell, the Bishop of Chester, had stood forward as the champion of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in refusing to institute Mr. Peploe, the newly appointed Warden of Manchester College, as not having a degree in theology. He had indeed obtained the title of B.D. from the Archbishop of Canterbury; but the Bishop maintained both by an action and in a pamphlet, that Lambeth degrees could not be recognized as a qualification. It was thought that this prelate's zealous and able defence of the rights and privileges of the Universities, deserved the public thanks of those bodies. About the same time the Earl of Nottingham had nobly exerted himself in defence of the Christian faith, by his answer to Whiston's 'Letter on the eternity of the Son of God;' and entitled himself to the thanks of those seats of religious education. It was, therefore, designed that solemn thanks decreed by the Senate should be presented both to the Bishop and the Earl, by Dr. Colbatch in company with Dr. Waterland. This honourable mission, so well calculated to testify the feelings of the University in his favour, Dr. Colbatch thought proper, even when pressed, to decline; and he did this, by his own statement, not without ill-humour; alleging, that 'it was not fit that one who had such a slur upon him, should appear before persons of honour;' thereby evincing a degree of petulance unworthy of his character [2].

[23] The account of these matters is taken from Colbatch's Manuscript Journal. Upon his refusal, Dr. Lany and Dr. Waterland were appointed by the Senate to convey the thanks of the University to the Bishop of Chester and the Earl of Nottingham, by a Grace, April 22, 1721.

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In the meantime hostilities continued between Bentley and his adversaries in all the methods of law, controversy, and personal altercation. Colbatch wrote a very severe and cutting reply to the late attack upon himself; but he was prevented from giving it to the public by the advice of friends, who represented the impropriety of seeking redress at the same moment both from the law and the press. Middleton, however, pressed the war in a more effectual manner.

Middleton's Further Remarks on the Proposals.

He lost no time in writing a rejoinder to Bentley's Answer, which appeared in about three months, under the title of 'Some Further Remarks, Paragraph by Paragraph, upon Proposals lately published for a new edition of a Greek and Latin Testament, by Richard Bentley.' To this pamphlet, which was four times as long as his former, Middleton prefixed his name, and explained in his preface the state of the contest, and the wilful mistake which Bentley had committed in assigning his first remarks to Dr. Colbatch. This is an able and masterly production, every way worthy of its author's exalted reputation for talent and ingenuity. He shews himself a consummate master of all the arts of controversy; and though every sentence is influenced by hatred of his antagonist, yet he is generally able to veil his spirit with the dress of learning and argument. In this respect he maintains a great advantage over Bentley, the abusiveness of whose pamphlet is barefaced and intolerable. The topics are professedly the same as those of his preceding piece; but in support of his positions he adduces a variety of new arguments, and displays a much more extensive acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers. Every thing is disposed in the most lucid arrangement: all the writings of his antagonist were industriously sifted for passages upon which charges might be grounded of arrogance and inconsistency: to injure his moral and literary character, no method seemed in the eyes of Dr. Middleton to be unfair: *dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat*? The two weak points of Bentley's Proposals were, first, his attaching too much importance to his supposed discovery of the Vulgate Latin always following the exact order of the Greek words; which was in truth only a plausible hypothesis, not safely to be acted upon in revising the Greek text; and, secondly, the acknowledged hurry in which the printed specimen had been sent to

the press. Both these topics his adversary urged with much sarcasm, and still greater malevolence. He was aware that Bentley had, by the violence of his last publication, placed himself under a cloud; and he wrote as one who felt that he was trampling his enemy to pieces. His concluding denunciation of sticking to him as close as possible, is sufficiently curious to be cited:

"Being conscious, however, of no offence that my 'name' has ever given, nor of any 'infamy' upon it, to make it odious to any man but himself, I am not ashamed of producing it. And since it is, as he says, 'to die with me,' and be 'buried shortly in oblivion,' he must excuse me the reasonable ambition of making the most of it while I live; and that I may have some chance of being known likewise to posterity, I am resolved to fasten myself upon him, and stick as close to him as I can, in hopes of being dragged at least by his great name out of my present obscurity, and of finding some place, though a humble one, in the future annals of his story."—*Some Further Remarks, &c.* p. 70. *Middleton's Works*, vol. ii. p. 436.

That Middleton has succeeded in securing himself a place, and a prominent one, 'in the annals of Bentley's story,' must be acknowledged; and it may be added that no one of the countless publications against our hero, ever displayed so much ability, or inflicted so severe a blow as that now under our consideration. But that he has thereby elevated his own reputation in the eyes of posterity, as much as he has depressed that of his enemy, is not equally certain. The reader will find in it a beautiful style, acute reasoning, extensive learning, well-sustained humour, and all the accomplishments of a perfect controversialist; but he will look in vain for the sincerity and candour of a fair adversary, whose object is the establishment of truth.

Reported assistance of Ashton.

It has been generally believed that Middleton was assisted in this piece by Dr. Ashton, the Master of Jesus College; who is well known on some occasions to have aided by his learning the productions of his friends. But this fact rests upon uncertain tradition: I find no hint of it in any contemporary writing; and though it is not improbable that he might have supplied Middleton with detached hints or references to the Fathers (the controversy being a matter of general conversation in the University), yet there is no necessity for any such supposition; there is no part of the book which appears above the reach or the

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learning of Middleton, whose attention had been for some months closely devoted to the subject [24].

The reader has frequently observed that it was the common fortune of Bentley's publications to provoke a controversy: in this instance, the mere announcement of his intended edition of the New Testament gave birth to an extensive discussion. Besides the far-famed tracts of Middleton, there appeared some other pieces which it will here be convenient to notice. The first was 'A Letter to the Reverend Master of Trinity College, Cambridge,' signed by '*Philalethes*,' a most severe banter, in which virulence and insult are conveyed in pages abounding with wit and scholarship. The author of this attack is unknown; but he speaks of himself as a Trinity man. There appeared also two able, judicious, and scholarlike Latin Epistles from the hands of Mr. Zachary Pearce, who, assuming the title of *Phileleutherus Londinensis*, gave a fair and just estimate of the probable merits of the intended edition, as far as could be inferred from the proposals and specimen. He proceeded to examine the various conjectural emendations of passages in the Scriptures, which Bentley had advanced in different publications, but which in the intended edition were to be confined to the *Prolegomena*: afterwards, in his second epistle, he propounded and defended a series of conjectures of his own. Pearce's learning is considerable and well applied; and while he speaks of Bentley with praise due to his merits in literature, he fairly points out those particulars in his critical character, which made him less qualified for his present than his former undertakings. Notwithstanding this veil of candour, it is not difficult to discover, that the real object of the Lord Chancellor's chaplain was to bring forward his own merits, and to found a reputation by mixing himself in a controversy which the name of Bentley rendered generally interesting [25]. The last pamphlet to be noticed

Letter by Philalethes.

Pearce's two Latin Epistles.

[24] The late Dr. Parr, who used to take great interest in discussing the merits of Dr. Middleton, held that in this controversy he was indebted to Dr. Ashton: but when I enquired of him the authority for this opinion, he confessed that it rested only upon tradition.

[25] The title of this book is, *Epistolæ Duæ ad Celeberrimum Doctissimumque Virum F—— V——, Professorem Amstelodamensem scriptæ. Quarum in altera agitur de Editione Novi Testamenti a Clarissimo Bentleio suscepta, &c. &c. Londini*, 1721. Pearce at the beginning of

appeared in the shape of a 'Letter to Archdeacon Bentley,' on the subject of the Complutensian edition: like the rest it is anonymous, but was understood to be the production of Dr. Richard Smalbroke, a controversial writer of eminence, who was shortly afterwards elevated to the Bench as Bishop of St. David's[26]. His object was to uphold the disputed verse of 1 John v. 7, by arguing that its insertion by the Complutensian editors must be owing to their finding it in some of the Greek manuscripts sent for their use by Pope Leo X. and that it probably was taken from that most ancient manuscript, which is pre-eminently known by the name of the Vatican, which he thought was one of those sent from Italy to Alcala, for the purposes of the edition: and he urged, that it was incumbent upon Bentley, before he finally decided on rejecting this verse in his edition, to employ able persons to examine the Vatican and the libraries of Spain, in order to ascertain that point. The same opinion of the authority of the Complutensian edition continued to be held long after this period; but it has now been ascertained beyond a doubt, that the Vatican was *not* used in revising the text of that oldest printed copy of the Scriptures[27]; and every topic has been exhausted which can bear on either side of the controversy upon the genuineness of the verse.

Dr. Smalbroke's Letter.

These various pieces were entirely eclipsed by Middleton's 'Further Remarks,' in which it was generally conceived that he had obtained a complete victory over Bentley, and that the certain consequence would

Mistaken opinion that Bentley's edition was stopped by Middleton's pamphlet.

his first letter, informs his supposed correspondent at Amsterdam of the depressed state of learning in England at that moment (the heat of the South-sea speculation), the thirst for money having extended itself to scholars, and abstracted them from all literary pursuits not attended with profit. He says, "Fatendum est tamen scientiarum illam veterem sitim paulum hic jam restinctam videri, nostrosque homines plerumque divites malle quam doctos audire. Juvenemne aliquem ad arduum quoddam aut philologiæ aut philosophiæ opus edendum hortaris? Instat subito et respondet, Quid inde commodi, subductis omnibus impensis, ad me venturum est? Scilicet ea argenti cupido, quæ olim bibliopolis solum, nunc ipsis authoribus insedit." p. 2.

[26] '*Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Complutensian Edition of the New Testament; in a Letter to Archdeacon Bentley*, 1722.' This is reprinted in the last edition of Lord Somers' Tracts, by Sir Walter Scott, but is erroneously stated to be written by Dr. Middleton.

[27] This matter has been decided by the Bishop of Peterborough, who has compared a great number of the readings of the manuscript, with those of the edition. See notes on *Michaelis*, vol. iii. p. 818.

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be the abandonment of his scheme of a new edition: and when it was found that the publication was suspended, the cause was universally attributed to the irrecoverable blow experienced from his adversary's publication. This opinion is expressed by numerous writers of the time, and has been commonly received and credited down to the present day. It is, however, one of the vulgar errors, which have attached themselves to Dr. Bentley's history; for though different causes co-operated to prevent the intended publication, it is quite certain that Middleton's pamphlet had no effect upon the undertaking; or, if it had any influence at all, seems rather to have added a stimulus to the editor to persevere with more energy in his task. Whatever reply he designed to make to the censures and cavils of his opponents, was reserved for his *Prolegomena*. It is indeed doubtful whether he ever perused this formidable tract: shortly after its appearance he told Bishop Atterbury, that 'he scorned to read the rascal's book; but if his Lordship would send him any part which he thought the strongest, he would undertake to answer it before night[28].' Nor is it true, as currently believed, that the subscription to the work was stopped by this publication; it had already obtained great encouragement; a long and distinguished list of subscribers had been secured, and the sum paid by them in advance, according to the terms of the Proposals, is recorded to have been not less than 2000 guineas[29]. About the same time he met with a rebuff of another description:

Great extent of the subscription.

[28] Letter of Middleton to Colbatch, June 9, 1721.

[29] The preface to the *Epistolæ Duæ* just mentioned, which was published in 1721, says, "Aliud est denique de quo te monitum velim; nempe has Epistolas, quamvis pluribus abhinc mensibus scriptas, non ante in publicum prodire, quam futurus ille Novi Testamenti editor magnam et amplam satis ad opus suum sustentandum subscribentium (ut vocant) copiam sibi comparasset." Smalbroke also, in his pamphlet just mentioned, alludes to the great number of Bentley's subscribers.

Respecting the subscription, there is an anecdote told by Hearne, in his manuscripts, from a person who met Dr. Bentley at the Duke of Bolton's table. "The Doctor happening to be called out of the room, the Duke proposed to the company to subscribe to his New Testament: to which they all agreed, and collected about 100 guineas, which his Grace put into his hands on his return: when Bentley exclaimed, while he shook them,

Quis, nisi mentis inops, oblatum respuit aurum?"

In this story, the number of guineas must, I apprehend, have been exaggerated.

deeming his work one in which both Religion and the national credit were interested, he thought it a fit object for the countenance and favour of Government, and therefore applied for permission to import the paper for the publication duty-free. This application, though it met with some support, was rejected by the Board of Treasury. Wetstein states in his *Prolegomena*, that the immediate abandonment of the whole undertaking was the consequence of mortification at this disappointment[30]. Bentley is said, and no doubt with truth, to have been considerably hurt at the repulse; but it is a mistake to suppose that he thereupon abandoned his plan, even for a day: almost immediately afterwards we find him borrowing from the Earl of Oxford a valuable Latin manuscript, in capital letters of gold, called *Codex Aureus*, just purchased in Holland, and another ancient copy of the Gospels, belonging to the noble collection of the ex-minister[31]. He designed also to go to Oxford at the beginning of the summer, to examine and collate with his own eyes the numerous and important manuscripts of the New Testament, in the Bodleian and other libraries of that University; and he was to have been a visitor in the house of the Dean of Christchurch[32]. But finding it inconvenient to perform this task himself, he committed it to David Casley, his deputy in the King's and Cottonian libraries. That gentleman executed his commission with great diligence; and as neither trouble nor expense was spared for the

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Fails in his attempt to import paper duty-free.

May 11.

David Casley.

[30] This account is given in Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 156. He appears to have derived his information from the *Bibliothéque Angloise*. See Wolf's Epistle to Lacroze, Sept. 1721, in which he mentions the fact of his unsuccessful application to obtain paper duty-free; and remarks upon the disposition shown in England to oppose Bentley's scheme, wondering what he can have done to have drawn upon himself so much hatred. *Thes. Epistol. Lacroz.* tom. ii. p. 167. Colbatch writing to Middleton, May 23, 1721, refers to this anecdote. "I heartily congratulate you upon the universal and highly deserved applause that your last piece meets with every where; by which, according to all that I can speak with or hear from, you have laid Bentley flat upon his back. Mr. Eachard writes me by last post from London, that he is every where teased and mortified about it; and *that the loss of his paper project puts him beyond all patience.*"

[31] Of the loan of these manuscripts to Bentley, a statement, highly amusing for its official solemnity, is given by Humphrey Wanley, the well-known keeper of the Harleian Library, in his Diary, printed in *Nichols' Literary Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 88. Bentley in his account of these copies considers each of them to be 1000 years old.

[32] At the death of Bishop Smalridge, in 1719, Dr. Hugh Boulter, afterwards Primate of Ireland, succeeded both to the bishoprick of Bristol, and deanery of Christchurch.

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accuracy of the forthcoming edition, he made new collations of several manuscripts, which had been already used by Dr. Mill; and Bentley embodied these, as well as the readings of the ancient copies just noticed, among the materials for his great work.

Our hero, however, was now to have his thoughts and attention occupied by matters the most uncongenial to literary and editorial pursuits, a series of angry litigations; which only supplied food to the vindictive passions of all parties concerned. His prosecution of Dr. Middleton for a libel upon himself, his College, and the King's justice, had been going on since the beginning of the last year. The repeated delays of trial led to a general opinion that he would abandon the proceedings: but this was a mistake; for in Trinity Term, 1721, shortly after the appearance of Middleton's last pamphlet, and while Bentley's publisher was threatened with a prosecution, the cause was called on in the Court of King's Bench. The issue of the trial could not be doubtful for a moment. Middleton had formally acknowledged himself to be author of the 'True State of Trinity College;' and the Chief Justice, Sir John Pratt, in his charge to the jury, dwelt upon the passage quoted in our last Chapter, which declared that the Fellows of Trinity had 'not been able to find any proper court in England which would receive their complaints,' as containing an undoubted libel upon the whole administration of justice in the kingdom. Thereupon the jury returned a verdict of 'Guilty,' and Dr. Middleton was ordered to attend at the bar on an early day to receive sentence for the crime of which he was convicted. This was a great and, as it seems, an unexpected blow. The correspondence of Middleton with Colbatch at this time exhibits a lively picture of the uncertainties and anxieties which agitate the mind of a person in his situation. He was kept nearly a month in daily attendance at Westminster Hall, in expectation of judgment, which was constantly put off, as he believed, by the artifices of Bentley, who wished to make the business as vexatious and expensive as possible. Meanwhile a variety of reports kept him in a perpetual fever, sometimes elevated by hope, the next day sunk in despondency at the prospect of a fine beyond his means to pay, which might consign him to the misery of a jail. Before his trial, Middleton had been flattered with assurances

Middleton found guilty of a libel.

Kept in long suspense.

that his cause would be considered as the common cause of the whole party, and that they would not allow their champion to suffer for his exertions; but when he was actually in peril, the number of his zealous friends appeared to dwindle: those who continued to countenance and assist him were only Dr. Colbatch, Dr. Ayloffe, Dr. Dickens the Professor of Civil Law, and Mr. Pilgrim the Professor of Greek. They furnished him with suitable affidavits to be presented to the Court previous to his sentence, and gave him money towards his expenses: Colbatch in particular sent him an order for fifty pounds. He now fancied that the leaders of his party, Sherlock and Gooch, showed coldness towards him in his distress; and did not recollect that his present trouble related to the concerns of a private College, in which members of other societies seldom like to interpose. However, through the good offices of Mr. Dixie Windsor, he was introduced to a private conference with 'a certain great personage,' (whom I apprehend to be the Lord Chancellor) and obtained from him an assurance that he would mollify the Chief Justice, and procure a lenient sentence. Meanwhile the term passed away, and the defendant was left to speculate upon his fate throughout the Long-vacation.

Dr. Colbatch now occupied himself in preparing for the press a pamphlet in Middleton's favour, entitled 'The Case of Richard Bentley against Dr. Middleton Considered: and a Question arising thereupon discussed; viz. how far it may be lawful to publish the notorious Crimes of any Wicked Man.' This piece, executed with all his ability, repeats, comments upon, and aggravates the charges of the pamphlet for which Middleton had been convicted. But the copy being shown by his bookseller to Mr. Ketelbey, a barrister, he pronounced without hesitation that it would be deemed a libel, and subject the author to a prosecution; and that Bentley, 'who now knew the way into Westminster Hall,' would infallibly avail himself of such an opportunity for crushing a dreaded adversary.

Change of Ministry.

A revolution had just occurred in the Ministry, in consequence of the explosion of the South-Sea bubble. Some leading members of the Government being involved in the disgrace of that transaction, the Cabinet was broken up, and Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole resumed

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their former stations in the councils of the King. Parliament having enacted severe penalties upon the leading managers of that fraudulent scheme, the new Ministry found it expedient to close the session with an Act of Grace, which might relieve the fears of numbers implicated in the transactions of the last year of insane speculation. Mr. Dixie Windsor, meeting the Chancellor while this bill was in progress, reminded him of Middleton's case, and obtained his Lordship's promise that a clause should be so worded as to include his friend in the general pardon. But the great man forgot his pledge, or neglected to attend to its fulfilment; and the Bill was drawn in precisely the same terms as that of 1717, leaving the Doctor exposed to the terrors of the law, for the libel of which he was convicted. Accordingly he had to renew his attendance in the month of November, and was again subject to vexatious and expensive delays, expecting daily to be called up for judgment. In the meantime his counsel and friends earnestly importuned him to compromise the business out of court; and at their instance he offered Bentley to pay his costs: but the latter was unwilling to let his adversary out of his clutches, till he had deprived him of further power of annoyance. In pursuing this policy he somewhat over-reached himself; for the defendant, wearied at length of his painful situation, instructed his counsel to move for judgment upon the verdict. Chief Justice Pratt immediately observed, 'that he had hoped to have heard no more of this affair; but that two Doctors of Divinity, to avoid the scandal justly given by such personal quarrels, would have found some way of making it up between themselves:' and as the Court could not attend to the matter that day, he trusted it would be compromised in such a manner, as to save them all further trouble about it. It was then alleged that Bentley was too unreasonable, and was not satisfied with the offer of his costs; but the judges all reminded Middleton of the magnitude of his offence, and the necessity for making some amends by asking pardon. Hereupon his counsel again importuned him to comply with the directions of the Court; and he was prevailed upon to say, that 'as far as he had offended the law by what he had done, he was sorry for it, and asked the Master's pardon.' This, the Chief Justice said, 'was a sufficient satisfaction, and ought to

Act of Grace.

The Chief Justice advises a settlement.

Middleton begs pardon of Bentley.

be so considered by Dr. Bentley.' The latter, however, aimed at something more than this qualified apology: and the matter not having been settled, the defendant next day again moved the Court for judgment. Nov. 24. The Chief Justice now expressed himself with some severity against Bentley, wondering that he should be so irreconcilable: and when his counsel urged that the defendant 'ought to subscribe a paper acknowledging that he had wronged and abused the whole Society,' his Lordship was pleased to be jocular, and asked 'whether they would not have the paper set up at the Exchange, or have Dr. Middleton led through Westminster Hall, with it pinned upon his hat?' This hint produced an immediate termination of the business: the apology already offered was accepted, and the defendant paid the prosecutor's costs, after they had been taxed by the Master of the Crown Office. The result was considered by Middleton's friends as a sort of triumph, since he was allowed to escape without sentence, after being convicted of what the law regarded as an egregious libel upon Bentley: but it was probably more burthensome to him than a fine; as the amount of expenses to be defrayed, even after they had been taxed, was very considerable. This we may conclude from the fact, that the share of the expenses of prosecution, not allowed by the Master of the Crown Office, and remaining to be defrayed by Trinity College, amounted to no less than 150*l.*

Pays the costs.

The feud, however, was only removed from Westminster Hall to the Academic groves, where it was carried on with renewed activity. Middleton having suffered considerably both from expense and uneasiness, in what his friends termed a public cause, it was resolved by the party to take a measure in his favour, which might at the same time make him ample compensation, and be a public testimony of the high sense entertained by the University of his character and learning. The plan hit upon was to create the new office of *Proto-bibliothecarius*, or Principal Keeper of the University Library, and to confer it upon Dr. Middleton with all honourable distinction, and a salary of fifty pounds. The preamble of the Grace for this measure, states that the increase of the Library, by the magnificent donation of the King, required more care than a single Librarian could devote; but the

Made Principal Librarian of the University.

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immediate object of the appointment is declared in the following terms: *Placeat vobis, ut Reverendus Vir Conyers Middleton, S.T.P. fide, moribus, doctrina spectatissimus in perpetuam vestræ erga eum benevolentiæ testimonium, Proto-bibliothecarii munere primus honestetur.* On the 14th of December this Grace was proposed to the Senate; and from traditional anecdotes it may be inferred that no measure of that agitated period was supported and opposed with more warmth and animosity. Bentley's party exclaimed against it as a profligate job of their opponents: and some independent persons considered that, as the duties and responsibility of the old Librarian were to remain the same as before, this new office, designed for persons of higher rank, would, probably, after its temporary purpose had been answered, become a sinecure for one of the Heads. But the question became almost entirely a conflict of party, and on a division it was carried in favour of the appointment by a majority of 112 against 49 [33].

[33] So great were the heats on this occasion, that Dr. Symonds, a Fellow of St. John's College, used to relate, that he and another person being the only members of that College who voted against Middleton's appointment, the indignation against them was so great that they were hooted the whole way back from the Schools to St. John's.

Dr. Middleton, about eleven years afterwards, in his speech before the University, on first becoming Woodwardian Professor, alluded to the success of this day, with great satisfaction: "Vos etenim, cum certorum hominum invidia indigne olim vexarer, novum in hac Academia Proto-Bibliothecarii munus eodem decreto instituistis, et ad me detulistis: publico illo judicii vestri testimonio significantes, et quid de me judicaretis, et quid aliis etiam judicandum præscriberetis."—*Middleton's Works*, vol. i. p. 399.

CHAPTER XVI.

Ancient Sigean Inscription, published by Chishull—Bentley's letter to Dr. Mead on this Inscription—Bentley's restoration of an old Delian Inscription—Alexander Cunningham's censure of Bentley's Horace—Cunningham labours to destroy Bentley's credit—Validity of his strictures examined—Comparison of Bentley and Cunningham—Thirlby's Justin Martyr—Cotes's Harmonia—Markland's Epistola Critica—Wasse—Bentley's revision of Nicander—Attack on Bentley in the Spy—Lord Orrery—Verses by Dr. Bentley—Colbatch pursues the prosecution of Bentley for a libel—Bentley cited to give evidence in the Vice Chancellor's Court—Is absent on the King's service—A Rule from the Court of King's Bench to stop the proceedings of the University—Colbatch writes Jus Academicum—The proceedings against Bentley dropped—Bentley prosecutes Colbatch's publication—Interest in Colbatch's favour with the Ministers—Lord Chancellor Macclesfield—Chief Justice Pratt—The publisher committed—Colbatch solicits the King's Pardon—Lord Carteret—Bentley applies to the Court of King's Bench to procure his restoration to his degrees—University employs Sir Philip Yorke as counsel—Colbatch's case—Favour promised him by Lord Townshend—Prevented by the Lord Chancellor—He is committed—Sentence by Mr. Justice Powys—Middleton's tract, 'Bibliothecæ Cantabrigiensis Ordinandæ Methodus'—Prosecuted by Bentley for a reflection on the Judges—Middleton fined 50l.—Bentley's cause against the University—The Judges deliver their opinion against the University—The Senate still keeps up the contest—Peremptory mandamus to restore Bentley's degrees.

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Ancient Sigean inscription published by Chishull.

BEFORE we pursue the detail of the judicial struggles which took place between Dr. Bentley and his various adversaries at this remarkable period of his life, it will be convenient to notice some matters which afforded much interest to the literary commonwealth. In 1721 Mr. Edmund Chishull, an antiquarian of considerable learning and industry, published a very ancient Greek inscription from a large marble found at Sigeum, accompanied with an able commentary. There are several circumstances which still continue to give to this monument of former times an extraordinary degree of interest. In the first place, both the forms and order of the letters run in the alternate lines from left to right and from right to left. This mode of writing, termed *Boustrophedon* from its resemblance to the track of oxen ploughing the earth, is that said to have been used by Solon in the public copy of his Laws at Athens; specimens of it have been pre-

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served to our time, in a few old inscriptions. The characters, which are rude capitals, bear a considerable resemblance to those of Phœnicia, the country from whence it is recorded that the use of letters was first imported into Greece. The aspirate H is still preserved as a distinct character, and in the very same form which it bore when the Æolic dialect of the Greek was carried to Italy, where it became one of the parents of the Latin language. The terminations of the genitive cases in O instead of OY presented another characteristic of that ancient dialect; and the characters E and O expressing those vowels in their long as well as short quantity, proved that the use of the four letters of Simonides had not yet been introduced. These and other circumstances rendered it probable that this inscription was written as far back as the age of Solon and Periander; and, at all events, that it was not later than 500 years before the Christian æra. Nor was the antiquity of the writing the only circumstance of interest: the masonry of the stone seemed referable to the heroic ages, and the spot most hallowed by immortal verse: for history records that the city of Sigeum was built by a colony from Mitylene, out of the materials of ancient Troy; and this marble being nine feet in height, might be fancied to have once held the place of a portal in the palace of King Priam, or the Temple of Minerva. As for the matter of the superscription, it was as trivial as can be imagined. One Phanodicus had presented to the city a bowl, a stand, and a strainer, for the use of the Prytaneum or Common Hall: and the grateful Sigeans commemorated his munificence by a statue, (probably one of the description called *Hermæ*,) of which the stone bearing this inscription appears to have been the base: the enormous magnitude of the mass, and size of the letters preserving this monument through all the revolutions of empire and of ages, it has happened that the good citizens have conferred upon their benefactor a more durable fame than they could themselves have contemplated, or his liberality deserved. Two copies of the inscription having been transmitted to England, one made by a Turkish dragoman, and the other by Dr. Samuel Lisle (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph and of Norwich), who had succeeded Chishull as chaplain to the English Factory at Smyrna, the editor was induced by the

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urgent persuasion of his friend Dr. Mead, to publish this precious specimen of antique writing, with proper illustrations.

Bentley's letter to Dr. Mead on this inscription.

Dr. Bentley happening to be in town when this volume appeared, it was immediately put into his hands by that great physician and Mæcenas, with whom he lived in habits of daily intercourse. At first inspection he pronounced an opinion respecting the inscription opposite to that of Chishull. He took the book home with him, read it through before he went to bed, and next day sent to Dr. Mead a long epistle explaining and defending his notions of this venerable monument. It is necessary to mention that the stone contains two inscriptions, one of which is only an abridgement of the other; and from its containing the two long vowels η and ω, which were not original Cadmean letters, seems to have been engraved at a more recent period: the longer of the two mentions 'Æsopus and his brothers' as the workmen. Upon such data Bentley founded an hypothesis, that these were really nothing more than copies of inscriptions engraved on two of the three vessels given by Phanodicus; that there had been no such thing as a statue of the donor; and that Æsopus and his two brethren were not statuaries, but manufacturers of the three vessels which ministered to the conviviality of the Sigeans. It is probable that no one capable of forming a judgment on such subjects, has ever acceded to this notion of Bentley's: at the same time no candid person can read his letter to Dr. Mead, without acknowledging that the theory is highly ingenious and ably defended. But it was written on the spur of the moment, without reference to books, to show how well he could maintain a suddenly-conceived hypothesis. It was highly imprudent thus to expose the reputation which he had achieved, by the maintenance of a paradox under every possible disadvantage: but this is not the only instance in Bentley's life, in which he sacrificed much of his solid fame to the transient vanity of displaying his ready talent and extemporary learning. He did, indeed, deprecate controversy under such circumstances, saying in conclusion, "I have writ too much for an extempore remark, and too little for an accurate discussion, if I was amongst my books. If you shew it to Mr. Chishull, pray let it go no further; nor bring me into a public dispute. I'll dispute with

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nobody about nothing; much less about this with a person for whose great learning I have so just respect, and whose labours in hand I wish so well to." An epistle, however, from the prince of critics, upon a topic of such interest to all classical antiquaries, was not likely to pass into oblivion. Chishull so far adhered to the condition prescribed, that he did not publish Bentley's own words; but while he 'kept the word of promise to the ear, he broke it to the hope;' for he printed an Appendix to his Dissertation, wherein he stated and refuted the critic's objections, without naming him, but designating him in terms which left no doubt as to the person intended: this was done in an elaborate manner, and not without occasional asperity. He probably could not resist the temptation of exhibiting a decided advantage over the great Aristarchus; and was moreover nettled at the terms in which Bentley had spoken of the weakest point of his Dissertation, a conjecture that Æsop the statuary of the Sigeans was no other than Æsop the fabulist; the absurdity of which notion he exposed, though less severely than it deserved. The effect of this Appendix has been, that every subsequent author who speaks of the Sigean Inscription (and I scarcely recollect any writer upon Greek Palæography who has not mentioned it) refers to Bentley's extemporary criticism, and generally in terms of censure, without being aware of the circumstances under which it was promulgated; and the result must be confessed to have been injurious to his reputation [1]. As a countervailing merit, however, Bentley at the conclusion of this letter to Dr. Mead, gave an acute and happy restoration and explanation of a certain old inscription on the base of a colossal statue of Apollo at Delos, which Tournefort, the celebrated French botanist, had copied during his travels in the Levant. This Inscription, consisting of a single iambic line, in old characters, similar to those of the Sigean marble, had been unsuccessfully attempted by Hardouin and Montfaucon, two of the most learned men that France ever produced,

Bentley's restoration of an old Delian inscription.

[1] This *Appendicula* appears to have been in the first instance attached by Chishull to the unsold copies of his work, and was afterwards reprinted in an edition of it at Leyden in 1727, as well as in his larger work of *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*. It contained besides, a reply of the editor to some objections of Michael Maittaire; and also another inscription from a marble found at Sigeum, which was purchased by Mr. Edward Wortley Montague, the ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, and which now graces the vestibule of Trinity Library.

as well as by Chishull himself. This was a great triumph of his sagacity, and is here particularly to be noticed, because Richard Dawes, his envious imitator, has endeavoured to appropriate to himself the credit of what is really due to Bentley [2].

Alexander Cunningham's censure of Bentley's Horace.

At the commencement of 1722 was published a very severe and able censure of the Doctor's edition of Horace, by Mr. Alexander Cunningham, a Scotch gentleman; printed at the Hague, which had long been the place of his residence. Before we proceed to describe this performance, we must bestow a few words upon its author; who has, owing to the numerous points of coincidence with his namesake, the author of a History of Great Britain in Latin, acquired the character of a mysterious personage. Between Alexander Cunningham the historian, and Alexander Cunningham the editor of Horace, there are so many particulars of resemblance, that Thompson, the translator of the History, was forced, after a minute inquiry, to remain in suspense whether or not they were the same individual. It appears that they were both Scotchmen, had both been travelling tutors, both resided at the Hague at the same period, both were intimate with certain distinguished public characters, both were eminent chess-players, both accomplished scholars, and both lived to an advanced age. These and many other coincidences long baffled all enquiry respecting the identity or diversity of the two namesakes: and it has, I believe, but recently been ascertained beyond a doubt, that the critic died at the Hague in 1730, and the historian died in London in 1737. This instance of ambiguity may serve as a caution to biographers and antiquaries, who are sometimes led by much slighter circumstances than those just mentioned, to assign to one person the actions or writings of another. The present difficulty is the more worthy of remark, because neither of the Cunninghams was an obscure author; they both lived in the world, enjoying considerable reputation during their life-times; and one of them filled diplomatic stations in the service of his country.

Cunningham labours to destroy Bentley's credit.

The writer who has secured to himself a literary immortality as one of the most powerful of Dr. Bentley's antagonists, has already been

[2] See Dawes' *Miscellanea Critica*, p. 132; and his Letter to Dr. Taylor, p. 18* of Mr. Kidd's Appendix to his edition of that work.

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mentioned to the reader as the intimate friend of Le Clerc, at the time of the celebrated exposure of his Menander: I know not whether regard for that unfortunate editor, might have prompted the idea of revenging his friend's disaster, by an elaborate censure of our critic's Horace: it certainly may be inferred from Cunningham's own account, that he had been occupied ever since the publication of Bentley's edition, a period of ten years, in preparing materials for refuting his emendations, and overturning his credit. The only cause assigned by himself for such industrious hostility, was his wish to chastise the arrogance and presumption displayed in that performance. However this might be, it must be confessed that he has deserved the title of 'the fairest of critics,' in the sense in which it has been bestowed upon Milbourne, the adversary of Dryden; who put forth, along with his criticism of the latter's Virgil, a translation of part of that poet by his own hand, 'that Mr. Dryden might be satisfied that he offered him no foul play, nor found faults in him without giving him an opportunity of retaliation.' In like manner, Mr. Cunningham published at the same time two distinct works—a volume of Animadversions on Bentley's Horace, and a volume containing the text of the poet, corrected according to his own judgment. To the latter he intended to have added a body of notes, to which he frequently refers, and which were to have comprised a defence of his own readings, and a refutation of his antagonist's; but those notes never appeared. The Animadversions are divided into 19 chapters, occupying nearly 400 pages, and addressed personally to Dr. Bentley. This book is one continued objurgation, delivered in dry and bitter terms, unvaried by the least humour or playfulness: it is the effusion of a person who feels an advantage in the contest, and thinks that his own superior industry and research have given him a right to scold and insult his adversary without forbearance. The general topics of reproach are, the boastfulness of Bentley's language, his assuming to himself the credit of readings which were already to be found in some edition or some commentary, and his want of skill in the application of certain critical rules, which Cunningham persuaded himself to be infallible, in the discovery of true readings. I have already explained without reserve the principal

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faults of Bentley's edition, and shown how they arose in part from the manner in which it had been begun and completed. A large portion of his notes, perhaps the majority, having been dispatched in haste, it was plainly impossible that he should have consulted every one of the innumerable editions of the poet, for the reading in each line: a task which his present adversary, who is recorded to have possessed an excellent library, undisturbed leisure, and diligence which was never tired, was enabled to accomplish. This part of his work is the most successful in the object at which he laboured, the infliction of a wound upon our critic's reputation. But the fact, when fairly stated, does not bear out the charge either of plagiarism or carelessness, which this adversary took such unexampled pains to establish. Cunningham's eighth chapter enumerates no less than 109 passages in the editions of Ascensius, 66 in that of Baxter, and 138 in other printed copies, all of which give the reading as it stands in Bentley's; who, however, assumes credit for its restoration, without mentioning that the same had been done before him. But this formidable collection of passages, while it proves the industry and ill-nature of Cunningham, fails in establishing his accusation: for it will be seen by examination, that Bentley generally alleges as his authority the reading of some manuscript or a citation by some old writer; and that he does not assert that *no one edition* had adopted it, but speaks of *pleræque editiones* or *omnes fere editiones* as giving the common reading. He did not pretend to have examined *every* preceding edition with minute care: some copies it is pretty clear that he had never seen: but in no instance, that I have observed, does this rigid examiner make out against our critic a case of intentional dishonesty or unfairness.

Validity of his strictures examined.

As Cunningham challenges a comparison between his text of Horace, and that of Bentley, undertaking that his own shall be found more correct than his adversary's in 400 passages, it is almost unavoidable to take some notice of the relative merits of the two editors. In the first place we must mention that Cunningham adopts a great proportion of Bentley's readings, being convinced of their truth; though he can scarcely ever prevail upon himself to allow him the least credit.

Comparison of Bentley and Cunningham.

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Secondly, his annotations, though displaying wonderful industry and accuracy, do not approach to those of Bentley in learning, ingenuity, or interest; while they offend in the very particulars for which he chiefly blames his adversary, verbosity and prolixity [3]. The reader who compares any passages of equal length in the two critics, will be struck with the superior clearness and elegance, as well as the greater quantity of matter comprised in that of Bentley. His antagonist reproaches him in severe terms for not following general rules of criticism in correcting the text of his author; and himself lays down numerous rules, exhibiting their results in his own emendations. It appears, however, that many of them incur the very faults charged against those of Bentley: the same occasional harshness, the same disposition to refine, and make nice distinctions in Horace's phrases, and thus to degrade poetry into prose, which we have noticed in our editor, may be found in his adversary. At the same time his language is as confident and dogmatical as that of any commentator whom I recollect. With respect to the critical rules propounded and followed with so much diligence, it is sufficient to observe, that they will be found useful to the scholar who reads and considers them, even when he does not altogether approve their application. I am of opinion, indeed, that subsequent editors have not sufficiently availed themselves of the labours of Cunningham in establishing the text of Horace.

The volume of Animadversions is dedicated to Dr. Bentley, for whose use and amendment it professes to be written: its motto is

> "*Laudis amore tumes? sunt certa piacula, quæ te*
> *Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.*"

To the volume of text is prefixed a frontispiece representing a crowd of critics introduced into the temple of Truth, each of whom takes off a mask, when the apparition of the goddess presents to them a mirror which she bears upon her shield; and they all start with horror at viewing the deformity of their own features. In this company the

[3] "Illud unum hic contra tuum scribendi morem adnotare, quamquam plura possum, placet, in notis nihil odiosius esse verbosa longitudine."—*Cuningamii Animadversiones*, p. 10.

prominent figure is intended for Dr. Bentley, and the reflection in the mirror bears a considerable resemblance to his countenance [4].

Had this attack been made some years earlier, it is probable that Bentley would have accepted the challenge thrown out by Cunningham; and a controversy between them could not have failed to elicit much that would have been interesting to scholars. Coming as it did at the moment when his time and attention were absorbed by the various struggles in which he was engaged, he thought proper to leave his adversary in possession of the field, and securely trusted to posterity the part of deciding between their respective merits. As more than a century has since elapsed, we may now consider that this judgment has been pronounced, and that the reputation of Bentley has unequivocally triumphed: he is read and admired by hundreds to whom the lucubrations of his rival are unknown; and Cunningham, like some others of his opponents, owes the preservation of his name to the transcendant reputation of him whom he laboured so industriously to disparage.

Thirlby's Justin Martyr.

A few months afterwards, the great subject of these memoirs was assailed by another attack which surpassed all the preceding in gall and malignity: this was from Styan Thirlby, whose edition of Justin Martyr was published by subscription in the summer of 1722. We have already recorded his early antipathy against our hero, which displayed itself at a period when he could not have had any offence to complain of, and when his existence was probably unknown to Dr. Bentley. It is impossible to explain all the impulses which may operate upon so extravagant and capricious a character: but on this occasion his wrath had been excited by hearing that the Master of Trinity had spoken slightingly of him and his projected edition. In

[4] At the bottom of this frontispiece are the following words, adapted from Horace:

"*Detrahit et pellem nitidus qua quisque per ora*
Ambulat, introrsum turpis."

The title of the volume is Q. Horatii Flacci Poemata. *Ex antiquis Codd. et certis Observationibus emendavit, variasque Scriptorum et Impressorum lectiones adjecit* Alexander Cuningamius. *Hagæ Comitum, apud Thomam Jonsonium*, 1721. There are other title pages both of this publication and of the *Animadversiones*, assuming to be published at London. The preface to the *Animadversions* is dated 4 *Cal. Dec.* 1721. That of the text *ipsis Idibus Decembris*, 1721.

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revenge he abused him with immoderate rancour in his preface and dedication to William Earl of Craven; telling the latter that, when he met the offender in his company, he was withheld only by respect for his Lordship from taking vengeance of another description. So violently had resentment got possession of him, that he gives the full reins to invective, and rails against classical studies and Bentley, in so extravagant a style, that he makes the reader, at the very outset of his work, doubt whether the editor was in a sane mind. Dr. Ashton, the Master of his College, who had been his patron, and was unfavourably disposed to the Master of Trinity, spoke of this performance in a letter to Dr. Moss, the Dean of Ely, in the following terms: "I have not had patience to read all his dedication, but have seen enough to observe that it is stuffed with self-conceit, and an insolent contempt of others; Bentley especially, whom he again points at in page 18. I have read about 60 pages of his performance, and am really ashamed to find so much self-sufficiency [5]." Of Thirlby no more need here be said. Had it been the fortune of that desultory genius to enjoy the intimacy of the illustrious biographer of Savage, it is probable that his story might have supplied incidents as curious, and moral reflections as important, as that of the highly-gifted and profligate poet [6].

Cotes's Harmonia.

As a set-off against the tirades just mentioned, it is fair to record the treatment which Dr. Bentley received about the same time from persons, whose names hold a still higher station than those of his censurers. Robert Smith, the Professor of Astronomy, published in 1722 *Harmonia Mensurarum*, the posthumous work of his accomplished relative and predecessor, Cotes: his preface speaks of Bentley, as the encourager of science, in the most handsome terms imaginable; and with reference to his pecuniary liberality and activity in promoting subscriptions, first for the observatory and afterwards for astronomical instruments, he gives him the title of a 'second founder.'

[5] Cole's MSS. vol. xxx. p. 116. The letter is printed by Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 269.

[6] Mr. Nichols (*Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 264—271) gives some Memoirs of Styan Thirlby, about one half of which were taken from the hints and suggestions of Dr. Sam. Johnson. See also *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii. p. 551.

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In the following year Jeremiah Markland first appeared before the public as a classical critic; a character which he sustained with distinction for more than fifty years. His first essay was an *Epistola Critica*, addressed to Dr. Hare, the Dean of Worcester, principally relating to passages of Horace which he proposed to correct. The opening sentence contains a handsome tribute to the merits of Dr. Bentley; who is mentioned in all parts of the book with becoming praise. Markland, throughout his long career, uniformly showed his admiration of our great critic; which was founded upon an intimate acquaintance with his intuitive genius, and with the intrinsic and unrivalled excellence of his writings. I am particular in noticing this fact, for two reasons; first, the opinion of Markland is of great importance in awarding literary credit, not only on account of his learning, but of his candid disposition and unprejudiced judgment; secondly, because our mention of him in connection with the party by whom Bentley was deprived of his degrees, might have led to a notion that he was also included among his literary adversaries [7].

Markland's Epistola Critica.

A classical miscellany was instituted in 1722, and published periodically for two years, called *Bibliotheca Literaria*; comprising the contributions of several scholars. The editor was Dr. Samuel Jebb; the principal writer Mr. Joseph Wasse, late Fellow of Queen's College, the well-known commentator on Sallust and Thucydides: of him Bentley is recorded to have said, "When I am dead, Wasse will be the most learned man in England [8]." This publication affords another proof of the homage paid by all rising scholars to the established fame of our great Aristarchus. In No. vi. are two copies of verses, one Greek, the other Latin, written by Wasse, in praise of Bentley and his Horace. All that can be said in their favour is, that they are better than the generality of laudatory verses prefixed to books. The

Wasse.

[7] Nichols, in his full and interesting account of Markland (*Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 275) mentions 'a rude message being sent to him by Bentley,' relative to a projected edition of Apuleius. Whatever be the authority for this story, Markland never testified any offence against Bentley.

[8] This is on the authority of Whiston. Wasse died nearly four years before Bentley. Had he, however, survived him, Markland, Taylor, Dawes, and perhaps other scholars might have disputed the truth of the prediction.

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Latin copy contains some tolerable lines; and testifies the anxiety felt by scholars that Bentley would no longer delay the publication of those works which he was known to have been some time meditating, and which his advancing years rendered it unsafe to postpone [9].

Bentley's revision of Nicander.

When the long vacation of 1722 afforded an intermission to the agitating business of the year, Dr. Bentley found leisure to make a complete revision of the *Theriaca* of Nicander, at the instance of Dr. Mead; the only friend who, in the latter part of his life, possessed any material influence over him. Nicander, an old Greek physician of Colophon, in the time of Attalus, had, like our countrymen Garth and Armstrong, composed didactic poems on subjects connected with the medical art; two of which, the *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*, are preserved. Dr. Mead having put into Bentley's hands an edition of the former by Gorræus, (who translated it into Latin verse,) our critic went through the whole with great care, writing his emendations on the margin; he then returned it to his illustrious friend, prefixing an elegant Latin epistle. This volume, in the course of time, found its way into the British Museum; but the offspring of Bentley's learning continued buried and unknown till the year 1814, when, by permission of the Trustees, I copied the emendations and the letter, and printed the whole in the *Museum Criticum*, Nos. iii. and iv. along with the text of Gorræus's edition. Though the corrections are not defended by any notes, yet the scholar who inspects them will not fail to recognize the truth of an observation, more than once hinted in this history, that Bentley is more to be depended upon as a corrector of Greek than of

[9] In the following lines it is hardly possible not to suspect the writer of a waggish allusion to the 'slashing' propensities of our critic:

"*Quare age, Romanæ vindex celeberrime linguæ,*
Ure, seca, telis parcere parce tuis:
Falce preme Plautique sales, castique Terentî
Seria, barbaricas heu male passa manus.
Respice Lucanum, Graiis si forte negaris,
Da causam laudi materiemque tuæ."

It may be mentioned that Hearne records in his MSS. that he fell into company with Wasse in 1722, when he spoke in praise of Bentley in relation to his undertaking of the New Testament, as well as in every other particular.

Latin authors: the spirit of violent and harsh alteration, which continually shows itself in his revision of the latter, did not accompany him when employed upon books in the former language.

Attack on Bentley in the Spy.

The pens of light and ephemeral writers, who swarm like summer flies in the fields of literature, continued to make our great critic the object of their puny attacks and worthless panegyrics. 'The Spy,' a weekly literary paper, which lasted but for a few numbers, in 1721, endeavoured to draw attention by an article against him, principally on the score of his New Testament. A pamphlet immediately appeared in his defence, avowedly written by a friend of Dr. Bentley, who is, however, almost as feeble as his adversary[10]. The Spy, who was some scribbler writing for bread in a garret, had converted to his own purposes, without acknowledgment, many whole sentences from Boyle's book in the Phalaris controversy: and the 'Defence' exposes the thefts of this pillager. But neither piece would have any claim upon our readers' notice, were it not for a single sentence in the latter, which professes to express the sentiments entertained by Dr. Bentley, after the lapse of many years, towards Mr. C. Boyle, now Lord Orrery, the object of his former severity. "Let me now tell it the Spy as a secret, that Dr. Bentley has the greatest deference for his noble antagonist, both as a person of eminent parts and quality: and I dare say his noble antagonist thinks of Dr. Bentley as of a person as great in critical learning, as England has boasted of for many a century." We may here add, what is stated on good authority, that Lord Orrery visited the Master of Trinity at his Lodge[11].

Lord Orrery.

Verses by Dr. Bentley.

About this time Bentley committed to paper a copy of English verses: a sort of composition to which he was adapted neither by nature nor habit; but the reputation of the author, and singularity of the production, styled by Dr. S. Johnson 'the only English verses that he is known to have written,' have transmitted them to posterity. They were occasioned by an imitation of Horace's Ode (iii. 2.) *Angustam,*

[10] *The Apothecary's Defence of Dr. Bentley, in Answer to the Spy. Together with some Observations, Moral and Critical, upon the Fable of the Jackdaw in Peacock's Feathers, particularly addressed to the Author of the Spy.* London, 1721.

[11] Dr. Salter, note on *Dissert. on Phalaris*, ed. 1777, p. 309.

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amici, pauperiem pati—by Walter Titley, a student of Trinity: this, which was probably a College exercise, so much pleased the Master, that he chose to devote a leisure hour to writing a parody of Titley's stanzas. The lines have been much admired, and the great critic just mentioned pronounced them the 'forcible verses of a man of strong mind, but not accustomed to write verse[12].' In truth, they rather aspire to the praise of eloquence than poetry; but they claim, at all events, a place in the account of Bentley's life, since, whoever reads them, must perceive that 'our hero' had in his eye his own fortune, and intended to pourtray his own character and career. Titley's lines must first be laid before the reader:

IMITATION OF HORACE, BOOK III. ODE II.

He who would great in science grow,
By whom bright Virtue is adored,
At first must be content to know
An humble roof and homely board.

With want and rigid College laws
Let him inur'd betimes comply,
Firm to Religion's sacred cause,
The learned combat let him try:

Let him her envied praises tell,
And all his eloquence disclose,
The fierce endeavours to repel,
To still the tumult of her foes.

Him, early form'd and season'd young,
Subtle opposers soon will fear,
And tremble at his artful tongue,
Like Parthians at a Roman spear.

Grim death, th' inevitable lot,
Which fools and cowards strive to fly,
Is with a noble pleasure sought,
By him who dares for truth to die.

With purest lustre of her own,
Exalted Virtue ever shines;
Nor, as the vulgar smile or frown,
Advances now, and now declines.

[12] *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 24.

A glorious and immortal prize
She on her hardy son bestows;
She shows him heav'n, and bids him rise,
Tho' toil, and pain, and death oppose.
With lab'ring flight he wings the obstructed way,
Leaving both common souls and common clay.

BENTLEY'S PARODY.

Who strives to mount Parnassus' hill,
And thence poetic laurels bring,
Must first acquire due force and skill,
Must fly with swan's or eagle's wing.

Who Nature's treasures would explore,
Her mysteries and arcana know,
Must high, as lofty Newton soar,
Must stoop as delving Woodward, low.

Who studies ancient laws and rites,
Tongues, arts, and arms, all history,
Must drudge, like Selden, day and night,
And in the endless labour die.

Who travels in religious jarrs,
Truth mix'd with error, shade with rays,
Like Whiston, wanting pyx, and stars,
In ocean wide or sinks, or strays.

But grant our hero's hope long toil
And comprehensive genius crown,
All sciences, all arts his spoil,
Yet what reward, or what renown?

Envy, innate in vulgar souls,
Envy steps in and stops his rise;
Envy with poison'd tarnish fouls
His lustre, and his worth decries.

He lives inglorious or in want,
To college and old books confin'd;
Instead of learn'd, he's call'd pedant,
Dunces advanc'd, he's left behind:
Yet left content, a genuine stoic he,
Great without patron, rich without South-sea [13].

[13] These lines are in the *Grove*, a miscellany, and in *Dodsley's Collection*: also in *Gent. Mag.* 1740. p. 616.

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Colbatch pursues the prosecution of Bentley for a libel.

We left the feud between Bentley and his academical enemies, at the end of the last Chapter, raging with full vigour. Colbatch continued his determination to procure redress for the late libel upon his character; but the delays of the Vice Chancellor protracted the action against the publisher till the Act of Grace had made it impossible to pursue a criminal process in that or any other court in the kingdom. Nevertheless, Colbatch conceived that a mode of proceeding still remained, which was not affected by the general pardon: this was, to prosecute an enquiry into the authorship of the libel, 'in the office of judge:' an investigation which the civil law admits in some cases, and which, as he imagined, would allow of Bentley's being himself examined as an evidence; whereby he might be compelled to make a public confession of an act, which had already incurred the severest censure from the Heads of the University. He had some months before propounded his ideas on this subject to his friend Dr. Sayer, and had received a long letter from him, explaining the reasons which made him consider such a proceeding inadmissible in a case of defamation, although allowable in certain other instances. But this opinion could not deter him from his object: he was possessed of considerable acquaintance with the civil law, and having applied his mind with much diligence to the bearings of this case, he persuaded himself that he could see distinctions, which made the exceptions of his friend the civilian inapplicable. Accordingly, the very day on which Middleton stood before the King's Bench to answer for his libel upon the Master of Trinity, Colbatch appeared in the Vice Chancellor's Court to prosecute the latter personage for a libel upon himself. He produced the censure of the Heads upon the second edition of 'Dr. Bentley's Proposals;' which, being read by the Registrary, he implored the *Judicis Officium*, and begged that right and justice might be done him agreeably to the decree. Dr. Crosse, who had been re-elected for a second year with scarcely any opposition, granted the petition, and appointed Cook, Dr. Colbatch's proctor, to be 'promoter of his office,' or prosecutor. The business of the day passed off with only some impertinent interruption from Lisle, who thought that this process was intended as a continuation of the former action. The Vice Chancellor going immediately afterwards to

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keep residence on his stall at Norwich, constituted Dr. Gooch his deputy, from whom was expected a renewal of vigorous proceedings against the Master of Trinity. Accordingly Colbatch applied to him to grant a citation for Bentley to appear in court, and give evidence respecting his knowledge of the libel in question: it being thought better to take this step at once; since, in case he confessed it, all further investigation might be spared. There was no difficulty in obtaining the citation, but a great one in getting it served upon the Master: the Esquire-beadles remembered the circumstances of the arrest of the great delinquent three years before, and were all as averse to such perilous service, as the mice in the fable were to undertake the office of belling the cat. At length one of those gentlemen, Mr. Atwood, was induced by the authority of Dr. Gooch, and a double fee, to execute this function; and was agreeably surprised at finding himself civilly received by Bentley, who intimated no intention of non-compliance, but only inquired 'whether the summons related to Colbatch's business.' In the meantime the annual audit of Trinity College brought these two enemies into personal collision of a more angry character, if possible, than heretofore: the expenditure of large sums of money for new works at the lodge, and other schemes of the Master, none of which had been ordered by the Seniority, and the accounts of which they were not suffered to examine, called for Colbatch's severe remonstrances: Bentley replied by violent and abusive language, the result of long-cherished resentment, which the occurrences of every day served to irritate and inflame.

Bentley cited to give evidence in the Vice Chancellor's Court.

The court to which Bentley was cited was fixed for Jan. 17; but his measures were taken in a way which soon showed that his dexterity was more than a match for the resolution and perseverance of his adversary. He went to town, and learned that, in the opinion of lawyers, the proceedings of the University were illegal, as partaking of the nature of a general inquisition, and might perhaps be resisted before the King's Bench. That court, however, did not sit before the time fixed for his appearance; and he well knew that the summary proceedings of the academical judge would not wait his convenience. Accordingly he negotiated with one of his brother-chaplains an exchange of

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Jan. 17. the turn of attendance at St. James's, for the month of January. When the Vice Chancellor's Court assembled, 'Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College,' was three times summoned by name: he not appearing, Proctor Cooke moved for a compulsory writ; but Dr. Crosse, who presided, declared that he would wait for his appearance till three o'clock. Lisle then came forward and said, that he could save the Court that trouble; as he held in his hand a letter from Dr. Bentley, who was in London, enclosing one from the Duke of Newcastle, the

Is absent in the King's service. Lord Chamberlain, commanding his attendance on his Majesty's service. The Vice Chancellor immediately allowed the excuse to be just and sufficient, adjourned the proceedings to the 16th of February, and admitted the appointment of Lisle as proctor for the Master of Trinity. But his timidity suffered him to be brow-beaten by the insolence of this man; who insisted on the name of his client being entered in the proceedings of the Court as '*Doctor* Bentley;' and when told by the Vice Chancellor that it was contrary to his duty and his oath to acknowledge a title which the University had taken away, Lisle declared his belief that Dr. Bentley was still entitled to that dignity, said that the Lord Chamberlain had so styled him, and that he would not give up the honour and dignity of his friend for any one. Such was his sauciness, that the by-standers remarked, that 'had Dr. Gooch presided, he would probably have been laid by the heels.'

February. A Rule from the Court of King's Bench to stop the proceedings of the University. Before the day appointed, Bentley's counsel moved the Court of King's Bench to prohibit the proceedings of the Vice Chancellor, alleging two objections against them: first, that the offence of the pretended libel had been pardoned in the late Act of grace or indemnity; secondly, that the inquiry was illegal, inasmuch as it was designed to examine the supposed offender by interrogatories, which he could not answer without criminating himself. The Court immediately granted a Rule for the Vice Chancellor to show cause, on the second day of the following term, why a prohibition should not issue: and he was likewise enjoined to stay all proceedings during the interval.

The Rule of Court being served upon the Vice Chancellor's deputy, produced great sensation in the University. While one party complained of this interference as a breach of academical privilege, their

opponents triumphed at the check given to what they considered arbitrary and violent proceedings[14]. But the only individual in the place who seemed to understand the bearings of the question was Dr. Colbatch, with whom this process had originated. His conduct in bringing the University into such a dilemma, by a reliance upon his own legal reading when opposed to professional advice, was rash and headstrong: nor does the object which he was pursuing appear to have been adequate; since, even supposing him completely successful, he could only have obtained a censure of his libeller, by the same authority which had already censured the libel; while his own character would have received no additional vindication. His exertions, however, in the present exigency show great energy and ability: he wrote statements of the case to inform and encourage the leaders of his party; and drew up an elaborate pamphlet, called *Jus Academicum*, which was printed and circulated, before the ensuing law term, among the judges and advocates[15]. In this book the case is ably treated; and it was likely to convey to unlearned readers the same conviction as possessed the mind of the writer. His account of the peculiar jurisdiction belonging to Universities, both in England and the Continent, is clear and satisfactory; but he treads on perilous ground when he contends, that it is not amenable to the authority of the Court of King's Bench. He argues forcibly, that the general pardon, for the disregard of which the University had been termed in court 'insolent,' could have no opera-

Colbatch writes *Jus Academicum*.

[14] There appeared immediately two pamphlets, written by young men of the University, the first in the character of a friend of Bentley, and called *Animadversions on the University's Proceedings against the most learned R. Bentley, D.D. By Phileleutherus Cantabrigiensis.* The Reply, entitled, *A Vindication of the University of Cambridge, in Answer, &c.* Both these pieces are entirely worthless; the writers having but an imperfect and confused notion of the transactions which they were discussing.

[15] The title of this tract, which, according to the fashion of that day, serves as a table of contents, is as follows: "Jus Academicum; *or, a Defence of the peculiar Jurisdiction which belongs of common right to* Universities *in general, and hath been granted by Royal Charters, confirmed in Parliament, to those of* England *in particular. Shewing, that no Prohibition can lie against their Courts of Judicature, nor appeal from them, in any Cause like that which is now depending before the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, With a full Account and Vindication of the Proceedings in that Cause. By a Person concerned.* London. Printed for R. Wilkin, at the King's Head, in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCXXII."

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tion on the present proceedings, they being instituted not so much to punish the offender, as to vindicate the injured party, whose reputation lay a-bleeding from the libel; that the King's gracious pardon neither was nor could be intended to operate in this case to the damage of the aggrieved party, any more than it could enable a person to retain possession of an estate of which he had fraudulently deprived the rightful owner. At all events he contends that Bentley, had he chosen to take advantage of that Act of grace, ought to have pleaded it at the bar of the Vice Chancellor's Court. The defence of the mode of proceeding *ex officio* exhibits much research into customs and precedents, and is spirited as well as argumentative.

Dr. Colbatch was careful to avoid the intemperate language, which had filled the pages of his adversary; but he did retaliate in some sentences so caustic and acrimonious, as to prove that a sort of death-feud existed between the two parties. Two or three instances will be sufficient. Having occasion to mention De Vargas, the instrument of the Duke d'Alva's tyranny in the Low Countries, he says,

"By the way, it is worth one's notice, that there seldom arises an enemy to our Colleges, (to their discipline, I mean; for he who would subvert that, does worse than if he attempted to batter down their walls) but a body may discern something in him, by which he bears a near resemblance to this De Vargas, either in his learning, or in his manners; sometimes perhaps in both: a late and notable instance of this sort might be given in one, who had he lived at the same time with De Vargas, might, for his skill in grammar, be thought to have gone to the same school. But grammar of itself, I confess, does not always polish the native roughness of some tempers; no, nor criticism neither; there may be those who have far excelled De Vargas in both these arts, and outgone him as far in the barbarity of their manners." *Jus Academicum*, p. 12.——"It will go a great way towards clearing the injured party's reputation, when it shall be publicly known who it is that hath attempted to blacken it; since whoever knows the man, knows what credit his allegations deserve, and will soon be made to understand what it was that pushed him upon so desperate an attempt." *Ibid.* 17.——"The design of the suit, which is now in question, is not the offender's punishment; no, nor yet the reformation of his manners; the plaintiff in this case being convinced by this time, how vain an attempt it would be for him, to bring that offender to condign punishment, and much more to correct and amend his manners. All that he pretends to by this suit is the recovery of his own good name of which the said offender, as far as in him lies, has injuriously, I will not say feloniously, robbed him" &c. *Ibid.* p. 30.——"For this cause, I am commissioned by the complainant in the present case, to tell the defendant, that as our court

here proceeds according to the civil-law; none of those defamatory articles contained in his libel will be charged to his account, that have any ground or colour of truth in them, in case there be any such articles, as I am fully persuaded there is not one in all the libel. I will venture further, and do hereby invite the said defamer to make his appearance in court, with a promise, that the party aggrieved shall withdraw his complaint, and desist from any further prosecution of this cause, in case he, the said defamer, will bring sufficient proof of but any one of those articles, or, which is more, if the complainant shall not make it appear to be highly probable, that all and every of the said articles, are not only notoriously false, but known to be so by the libeller himself." *Ibid.* p. 37.

The author having hastened the appearance of his pamphlet, before the Easter term commenced, sent copies of it to all persons of consideration with whom he was acquainted, and among the rest to the Lord Chancellor, and the Judges of the different Courts, except Sir John Pratt and Sir John Fortescue; those being the only two upon the Bench to whom he was not personally known. But he experienced the disappointment which will often be the lot of an amateur lawyer, when he attempts to give effect to his theories: as such a person is generally ignorant of the rules and maxims of the Courts of judicature, it is not to be wondered, that the information which he has gathered from writers on jurisprudence should conduct him into some practical error. All the cases which Colbatch cited, and all the points which he argued, could not get over the one objection which professional men considered fatal to the late proceedings of the Academical court. The University had in its exigency, committed its interests to Dean Sherlock, who, besides his familiarity with business, resided, as Master of the Temple, in the centre of the legal world, and was much esteemed by the leaders of the profession. He held a consultation of eminent counsel on the day before the time fixed for showing cause against the prohibition. The two University counsel were Sir Robert Raymond and Serjeant Reynolds, each of whom was soon afterwards raised to the Bench; besides these leaders, Mr. Mead, Mr. Fazakerly, and Dr. Strachan, the civilian, were employed; Doctors Sherlock, Colbatch, and Middleton assisting at the consultation on behalf of the University. Here Colbatch earnestly repeated the arguments of his pamphlet; but in vain. There was some difference of opinion among the counsel respecting the propriety of the Court's interference in that stage of the

April 17.

The proceedings against Bentley dropped.

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business, before any thing beyond a preliminary measure had been taken; but all agreed that the offence of the libel was included in the general pardon; it was therefore resolved, at the proposition of Mr. Attorney, to let the business drop without a contest, in order to avoid a judgment against the University being entered upon record.

But Bentley did not think proper that the matter should fall to the ground as quietly as his prosecutors intended: he judged that it was now his turn to act on the offensive; and as he had before attacked Colbatch with his pen for a book which he had not written, he now attacked him by the law for one which he had written. He observed some passages of the *Jus Academicum*, in which the author, while arguing against the interference of the Court of King's Bench, might be construed as speaking with disrespect of the Court itself. Accordingly, two days after the University lawyers had announced the intention of dropping the proceedings against him, his counsel, Mr. Reeve, moved the Court of King's Bench to take cognizance of the *Jus Academicum* as a contempt on their jurisdiction. Several passages being read, a Rule of court was granted for Wilkin, the publisher, to show cause why an Attachment should not issue against him. Colbatch was immediately advised by his friends, to make interest among persons in power to avert the storm that seemed ready to burst over his head. The sentences which had brought him into his enemy's power, were in his own view and intention perfectly innocent, nor had it once crossed his mind that they were susceptible of an injurious construction. The following were the passages that gave most offence:

April 20. Bentley prosecutes Colbatch's publication.

"There is a strange doctrine got into Westminster Hall, where it hath prevailed for above these hundred years past, as it is like to do for these hundred to come, unless my Lords the Bishops shall think fit to take notice of it in Parliament, *viz.* that the King's Pardon shall put a stop to any process carried on in the Spiritual Courts, for the reformation of manners, or the salvation of a man's soul." *Jus Academicum*, p. 19.

"How the Reverend Judges of the high Court of King's Bench will resent their being surprised into such a thing; or how the University will vindicate the most valuable of her privileges, which being once taken from her, she must bid adieu to all the rest, from so manifest and unprecedented a violation, a private member ought not so much as to guess." p. 42.

"It may not be amiss to take notice in this place, of a general observation made by foreign writers, which hath been more that once made good here in England, that they

who design to subvert the laws and liberties of any nation, commonly begin with the privileges and immunities of the Universities." p. 11.

The sentence last quoted was particularly exclaimed against, being said to contain an insinuation that not only the Judges, but the Government of King George designed to subvert the laws and liberties of the nation. It is certain, however, that the writer, whose whole mind was devoted to the maintenance of academical jurisdiction against Bentley, harboured no such views as were attributed to him, in writing these passages; of which the most that can be said is, that they were unnecessary, incautious, and ill-timed.

Interest in Colbatch's favour with the Ministers.

As it was clear that the interrogatories to be put to the party attached would soon force him to discover the author, and as the consequences of this proceeding might be tremendous, Colbatch's friends exerted themselves with great earnestness to procure the intercession of powerful persons in his behalf. Particularly Dean Sherlock and Dean Hare used their interest with Lord Townshend for his good offices, and if necessary, for a pardon; while Dr. Freind, the Master of Westminster school, exerted himself in a similar manner with Lord Carteret, the other Secretary of State. Both those Ministers admitted the extreme hardship of a respectable clergyman being ruined for an inadvertence, committed in the course of a struggle, wherein he had been an aggrieved party; and being convinced that Colbatch was an inoffensive man, promised their good offices and intercessions with the Lord Chief Justice; declaring their belief that if he would go into court and make a reasonable apology, the matter would be terminated without further consequences. He himself preferred his applications to the Lord Chancellor, now Earl of Macclesfield: the incessant solicitations which he had been making for some years for a visitation of Trinity College, though they had no other result, yet had procured him the acquaintance of this exalted personage; who, however great might be his faults, was remarkably accessible and affable. He indulged Colbatch with many interviews; and although he condemned without reserve the offending passages of his book, promised him his good offices with the Chief Justice, to make the consequences light, and end the matter in a more favourable way than by pro-

Lord Chancellor Macclesfield.

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curing the King's pardon: and he directed him before the matter came into Court, to call upon Chief Justice Pratt, and express his contrition for his offence. But the patronage of these great Ministers was not calculated to render the unfortunate divine any real service.

Chief Justice Pratt.

The distinguished Judge who presided on the Bench, entertained a high notion of the dignity of his Court, and the necessity of repressing all attempts to disparage or question its authority; in which feeling his three coadjutors, the Judges Powis, Eyre, and Fortescue, strongly participated. He had also too just an opinion of the sanctity of the judicial character, not to be jealous of the interference of persons in power with the administration of justice. He, therefore, heard the representations of the Cabinet Ministers without the least disposition to attend to them; insomuch that the Premier accounted for his inflexibility, by observing that 'Pratt had got to the top of his preferment, and was therefore refractory, and not to be governed by them.' However, when the Doctor, by advice of the Lord Chancellor, waited on the Chief Justice at his house in Ormond-street, he behaved to him with considerable candour and mildness: he declared, indeed, that he viewed the offence in a serious light; but assured him that he would take no advantage of his having privately acknowledged himself author of the book. A similar intimation was given to him by Judge Eyre upon whom he likewise called; and it seems highly probable that the Court had at first intended to be satisfied with the censure of the work, through the publisher; whose expenses falling upon the author, would have been a punishment at least adequate to his offence.

May 7.

The Chief Justice going to the court immediately after this interview, Wilkin was brought to the bar, to answer the charge of publishing a libel on the judicature of the kingdom. His Lordship was severe in his condemnation of such an interference with public justice, by circulating insinuations against the Court, as if they were not equally ready to hear arguments on both sides of a question: and that being the last day of term, he ordered him to the Marshalsea prison, to remain there till the following term, 'that they might have time to think of a proper punishment for his offence.' The affrighted bookseller made an effort to save himself by declaring that Dr. Colbatch

The publisher committed.

was the author; but the Chief Justice told him that, 'he might do as he pleased about giving up the author; for it should not save him from the punishment due to the offence of circulating the pamphlet; and that his fate should be a warning to other publishers;' adding, that 'the Court would serve the author in the same way if brought before them.' Wilkin's terrors were greatly augmented when, upon applying in the evening at the chambers of Mr. Justice Fortescue to be bailed, he was informed by his Lordship, that he had that day taken as bail of the publisher of the 'Freeholder's Journal,' a treasonable paper, 1000*l.*, and 500*l.* for each of two sureties; and he was actually required to produce the same amount; the Judge saying, that 'his offence was as great or greater[15].' As this enormous bail could not immediately be procured, he had to remain in durance for the vacation; exposed to the tender mercies of the marshal, who extorted eleven pounds for allowing him the benefit of the Rules, and five pounds under pretence of excusing him from irons!

May 31. At the beginning of the Trinity term, the bookseller was again brought up, and received a severe reprimand from the Court; whereupon he voluntarily presented his affidavit naming the author of *Jus Academicum*. This uncalled-for discovery the Chief Justice declared would avail him nothing, and remanded him to prison: but upon the ground of the affidavit, the Court directed a Rule to be served on Dr. Colbatch to show cause why he too should not be attached.

Colbatch solicits the King's pardon. Colbatch was now advised by his lawyers and friends to lose no time in procuring the King's pardon, which had been promised him, if

[15] Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, in the account of this Judge, Sir John Fortescue, (article *Aland*) informs us that he was the friend and correspondent of Pope, to whom the poet addressed his Imitation of Horace, Satire II. 1., and author of the Pleadings of 'Straddling *versus* Styles,' in Swift's and Pope's Miscellanies. Had this been the fact, it would have been curious to remark that his abhorrence of 'libels and satires' showed itself in the case of poor Wilkin to be even greater than the poet attributes to him. But unluckily, they were different personages, and not difficult to distinguish; although they were both Judges, and sat together for some years in the same Court. The person mentioned in the text was Sir *John* Fortescue, who added the sirname of Aland; he retired from the Bench in 1746, and was made an Irish Peer. Pope's friend was *William* Fortescue, who was first made a Judge in 1736, and after having sat successively in the Exchequer and Common Pleas, became Master of the Rolls, and died in 1750.

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necessary, by both the Secretaries of State. He was, likewise, recommended to keep out of the way, that he might not be found by Bentley's attorney, when he came to serve the Rule of Court upon him; since he would, otherwise, in the natural progress of the case, be committed about the end of term, and lie in prison the whole of the long vacation. But when he renewed his application for the promised interference of the great Ministers in his favour, he found their tone much altered since their communications with the Chief Justice. 'Lord Carteret in particular, had at first been profuse in his assurances of protection in case of the worst: 'should the Doctor be sent to prison, here,' said he, brandishing his pen, 'is Mercury's wand, which will soon fetch him out.' Now, however, his Lordship's language was altered, and when the hardship of the case was represented, he made himself merry upon 'University men, who sucked in notions which they called principles, and were resolved strictly to adhere to and die martyrs for them.' He advised, however, that Colbatch should present himself before the Court, and make an apology for his fault; and he would undertake that nothing should hurt him, and that he would not be committed. But Dr. Freind, whose heart misgave him on this point, begged his Lordship to pledge his word, that in case of the worst, 'Mercury's wand' should be put in operation. Re-encouraged by a fresh promise of this shield of power, the delinquent, who had changed his lodgings to escape notice, now put on his gown and appeared publicly in the streets and in Westminster Hall: but here some lawyers, upon learning the grounds of his security, told him to despair his charm, for that 'if he confessed himself the author of *Jus Academicum*, the King himself could not hinder his being sent to prison.' After all the vibrations of resolution natural to a man in his circumstances, and being told by the Lord Chancellor that it would be better for him that the Ministry should not interfere, the Doctor determined to brave the storm. Accordingly, two days before the end of term, his counsel moved for the liberation of Wilkin, and the accepting Colbatch's recognizance for his appearance: when the Chief Justice, more moderate than his brother Fortescue, fined Wilkin 5*l.* and discharged him; and fixed 200*l.* bail for Colbatch himself, and 100*l.* for his sureties; thus leaving him

Lord Carteret.

at large till November, to ruminate on his unlucky predicament, and concert operations for the next campaign.

It deserves to be recorded as no common instance of spirit, that Dr. Colbatch, while he stood in need of all the interest which he could make for his personal security, yet never for a moment forgot the public cause in which he was embarked; but availed himself of all opportunities of his interviews with the Cabinet Ministers and Judges, to remind them of the affairs of Trinity College, and solicit a settlement of the visitatorial power, as the only method by which the distractions of the Society could be appeased. Every one allowed that this ought to be done; and all agreed in thinking the Lord Chancellor the fittest person to carry through the measure. But Lord Macclesfield only repeated the promises which experience had shown to be fallacious: on one occasion he went so far as to say, 'that he was ashamed to see him, since nothing was yet done about Trinity College.' Colbatch's eyes appear to have been gradually and unwillingly opened to the truth, that Lord Macclesfield had all along only intended to amuse him with hopes, and would never originate a measure which was disagreeable to an active partizan of the Whig interest.

Bentley applies to the Court of King's Bench to procure his restoration to his degrees.

Bentley, being thus able to wreak his resentment upon his adversary through the agency of that high tribunal, which the latter had unwittingly offended, had no further trouble with a business which went on so agreeably to his wishes; but occupied himself with a scheme of greater importance, his own restoration to his degrees. He had now continued three years and a half under the ban of the University; and although possessed of the two most important preferments in the place, was deprived of all title, rank, and voice in the body, and not suffered to perform the duties of his station. For some time he had calculated upon his restoration either through the interference of a Royal visitation, or from the influence of a more friendly feeling in the University. But all prospect of the first had long passed away, and recent events, by exasperating former animosities, had made the second less probable than ever. He was all along convinced that the original proceedings against him had been arbitrary and illegal: from the language held by the Court of King's Bench in the late affair of the Mandamus,

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May 5.

he collected that the Judges would make no difficulty in interfering with the Academical judicature if they deemed its proceedings to be faulty; and he resolved to appeal for justice to that high tribunal. Accordingly, two days before the publisher of *Jus Academicum* was to appear before the offended Court, Bentley's counsel moved for a Rule to be addressed to the University of Cambridge, to shew cause why a Mandamus should not issue, compelling them to restore him to all his degrees. The motion was grounded upon an affidavit of his proctor, Denys Lisle, alleging that he had been suspended by the Vice-Chancellor without hearing or summons, and afterwards degraded by the Senate upon the representation of the same person. The Judges made some remarks upon the propriety of referring such a case to a local Visitor: but in fine they granted the Rule *Nisi*, for the University to shew cause on the second day of the ensuing term. Bentley having kept this Rule one week, served it upon the Vice Chancellor. That officer being unequal to a matter of such importance, the academical privileges were entrusted to the care of Dr. Gooch, and his brother-in-law, the Dean of Chichester. The latter, in particular, from the opinion entertained of his talents, judgment, and knowledge of business, enjoyed the full confidence of the Senate; and he engaged in its service with as much zeal as if he had still been one of the Heads. The time was found too short for instructing counsel in the whole merits of a case which involved so much of the statutes, usages, and privileges of an University, and required a minute examination of old charters and registers. They therefore directed Serjeant Reynolds to shew cause against the Rule, so far as to allege the exempt jurisdiction which the University derived from Royal Charters confirmed by Act of Parliament, and then to give a succinct narrative of the proceedings against Bentley, from the beginning of Middleton's action of debt, to the complaint preferred by him to the King in Council after his Degradation; contending that the punishment had been inflicted by an authority competent to censure the members of the University; and that the same body which gave the degrees, possessed a right to take them away. If, however, the Court were not satisfied with this statement, the Serjeant was directed to pray for a longer time, to allow the

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charters and records to be searched, and preparations made for a more particular defence of the academical privileges. The Judges, as it was foreseen, did not admit those allegations as conclusive, but granted the prayer for postponement, or, in the technical phrase, enlarged the Rule till next term. May 31.

In the meantime great pains were taken to prepare a defence; and Colbatch drew up a very able paper, containing all the arguments by which it might be proved that the University had acted justly in punishing Bentley's contumacy; and that whatever were the merits of the case, they were not cognizable by the Court of King's Bench. It was judged that much would depend upon the leading counsel to whom this important cause was intrusted. The individual who at this time stood highest in reputation at the English bar was Sir Philip Yorke, the Solicitor General: and though he was not a member of the University, and several eminent barristers were already engaged in her service, yet it was thought proper at such a crisis to confide the academical interests to one who had a paramount character in the profession: and from this circumstance began the intimate connection between the University of Cambridge and that distinguished personage, which subsisted to the end of his life, and has been inherited by his posterity [16]. University employs Sir Philip Yorke as counsel.

After several postponements the case of the University was to have come into discussion on the 13th of November; on which day Bentley appeared in the Court, supported by his friends, Dr. Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle, and Dr. Gee, Dean of Lincoln [17]. But the indisposition of the Chief Justice prevented his attending the Court, and disappointed the expectations of the assembled auditory. Two days afterwards the case was argued in favour of the University, with great ability, by Sir Nov. 15.

[16] On the conclusion of Sir Philip Yorke's pleadings in the case of Dr. Bentley, in February 1723-24, he was complimented with the title of University-Counsel. In 1749 he was chosen High Steward; in which office he was succeeded by his son, the Earl of Hardwicke, in 1764, and by his grandson, the Earl of Hardwicke, in 1806.

[17] Dr. Edward Gee, who was this year removed from the deanery of Peterborough to that of Lincoln. He was also Prebendary of Westminster, and an intimate friend of Dr. Bentley. Colbatch observes in one of his letters, in reference to the affairs of Trinity College, that Dr. Gee was the only person of note that he could hear of, who approved and justified Bentley's proceedings in every thing.

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Philip Yorke. Among other things he contended, that the charters of the University exempted it from the jurisdiction of the King's Bench; and consequently that the Court had no power to interfere in behalf of the deprived Doctor. It being of primary importance that this point should be cleared up, the Court, without entering into the merits of the case, directed a writ of mandamus to the University to restore Richard Bentley to his degrees, to which a return might be made of the several facts and circumstances, shewing that the Court had no authority to interfere; and upon such return, the question of jurisdiction might be argued and decided.

Colbatch's case.

We must now attend to poor Colbatch, whom we left struggling to extricate himself from the toils of his enemy, into which he had inadvertently fallen. His cousin, Sir John Colbatch, a surgeon of great eminence, had learned from Mr. Baron Price, that, in his opinion, the best and only way to escape with credit was to obtain the interposition of the Crown, by a pardon or a *nolle prosequi*. For this purpose he went to town early in October, and the journal of his proceedings during the ensuing term presents only a renewal of interviews with Cabinet-ministers, and other exalted personages, by whom he was generally received with kindness and sympathy, and encouraged to look for a speedy and easy termination of his troubles. Besides his former intercessors, who renewed their kind offices, Sir William Dawes, the Archbishop of York, and Dr. Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, his old school-fellow, interested themselves in his favour. But they possessed at that moment no influence except that of character, being Tories, and the only two prelates on the Bench who opposed the Government in the affair of Atterbury's plot, and the commitment of the Duke of Norfolk to the Tower, which was just then agitated in Parliament. He discovered a more powerful friend in Lord Carleton, the President of the Council. This nobleman, formerly Mr. Henry Boyle, was the last survivor of the knot of statesmen, termed the Whig Junta, who swayed the measures of Government in the reign of Queen Anne. Being an old school-fellow and of the same college as Colbatch, he renewed his acquaintance with much kindness and sympathy, and promised his intercession in the proper quarter. It was universally allowed that the offensive

sentences of *Jus Academicum* had proceeded from no malignity of intention; and as his inadvertency had already put him to an expense of more than 100*l.*, besides long and harassing attendance, people thought that the punishment had exceeded the fault, and that any further proceeding would be a great hardship. Even the Chief Justice, when it was represented to him that both Secretaries of State were desirous that he should be let off, suggested, that 'then they might procure him the King's pardon.' But Colbatch discovered too late that there was a lion in the path, which intercepted all his prospects of powerful mediation. The Lord Chancellor, from an apprehension that some of the Judges, who were more jealous than even their Chief, of the dignity of their Court, might be offended if the culprit were taken out of their hands, or from some other reason, was resolved to prevent this indulgence being extended to a person, who, though respectable and harmless, had the misfortune to be a Tory.

Favour promised him by Lord Townshend.

Before the beginning of term Colbatch had several interviews with Lord Townshend, who treated him with the frankness and kindness which suited his character: told him that he had written to the Chancellor to make the matter up with the Judges, and that if it could not be settled in that way, he would do it by another. The Minister then entered into a familiar conversation upon the politics of the University of Cambridge, and expressed his regret that they did not endeavour to keep well with the Crown; adding this remarkable speech, 'that he had been blamed for procuring them the Royal donation of a library.' The Doctor replied, that it was in his Lordship's power to set right the most considerable body in the University, Trinity College, which had been petitioning so many years in vain for a Visitor; intimating that a redress of their grievances would naturally remove the discontented feelings which they then entertained: the Minister admitted the hardship, but laid the blame upon the indolence of the Bishop of Ely. In regard to his own affair, his Lordship sent him to wait upon the Chief Justice, with a message from himself, intimating that the Crown would interfere to stay proceedings, and wishing to know in what manner that object could most properly be effected. Colbatch proceeded immediately to Sir John Pratt's, but found that he was just gone out: whereupon

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Prevented by the Lord Chancellor.

an unfortunate idea came across his mind, that he ought to go and communicate the Minister's design to the Lord Chancellor, lest he should appear to distrust the promise of the latter. This wily Lord, having learnt the state of the case, determined to counteract what was doing; and, under pretence of smoothing the way, made the Doctor promise not to deliver Lord Townshend's message to the Chief Justice till he had himself seen him upon the subject. Colbatch, however, presently perceiving that he had been surprised and tricked by this exalted personage, went back to Lord Townshend, and candidly told him what had passed: the Minister revived his spirits by promising to procure him the King's pardon the next day, and directed him to call upon him again in the evening at his office, when he should see and talk with the Chancellor. Going at the time appointed, he found a cabinet meeting just broken up: Lord Townshend, as soon as he saw him, ordered Lord Macclesfield to be recalled, and the two great men held a long conversation apart, in which the Chancellor contrived to intercept the favour designed for the unfortunate Colbatch. They then joined him, and Lord Macclesfield urged that nothing more was required of him but to make a reasonable apology to the Court, and that he would be committed to satisfy form; that this would be only nominal, as he would regain his liberty the next day; and earnestly advised him to undergo this trivial ordeal: Lord Townshend then joined in the recommendation, saying, "Do, good Doctor, do." Thus pressed, he had no alternative but to acquiesce; although he was no longer deceived, but saw himself the victim of a hard-hearted policy. It is not easy to pronounce what was Lord Macclesfield's motive for taking so much pains to deceive and oppress an inoffensive clergyman: possibly a consciousness of his own enormous delinquencies might have given him secret apprehensions of a day of reckoning, when, exalted as he was, he should stand in need of the favour of those Judges, whom he was then so anxious to oblige.

The only practical effect of the great interest raised in Colbatch's favour, was to prolong his suspense and vexation. During the Easter term neither the prosecutor nor the Court took any notice of him, probably expecting the business to be terminated by the interposition of

Royal mercy. At the latter part of the term, he wished himself to move the Court for judgment; but his counsel dissuaded him, under the apprehension that he might remain a prisoner the whole vacation. But in the following term, the Court, on the motion of Bentley's counsel, Mr. Reeve, ordered that Dr. Colbatch should be examined by the Master of the Crown Office. The formalities of these interrogatories (a mode of proceeding which our law adopts only, I believe, in the case of attachments) were protracted through the greater part of the term, and the report of the Master would have been made to the Court on the last day, had not the interference of Lord Townshend, who sent the Solicitor of the Treasury to that officer, occasioned its postponement to the Easter term. This likewise was suffered to pass away in fruitless attendance at Westminster Hall; the prosecutor having secured his enemy in his clutches, and being in no hurry to dismiss him. At length May 14. Colbatch's patience being exhausted, he resolved at all hazards to apply for a termination of this vexatious affair. The moment chosen was the most unpropitious imaginable, owing to an unexpected incident shortly to be mentioned. Nevertheless, he was treated by Chief Justice Pratt with the mildness and candour due to a person of respectable and unblemished character: he offered an apology for his offence, at the same time reminding the Court that this was the fifth term that he had been in attendance to receive its censure. The Court, as he expected, committed him; the Chief Justice saying, however, that he might move for his discharge as soon as he pleased. After little more than a week's confinement, which the indulgence of the Marshal, propitiated by a present, rendered almost nominal, Dr. Colbatch was again brought up before the King's Bench, to petition for his discharge; whereupon Sir Littleton Powis, the senior Puisne Judge, delivered him his final objurgation. His Lordship had just been reading *Jus Academicum*, and was master of its contents; but, unfortunately for the author, he considered some of the reflections, intended for Dr. Bentley, as levelled against the Court: he regarded Colbatch's commendations of Academical law as conveying a censure upon the Common-law of the land; and termed 'the appeals made to foreign lawyers quite foreign to the purpose:' a conceit which took his Lordship's fancy so much, that he

He is committed.

Sentence by Mr. Justice Powis.

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repeated it three or four times in the course of his speech. But the most disastrous point was the motto of the book, *Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat*—. This venerable Judge, who had passed a long life in the study of Law Latin, had forgotten whatever acquaintance he might have contracted with classical writers sixty years before; for he accused Colbatch of 'applying to the Court the most virulent verse in all Horace, *Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non* ABROGAT.' The culprit immediately set him right as to Horace's word; and told him besides, that the motto was intended to apply, not to the Judges, but to Bentley. Sir Littleton, however, would not be driven from what he considered his strong hold; he thrice recurred to this unhappy quotation, which accused their Lordships of 'abrogating' the laws, and each time Colbatch was imprudent enough to interrupt and correct him. At last the Court remarked to his counsel, Kettelbey, that his client did not appear to be sensible of his being in contempt; and, to convince him of that fact, sentenced him to pay 50l., to be imprisoned till it was paid, and to give security for his good behaviour for a year[18].

While Colbatch was making provision for payment of the fine, the Chief Justice told him, that if any Clerk of the Court would answer that it should be forthcoming by the end of term, he should have his liberty immediately. This good-nature seems to have been a hint that it would be remitted; and Mr. Kettelbey, his counsel, undertook to make a motion for that purpose; but by the same mismanagement which attended all the proceedings of that gentleman, whom Colbatch had employed merely because he was his fellow-townsman of Ludlow, he postponed it till the last day of term, and did not rise to move till the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Powis had left the Bench; and those who remained declined hearing such a motion except in a full Court.

Middleton's tract, *Bibliothecæ Cantabrigiensis Ordinandæ Methodus.*

At the moment that Bentley was thus punishing one of his adversaries, another of them afforded him the unexpected opportunity of taking a similar vengeance. Dr. Middleton had applied himself, in his new office of Principal Librarian, to consider the proper arrangement and management of the Public Library, which had been so greatly in-

[18] There was reason to believe that it had been intended by the Court to have discharged Colbatch with the fine of one mark, had it not been for his behaviour during the Judge's speech.

creased by the King's noble present. The University had now devoted to this purpose the whole of the apartments over the Schools, including the Regent House: while, to supply the loss of that room, a subscription had been raised for building the present Theatre, or Senate House. The first stone of this beautiful structure had been laid by Dr. Crosse, at the head of the University, on the 24th of June, 1722: and the erection was proceeding rapidly. Meanwhile general attention was directed to the subject, upon which Middleton published a Latin tract, addressed to the Senate, entitled *Bibliothecæ Cantabrigiensis Ordinandæ Methodus*. His advice upon the whole management of the library is clear and judicious: he recommends, among other things, that the King's books should in the classical arrangement be intermixed with the rest, being sufficiently distinguished by the Royal arms on each volume. The Librarian seized this occasion of giving another severe slap to his enemy Bentley, who had detained for some years certain manuscripts, which he was collating, and, among others, the celebrated Beza manuscript, the glory of the library. Since, however, all were now returned, the paragraph, which is quoted in my note, served only to display the unabated animosity of the writer[19]. But it would have been fortunate for Middleton had he stopped here: his zeal in the cause which then agitated the University, led him to prefix a dedication to the Vice Chancellor, Dr. Andrew Snape, who was diligently employed in maintaining the cause of the Senate against the Master of Trinity, and who had in his inaugural speech declared, that he was ready to encounter any risk, even that of prison and of bonds, rather than sur-

[19] "Quidam tamen apud nos, viginti fere Codices MSS. e Bibliotheca Publica domum sibi transtulit; quorum aliquos undecim, alios octo, omnes autem quinque ad minimum annos sibi quasi proprios servavit; atque inter alios celeberrimum illud Evangeliorum exemplar, quod a doctissimo Beza dono olim acceperat Academia; maximum plane Bibliothecæ nostræ lumen, clarissimumque summæ vetustatis monumentum; quodque advenæ, curiosique omnes unice ferme omnium videre et versare cupiunt: ejus tamen septem jam circiter annos non modo non utendi, sed ne conspiciendi quidem, nisi impetrata prius a Viro bono venia, copiam habuit Academia: etenim cogitat Vir modestus aliis demum omnibus persuadere, quod sibi jam diu habet persuasissimum, se unum esse in hac Academia, qui manuscriptos libros evolvere dignus haberi mereatur. Huncce vero Bezæ Codicem, postquam repetitis nunciis revocare frustra laborassem, ad Bibliothecam tandem paucis ante diebus, una cum reliquis illis supra memoratis remittere dignatus est." *Middleton's Works*, vol. iii. p. 492.

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render the rights and privileges of the University. He praises Snape for his devotion to the interests of the body, and reflects upon certain persons, who aimed at subjecting the academical jurisdiction to the courts of Westminster. Though these sentences were levelled at Bentley, yet they were capable of a different interpretation, and might be imagined to contain a complaint against the Judges of the King's Bench. Colbatch accordingly advised and entreated his friend to omit those words, as likely to prove injurious both to the University cause and his own; since they two would be believed to act in concert in their attacks upon the Judges: but Middleton viewed the matter in a different light, and could only be induced to soften the passage in a slight degree. Bentley, aware of the jealousy of the Judges upon that head, immediately perceived that his enemy had, by writing this book, given him an advantage; and although he had already been engaged, within the last three years, in no less than five distinct suits before the King's Bench, he did not hesitate to add a sixth, by prosecuting Dr. Middleton for a libel upon that high tribunal.

May 14. Prosecuted by Bentley for a reflection on the Judges.

Accordingly Serjeant Cheshyre moved for an information against the book and its publisher, naming the Principal Librarian as the avowed writer. The pamphlet being handed to the Bench, the Chief Justice pronounced, that 'if Dr. Middleton was really the author, he must be the most ungrateful man alive, considering that the Court had already treated him with so much lenity, and had done as much or even more than the law would justify, in making up the quarrel between him and Dr. Bentley.' As a preliminary step, Crownfield, the University bookseller, who had published it, was ordered to attend the Court, to show cause why he should not be attached.

This happened to be the very day upon which Colbatch applied to the Bench to take cognizance of his own protracted affair; and he imagined this new prosecution to be only a stratagem to exasperate the Judges against himself as the supposed confederate of Middleton: an effect which it actually produced. But Bentley intended something more than a *ruse de guerre:* for he carried on a process similar to that against Colbatch, and pushed it through all its stages to a similar result. There was this difference only between the two cases: Middleton, pro-

fiting by the example of his friend, forebore to aggravate the misery and expense by delays and applications to the great. The following is the passage of his Dedication, in which the contempt of Court was considered most apparent:

"Alii interea, Doctores creandi jus nobis licet integrum permittant, de doctoratu tamen dejicere, de Senatu nostro deturbare, suo nisi arbitratu et consensu haud patiuntur; rerumque adeo Academicarum cognitionem et judicium ad forum *prorsus alienum atque externum* avocant: quorum conatus ni repellere tandem ac propulsare valuerimus, lethale quoddam vulnus huic nostræ Academiæ infligatur necesse est[20]."

Middleton fined 50*l.* June 20.

Accordingly, on the 15th of June, he was committed by the Court for the contempt discovered in the sentence just cited; and being again brought up five days afterwards, he was fined 50*l.* and discharged, after giving securities for his good behaviour for one twelvemonth.

Bentley's cause against the University.

While Bentley was thus successfully directing the weapons of law at his principal enemies, his suit against the University for depriving him of his degrees went on with that deliberate caution which was due to the important considerations involved. Snape, the Vice Chancellor, exerted himself with much energy; his principal ally was Colbatch, who during the late period of anxiety and trouble, had devoted his time and thoughts more to the public cause than even to that which involved his own fortune and liberty. The return to the mandamus of the Court of King's Bench was made in Hilary term 1723: but the argument upon it was postponed by agreement to the following term. This return, the object of which was to shew that 'a mandamus did not lie,' inasmuch as the University possessed a jurisdiction not amenable to the Court, was drawn up under the direction of Dean Sherlock, and a defence of it was written by Dr. Colbatch. The last paper was composed with great industry and ability, and comprised every thing in the way of law, precedent, and argument which could be urged in the defence of the Senate: and to this the University counsel had recourse for their instructions. In the Easter term, Serjeant Comyns, who was to defend the return, not having been able to make himself

[20] The words in italics were those which gave the Court most offence. When Middleton's Works were collected and printed in four volumes, thirty years afterwards, they were thought too scandalous to be inserted; the sentence accordingly stands thus: "rerumque adeo Academicarum cognitionem et judicium ad forum * * * * * * * * av-cant." Vol. iii. p. 478.

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master of the arguments by the day appointed, moved for and obtained a postponement. But in the following term the merits of the case were argued at length by the learned Serjeants Cheshyre and Comyns, the former of whom contended for Bentley, that the return was insufficient, and contained no justification of the proceedings of the Academical Senate: the latter replied by showing that the University did possess a power of this description over its own members, and that it was justly exercised in the present case; since Bentley had treated their jurisdiction with contempt, and when admonished by his Suspension, had refused to make his submission and pray for pardon. Upon the facts of the case there was no difference in the statement of the two parties: but so extraordinary had been the proceedings against the Doctor, that no precedent could be discovered which bore any resemblance or parallelism to them. The whole details of those events having been faithfully laid before the reader in a former chapter, need not here be repeated; and the legal arguments of the two Serjeants are preserved in Strange's Reports. Now that the merits of the case can be considered without prejudice or passion, it is probable that every one will be of opinion that the treatment experienced by Bentley in the affair of his suspension and deprivation was violent and intemperate: that it was also illegal was pronounced by the four Judges, who delivered their opinions *seriatim*. Respecting the question of jurisdiction, they held that since the University had not alleged in their return that they had a Special Visitor, to whom the cognizance of the complaint might be referred, it was the duty of the Court of King's Bench to overhaul the proceedings of the Vice Chancellor's as well as any other inferior Court; and in case any wrong had been committed, to redress it. In the present instance they all intimated their opinion that a wrong *had* taken place; inasmuch as the Doctor had been suspended and degraded for contempt: an offence for which, supposing him guilty, he ought to have been bound over to his good behaviour. In regard to the conduct for which he had been punished, the Chief Justice observed, "As to Dr. Bentley's behaviour upon being served with the process, I must say it was very indecent; and I can tell him, if he had said as much of our process, we would have laid him by the

The Judges declare their opinions seriatim against the University.

heels for it." But whatever might be said of other particulars, the Judges all declared that the want of notice or summons previous to the Suspension, was a defect in natural justice, which vitiated the whole proceedings. It was, besides, remarked that Bentley had been degraded by the Senate for a contempt, not upon itself, but upon the Vice Chancellor's Court: which was an unheard-of interference with another jurisdiction competent of itself to maintain its own just authority.

The Senate still keeps up the contest.

After so strong an expression of opinion from the whole Court, it is somewhat extraordinary that the University should have still maintained a contest which seemed to promise nothing but ultimate defeat. Perhaps the reliance placed upon the commanding abilities of Sir Philip Yorke, and the great attention paid to his arguments by the Bench, determined them to try the fortune of another discussion, by keeping up the cause to its very last stage, when a motion was to be made for a *peremptory* mandamus. The business, therefore, was again argued in Hilary term 1723-24, by Mr. Reeve for Bentley, and Sir Philip Yorke, now become Attorney General, for the University. There is no doubt but that every topic which ingenuity and legal skill could suggest, was urged on both sides by these great advocates, who became in the course of a few years the two Chief Justices of the land. The whole argument is given at length in Raymond's Reports: but it does not appear that any thing very material in substance was added to what had been advanced at the last discussion[21]. The Judges, however, took time to deliberate: and on the 7th of February, Chief Justice Pratt delivered the final judgment of the whole Court, in condemnation of the proceedings of the University. His Lordship did not on that occasion enter at large into the various bearings of the case, but dwelt upon the one defect in the process, which never could be got over; and pronounced that to punish a person without hearing and without summons, was illegal, and contrary to natural justice. Since, therefore, there existed no other remedy against such injustice, but the interposition of that Court, they ordered a peremptory mandamus to the

Peremptory mandamus to restore Bentley's degrees.

[21] Raymond's Reports, vol. ii. p. 1334. Sir Robert Raymond had himself just taken his seat upon the bench as a Puisne Judge.

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Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge, 'to restore Richard Bentley to all his degrees, and to every other right and privilege of which they had deprived him.'

It was not till six weeks after this *fiat* was issued, that the Senate took the step which it was required to do immediately. So determined were Bentley's adversaries upon resisting to the last, that petitions to the Houses of Parliament against the judgment of the Court of King's Bench were in agitation. Such measures were obviously chimerical: but it was still hoped that the humiliating necessity of rescinding the grace by which he was degraded might be avoided. A Syndicate had been appointed some months before, the principal members of which were the Vice Chancellor, the Dean of Chichester, Doctors Colbatch, Gooch, Waterland, and Middleton, to whom the whole management and plenary power in this affair had been entrusted. The first person of this body had publicly declared his resolution to undergo imprisonment, if necessary, in the cause of the academical privileges: and the reader has seen proofs of the inflexibility of some of his brethren: but the strong arm of law was neither to be resisted nor eluded. Their submission, however, was most ungraciously postponed till the latest moment. The 25th of March, 1724, was a day of high academical interest. The whole University, after attending service at King's Chapel, assisted at laying the first stone of the new building of that College; which ceremony was performed by Provost Snape, the Vice Chancellor. It seemed but natural that, when resistance was found to be vain, the Master of Trinity should have been admitted to join in his place at such a celebration: but this was industriously avoided; and the grace of the Senate, which, in obedience to the mandate of superior authority, restored him to all his degrees and privileges, was postponed till the day following that solemnity.

March 26.

CHAPTER XVII.

Dr. Bentley restored to his rank and station—Middleton renews his action to recover four guineas—King's favour to the Universities—Bishoprick of Bristol offered to Dr. Bentley—Great expenses of his late law-suits—Theological Schools—Examination for University Scholarship—Professor Pilgrim—Foundation of Battie's Scholarship—Causes of offence between Dr. Hare and Dr. Bentley—Hare's knowledge of the Latin comic metres derived from Bentley—He publishes Terence—His Dedication to Lord Townshend—Bentley's resentment—He prints a rival edition—Constant censure of Hare—Dissertation on the Metres—Commencement speech—Edition of Phædrus—Westenhof's Terence—Resentment of Dean Hare—'Epistola Critica' to Dr. Bland—Burman publishes Phædrus—Rupture between him and Bentley—Bentley's and Burman's editions of Lucan—Bentley's design of publishing Ovid—Still occupied on the New Testament—Vatican manuscript—His nephew, Thomas Bentley—Election of Public Orator—Bentley's controversy with Burford respecting the Old Statutes—Epitaph on Sir Isaac Newton—Bentley appoints a deputy in the Schools—Trinity College—Dr. Greene, Bishop of Ely—Opposition to the Master at an end—His son chosen Fellow—Lease of Massam House—Bentley builds a country-house—His nominations to Fellowships—Rejection of Benj. Stillingfleet—Bishop Gibson—Claims of Westminster School—Dean and Chapter solicited to interfere—Bentley resists their pretensions.

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Bentley restored to his rank and station.

We have now seen Doctor Bentley, after a long and angry struggle, restored in triumph to all the titles and dignities of which, for the space of five years and a half, he had been deprived. Through the whole of that period he had maintained an unceasing contest with active and determined adversaries, the most distinguished characters of the University; and in point of ability, ingenuity, and judgment, displayed a decided superiority over them all. Even his enemies were compelled to acknowledge the address and spirit, with which he made all the efforts of their hostility recoil upon themselves. I presume that there are not many examples of an individual who has been a party in six distinct suits before the Court of King's Bench, within the space of three years: but it would probably be very difficult to find another instance of a person who has, like Bentley, been successful in every one of such proceedings.

The senior Heads being all removed by death, the station in which the restored Doctor found himself, was that of first citizen of the academical commonwealth. His enemies, both in his own College

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and the University, being defeated at all points, had at present neither power nor disposition to renew the combat. So perfect was his victory, that he might well have afforded to make sacrifices for conciliation: and it was naturally to have been expected that a literary man, who had entered upon his grand climacteric, would have chosen to pass the evening of his days in tranquillity.

By a curious coincidence it happened, that at the very time when the fortune of Dr. Bentley seemed to be in the ascendant, and triumphing over his present adversaries, the principal antagonists of his former life were experiencing adversity in its most alarming form: a few months before the termination of the academical struggle, Bishop Atterbury was deprived, attainted, and exiled, and Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, and Dr. John Freind were sent as state prisoners to the Tower, on suspicion of partaking in the plot for the introduction of the Pretender.

Dr. Middleton renews his action to recover four guineas.

At the moment of our Doctor's restoration, Conyers Middleton, with whom had originated those disputes which so long agitated the University, was absent on a visit to Italy; whither he had gone shortly after his last censure by the Court of King's Bench, for the recovery of his health and spirits. The results of this journey are well known: it gave occasion to the clear and admirable exposure of the pagan origin of the ceremonies of the popish religion, contained in his celebrated 'Letter from Rome;' as well as to the collection of classical antiquities, of which a full and interesting description was published many years afterwards in his *Germana quædam Antiquitatis eruditæ Monumenta.* Upon his return in the spring, finding his enemy reinstated with triumph, he thought fit to renew his old suit for the four guineas in the Vice Chancellor's Court, which had constituted the first scene of the late eventful drama. Dr. Bentley seems to have designed a measure of pacification, and intended to have sent him the money without further controversy; for Middleton writes to Colbatch from London, "Tom Bentley, whom I saw in a coffee-house, told me that his uncle had given orders to return me the four guineas in question, and wondered that Lisle had not brought them to me at Cambridge." Probably he was deterred from this design, by considering that it

July 18.

might be deemed a confession of having being wrong in his original claim. The action, therefore, was suffered to proceed; but as I find no mention of it except in the Records of the Court, and as they only notice the appearances and steps of the plaintiff, it seems to have been an undefended suit: at the conclusion Mr. Richard Walker appeared for Dr. Bentley, and paid into Court the sum of 4*l.* 6*s.* along with the costs of suit; which, to the honour of the academical jurisdiction it must be recorded, amounted only to twelve shillings. CHAP. XVII. 1724. Feb. 1825. He recovers his claim.

The rays of Royal favour now shone upon both the Universities. The King had just given a donation of 2000*l.* towards erecting the Senate-house; he also founded and liberally endowed a professorship of Modern History, both at Oxford and Cambridge; and appointed salaries for twelve Preachers from each, to officiate in turn at the Royal Chapel of Whitehall, who were to be selected from the resident fellows. Bishop Boulter, the Dean of Christ-church, was raised to the primacy of Ireland; and on his elevation, it is recorded that the see of Bristol was offered to the Master of Trinity. Had this station been within Dr. Bentley's reach at an earlier period of life, he would probably not have hesitated to assume it: but he now firmly declined the proposal; alleging that the income of Bristol, far from maintaining the rank of a Bishop, would not even defray the expense of attending parliament. This offer was made personally through the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State, who had sent for him with that view: when it was declined, his Grace asked 'what sort of preferment he desired or expected:' "such preferment," replied Bentley, "as would not induce me to desire an exchange[1]." King's favour to the Universities. Bishoprick of Bristol offered to Dr. Bentley.

In the late protracted law proceedings Dr. Bentley, although his adversaries were made to pay the greater part of his costs, yet found the remainder press so heavily upon his finances, as to diminish the gratification of his triumph. The following incident occurred at the first assizes after his restoration. The Judges being at Trinity Lodge, Great expense of his late law suits.

[1] This anecdote, which is very circumstantial, is communicated by Bentley Warren, Esq., who received it, along with many other particulars, from his maternal uncle, Dr. Richard Bentley, of Nailstone. The Duke of Newcastle had just commenced his ministerial career, which continued, with very little intermission, for forty-three years.

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one of them took occasion to observe, "Dr. Bentley, you have not yet thanked us for what we have done for you:" the reply was of a kind which his Lordship could hardly have anticipated: "What am I to thank you for? Is it for only doing me justice, after a long-protracted law-suit? Had you, indeed, restored me at once to my rights, I might have expressed my obligations: but such have been your delays, that, if I had not been an economist in my earlier years, I must have been ruined by the pursuit of justice [2]."

Dr. Bentley was this year deprived of two of his University friends, with whom he had long lived in intimacy; Bishop Bradford, who having succeeded Atterbury both at Rochester and Westminster, resigned the headship of Corpus-Christi College; and the amiable Dr. Brookbank, who died, and was buried by his own desire in St. Edward's Churchyard; where his tomb-stone bears an inscription briefly describing his character, from the pen of his illustrious friend [3].

Death of Dr. Brookbank.

The restored Doctor was now assiduous in his attendance at all meetings for the transaction of public business, as well as at the University Church, from which, while denied his academical rank and station, he had been virtually excluded. The theological Schools recovered their Professor, and the disputations resumed their interest and importance. Some anecdotes of the first Act at which he presided after his restoration, are recorded by one who witnessed it: the respondent was Mr. John Addenbroke, Fellow of Catharine Hall, and afterwards Dean of Litchfield, who experienced no gentle treatment under the hands of so critical a moderator. He happened to have been an active partizan against Bentley in the affair of his Degradation; and to this was attributed the caustic language of the Professor, who was commonly very

Theological schools.

[2] For this anecdote I am likewise indebted to Mr. Bentley Warren.

[3] Hic sepeliri voluit
JOANNES BROOKBANK, LL.D.
Aulæ SS. Trinitatis Socius,
Dioceseos Eliensis Officialis,
Humanitate, Integritate, Comitate
Conspicuus;
Natus oppido Liverpool, denatus Cantabrigiæ,
An. MDCCXXIV, Ætatis LXXIII.
Per totam vitam ΥΔΡΟΠΟΤΗΣ.

indulgent to the disputants. However, the anecdote itself, as given in the note, imputes to him no interference, which was not strictly within the province of a moderator [4].

Examination for University scholarships.

In the performance of his professorial duties in the year 1724, there occurred an incident which, from the celebrity of some parties concerned, and the importance of its consequences, deserves to find a place in academical history. One of the two University scholarships, the only public rewards then existing for the encouragement of classical literature among the students, became vacant by the resignation of John Walker. The electors are the Vice Chancellor, the five Regius Professors, and the Public Orator. One of these seven, Mr. Pilgrim, the Greek Professor, happened to be absent from Cambridge at the time of the examination. We have had occasion to observe, that the part taken by this gentleman in the disputes of Trinity College had subjected him to the Master's resentment, who went so far as to refuse to admit pupils under him. But the University made him ample amends for this ill-usage: the valuable living of Standish in Lancashire having fallen to the disposal of the Senate, Professor Pilgrim was chosen Rector by a large majority [5]; and he was at this moment gone

Professor Pilgrim.

[4] The anecdote is recorded by Kippis in the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 247, on the authority of an ancient and respectable dignitary of the Church, who was present when it occurred. "In the first Divinity Act, which was kept in the public Schools, after Dr. Bentley's restoration to his degrees, and in which Dr. Bentley himself moderated as Professor, Dr. John Addenbroke, then Fellow of Catherine Hall, and afterwards Dean of Lichfield, was respondent for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. His questions were, 1, *Galei argumenta non valent contra Pædobaptismum.* 2, *Miracula a Christo edita probant divinam ejus missionem.* Against the terms of the first the Professor objected, as confining the question to Gale's arguments, saying, *Quid nobis cum homuncione Galeo?* On which it was observed, that the last Determination Dr. Bentley made in the Schools before he was degraded, was upon the question concerning Pædobaptism; and that he had said, that he would only consider Gale's arguments, as that writer had said every thing on the negative side, that could be alleged against infant baptism. To the terms of the other question, he objected bad Latin, saying, 'we have heard of *edere librum, edere signum populo;* sed quis unquam audivit, *edere miraculum?* Miracula *facta* sunt non *edita.*' N.B. Addenbroke was said to be a great stickler against Bentley, in the Senate-house, while his Degradation was in debate."

[5] "The poll for the rectory of Standish, the advowson of which belonged to a Papist, took place Jan. 22, 1723-24.

Dr. Baker, St. John's . . . . 77 votes.
Professor Pilgrim, Trinity . . . 125 votes."—*Atwood's Diary.*

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to take possession of his preferment. Many students entered the lists as candidates; but when the day of contest arrived, only six encountered the test: three of these subsequently maintained a considerable name in literature, William Battie and Thomas Morell, of King's, and Richard Bentley, of Trinity College. The last was son of the Master's younger brother, Joseph, and possessed a full share of the talent which seems to have belonged to the whole family of the Bentleys. The candidates were examined by all the electors in succession; and the Vice Chancellor, Dr. Snape, put their knowledge and abilities to the trial in presence of one another, that each might be himself a witness of the merits of his competitors: he expressed, however, a difficulty in making

Oct. 26. up his own mind about the most deserving. On the day fixed for the decision, the suffrages were found to be equally divided between Battie and Bentley: the Vice Chancellor, with the Professors of Law and Physic, Dr. Dickens and Dr. Greene, voting for the former, and the Professors of Divinity and Hebrew, with the Public Orator, for the latter. As the existing regulations contained no provision for deciding a case where the votes were equal, the electors separated, leaving the

Oct. 30. prize undetermined. The Vice Chancellor, however, summoned another meeting in a few days, which Doctors Bentley, Bouquet, and Ayloffe, did not think fit to attend. In this difficulty the proper course would have been to wait for the return of the Greek Professor, and submit the merits of Battie and Bentley to his decision: and this was perhaps the view of the seceders. But the other party apprehended some artifice from Dr. Bentley in favour of his nephew; particularly as the office of the Vice Chancellor was to expire in a few days, and his successor might entertain a different opinion on the point in controversy: they resolved, therefore, to traverse such designs by a vigorous

Oct. 31. measure. On the following day they laid a representation of the whole affair before the Senate, not doubting but that the majority would

The Senate gives a double vote to the Vice Chancellor.

readily enter into any step adverse to Dr. Bentley. This statement was followed up by a grace, decreeing that, on the present occasion, it should be referred to Lord Craven, as representative of the founder, to name which of the two young men should hold the scholarship; and that in future, when an equality of votes occurred, that candidate should

be elected for whom the Vice Chancellor had voted. It was in vain that Bentley and his friends opposed this grace; it was carried by a majority of 54 against 21 [6]; and Lord Craven, in compliment to the wish of the Senate, determined in favour of Battie, as being the candidate who had the suffrage of the Vice Chancellor [7].

Thus the rule of giving to the Chief Magistrate a second voice in equally balanced cases, which has been since adopted with relation to other prizes in the University of Cambridge, originated in party spirit, and was designed to carry a particular point. Its introduction is much to be regretted: as an expedient to cut the knot in cases of difficulty, hardly any plan could be devised less satisfactory to the feelings of candidates for honours: even the resource of casting lots would be preferable. The admission of official patronage in deciding questions where literary merit is the sole object of enquiry, involves an obvious inconsistency: and the person to whom the privilege of a double vote is given, generally happens to be unable to devote so much leisure and attention to the investigation as any other of the electors.

That Dr. Bentley should have been suspected by his enemies of partiality to his own nephew, is not to be wondered; but there is no reason to believe that his vote was not given honestly and conscientiously; or that the youth was in point of ability or scholarship inferior to his rival. Dr. Ayloffe and Dr. Bouquet, who voted for young Bentley, were honourable and independent men, and, as the reader has observed, were never backward in opposing the Master, when they disapproved his conduct; and it was their sincere conviction that his nephew was entitled to the scholarship by his examination [8].

This was the first occasion, as far as I can discover, on which general

[6] Atwood's Diary.

[7] The account of this business has been taken partly from the representation in the Register, and other records in possession of the University; partly from the narrative given by Morell, one of the candidates, in a letter to Mr. John Nichols, dated Feb. 1781. (*Lit. Anecd.* vol. iv. p. 600.) Dr. Morell, a person to whose labours the cause of classical education is essentially indebted, commits a few inaccuracies, as might be expected, in relating what happened fifty-seven years before; and these are rather increased in the transfusion of his account into the Biographical Dictionary, article *Battie*.

[8] This fact is incidentally mentioned in Dr. Colbatch's manuscripts.

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attention was drawn, even in academical circles, to a public examination in the University of Cambridge. The memory of the transaction produced a singular effect upon the mind of Battie, the successful candidate. In the fulness of time, when his practice as a physician had conducted him to independence and opulence, he showed his gratitude for the benefits experienced from Lord Craven's scholarship, by founding and endowing a similar one, which bears his name; but in certain alterations made in the rules, he shows that the recollection of his own success was not unaccompanied by soreness. In Battie's Scholarship, the Professors of Hebrew and Greek, and the Public Orator, are excluded from examining, and in their places are substituted the Provost of King's, and the two Proctors: a change which could hardly have been made by a person not under the influence of peculiar feelings. Dr. Battie orders the examinations to take place in the presence of all the candidates, 'that they be witnesses of each other's abilities, and that all partiality may, as much as possible, be prevented in the electors:' and his gratitude to Provost Snape is marked by assigning to the Provost of King's a double vote, in case of the opinions of the examiners being equally divided between two candidates [9].

Foundation of Battie's Scholarship.

Our great critic was now embarked on one of the most considerable of the undertakings, which he ever brought to a completion—his edition of Terence. It has been mentioned that he was occupied upon this favourite author about the year 1713, but was prevented from maturing his design, by the approaching trial at Ely House. It is probable that it would never have been resumed, but for an unexpected occurrence, which called forth all his energies: this was the publication of Terence by his former friend Dr. Hare, the Dean of Worcester. Bentley, as the reader may recollect, entertained a belief that the project of an edition of the Classics, *in Usum Frederici Principis*, for which he was to have had a pension of 1000*l.* a year, had been interrupted in the first instance, by the suggestions of Dr. Hare. From that time their

Causes of offence between Dr. Hare and Dr. Bentley.

[9] Dr. Battie reserved to himself the disposal of his scholarship during his life-time, and it was in fact filled by his own nominations till his death in 1776. The first scholar on this foundation, elected on the score of merit by open competition, was my learned and accomplished friend Jonathan Raine, Esq. M.P. Chief Justice of the North Wales Circuit, who was made Battie's Scholar in 1785.

intimacy tacitly subsided; but no rupture took place: Bentley chose, to use his own words, *amicitiam dissuere, non disrumpere*; and they continued to be reputed and spoken of as friends[10]. In the meantime, however, other grounds of offence had occurred: Bentley was of course displeased at Hare's having repeated, in the hearing of his enemies, an unguarded expression respecting his intended edition of the New Testament, which was consequently proclaimed abroad in one of Middleton's pamphlets[11]. But he was likely to have been still more irritated by the Dean's exerting his interest with Lord Townshend in behalf of Dr. Colbatch, when he lay exposed to the perils of a prosecution. This interference was no secret; and though proceeding only from compassion to an individual, Bentley was sure to consider it as an open adhesion to the cause of his inveterate adversaries: it is possible also, that he deemed Hare's confidential intimacy with the Minister an obstacle to his own preferment.

While such were the Doctor's feelings towards his old ally and panegyrist, the appearance of his edition of Terence, about the middle of 1724, produced a different sort of irritation. Hare was an excellent Latin scholar, and had a great deal of true taste in criticism: during the period of his intimacy with Bentley, for whom he entertained the sincerest admiration, their conversation frequently turned upon the versification of the Latin comic poets, a subject to which the one had attended from his youth, and of which the other, like most scholars of that day, was perfectly ignorant. For the general inattention to this nice and difficult topic, there was a great excuse: several ancient writers have spoken of the metres of the Latin comedians, and of Terence particularly, in such terms as show, that even in their days the licences which they used were not perfectly comprehended: the verses are constructed on so loose a plan, that they seem to differ but little from prose; and as it was deemed impossible to reduce them to any certain rules, people spared themselves the trouble of an investigation, in which complete success was not to be expected. By the instructions of our

Hare's knowledge of the Latin Comic Metres derived from Bentley.

[10] Markland, in his *Epistola Critica*, addressed to Hare, in the preceding year, speaks of Dr. Bentley as the great friend of the Dean.

[11] See page 393, note.

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critic, Hare was not only made acquainted with the leading principles of the Terentian verse, but was convinced that the lines might even now be scanned according to the intention of the poet. His good sense could not fail to show him how essential this knowledge was for the correction of the author's text, and the rejection of emendations made by critics who were ignorant or regardless of the metre. Nor are those the only fruits to be derived from this branch of knowledge: every one is sensible of greater pleasure in the perusal of a poet, and recollects him better, when his ear recognises the harmony of numbers, than if he were to read the verses as mere prose. Hare listened to the doctrine of his friend with avidity, but used to return to him with a complaint not unlike that of Cicero's dialogist about Plato: "While I am with you I seem to understand it all, but when I come to con it over by myself at home, I find I know nothing." Bentley advised him to study the edition of Gabriel Faernus, and gave him further lectures on this mysterious subject[12]. Faernus was an admirable scholar, about the middle of the sixteenth century, who was patronized by the Medicean family, and the Cardinal Borromeo: he possessed a much greater insight into the versification of Latin comedy than any scholar before Bentley; and corrected Terence upon the best *data*, the collation of all the ancient manuscripts, which Italy could supply, and a careful observation of the laws and licences of the versification. But he died young, before he could publish or complete his work: it was printed at Florence after his death by his friend the celebrated Peter Victorius, and reprinted, several years after, at Heidelberg. It happened, however, that the innumerable editors of Terence who succeeded him, generally neglected Faernus; his book was become extremely rare, and scarcely known even to the learned.

Faernus's edition of Terence.

Hare publishes Terence.

Dean Hare probably longed for Bentley's edition of this poet with more anxiety than any other of his admirers. But when the Doctor had obtained the chair of Theology, and, in addition to his official labours, had embarked in a critical edition of the New Testament, he thought, naturally enough, that there was no longer any prospect of the

[12] Communicated by Bentley to Dr. Salter.

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world seeing his promised Terence; and conceived the idea of becoming himself the editor of that comedian, and introducing to his contemporaries a metrical knowledge of his verses. Accordingly he made the edition of Faernus the foundation of his own, adhering generally to his text, and printing as an Appendix the whole of his Annotations. A critical apparatus was ready prepared for his hands by Dr. Leng, the Bishop of Norwich, whom we have had occasion to mention as the publisher of Terence, above twenty years before: that editor had entered in the same volume the collations of all the English manuscripts that he could find, as well as the various readings given by Faernus and other editors, and had presented the whole collection to his College, Catharine Hall; from whence it was lent for the use of the Dean of Worcester. But Hare's main object was to publish a metrical copy of the poet, or, in other words, to enable his reader to scan every line in his comedies. For this purpose he gave a full and elaborate dissertation upon comic metres, and began by supposing that his readers, presumed to be grown gentlemen, were ignorant of the subject, and stood in need of the most particular directions. His instructions, being operose and minute in detail, and trusting nothing to the ear or judgment of the reader, plainly betrayed the fact, that the Dean had himself made this acquisition at a recent period, and was not really familiar with the science which he taught. Not satisfied with these preliminary directions, he filled the whole text of the author with a multiplicity of marks, sometimes dividing the verse, sometimes the words, pointing the pauses to be observed by the reader, and noting the quantities of syllables when they varied from the ordinary rules of prosody. This mangled appearance of the verses is disagreeable to the eye, and presents Terence in a form rather to be scanned than to be read. The part of the work on which he bestowed the least pains are his notes; they are, however, scholar-like and sensible; and, upon the whole, there has been a harsher judgment entertained of the edition than it deserves, owing to the manifest superiority of its rival.

His dissertation on the metres.

The Dean of Worcester prefixed to his Terence a long dedication to Lord Viscount Townshend, written in an elegant Ciceronian style: this piece is alike creditable to the statesman and the dedicator, whose inti-

Hare's dedication to Lord Townshend.

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macy with his friend and patron had begun at King's College, and was maintained and cemented by mutual regard. The topics of collaudation, relating to the public and private conduct of the Minister, are well chosen, and judiciously handled: his services in the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715, his return to office to heal the wounds and relieve the distresses occasioned by the South-sea madness, and his industry and sagacity in unravelling the late conspiracy, were just subjects of panegyric: but all mention of the noble patronage which he had extended to his University, is unaccountably omitted. The editor introduces in his dedication a very just and well-written account of the peculiar merits of the Comedian, and the value of his productions. He remarks, with much truth, that the neglect of this fascinating poet among men of mature age, who are most capable of appreciating and enjoying him, arises from the habit adopted at many schools, of putting him into the hands of very young boys, and compelling them to learn small portions at intervals of time; a method which precludes all chance of their deriving enjoyment from the comedies, and only leaves on their minds an impression of dissatisfaction and disgust. Much is likewise said about the superior tone of morals, and the greater purity of ideas and expression found in the works of this writer, than in other comedians; and particularly the contrast which he presents to the licentiousness of the modern stage: this remark, which had been frequently made, was probably introduced here by way of apology for a dignitary of the Church employing his leisure in such a publication.

Bentley's resentment.

The novelty of the method, and reputation of the editor procured for Hare's Terence a great circulation, and a second edition in quarto was almost immediately required. The resentment which it occasioned in the mind of Dr. Bentley is proved from his immediate resolution to overturn its credit, by producing an edition of his own. A reader unacquainted with the private history just related, would be at a loss to discover sufficient cause, or any cause at all, for the violent offence which he conceived: particularly since he is mentioned in the preface in terms of ample praise, as best qualified of all living scholars to become the editor of Terence: nay further, his present more important undertaking of the New Testament, is spoken of in a handsome and

gratifying way[13]. Bentley, however, complained that Hare had turned to his own purposes, without acknowledgment, the information extracted from his unsuspicious communications; that, to use his own term, 'he had interverted him.' Once, and but once, the Dean acknowledges an obligation to his former friend, as having learnt from him the proper method of dividing Iambic verses in the enunciation: where, by-the-bye, he mistook the directions of his instructor, and supposed that the rule of cutting off the first half foot, and then reading the rest of the line as trochaic, which Bentley applied to Trimeters, ought, likewise, to be adopted in Tetrameters; and accordingly disfigured every verse of that description, by a misplaced mark of intersection. Nevertheless, a jealous and scrutinizing eye might detect in the book several proofs of a disposition to disparage our critic; as for instance, where the editor mentions the discovery of a system of Cretic measures, and another of Bacchiac measures in Terence, which are given in Bentley's notes upon Cicero's Tusculans; and plainly insinuates that he had stolen those observations from an obscure edition published by one Bergius at Leipsic, 150 years before; which it is probable that Bentley had never seen[14]. Nor was this all: in the dedicatory epistle to Lord Townshend, there occur the following words: *Nosti pessimos quosque, dum potentia valerent, impensissime fuisse celebratos; et ipsas etiam reipublicæ pestes, dum principem in illa administranda locum obtinerent, suos præcones habuisse.* Though

[13] "Erat quidem cum non modo vehementer sperarem, sed et certa spe confiderem hanc operam a Viro in his literis facile principe susceptum iri, clarissimo nostro Bentleio: Sed jam plures anni sunt, quod omnis spes illa decolavit; consilium quod de tempore in tempus Vir eruditissimus distulerat, gravioribus negotiis subinde alio trahentibus, videtur in solidum deposuisse ex eo tempore, quo ad Regiam Theologiæ Cathedram in Academia Cantabrigiensi evectus est, et ad Novum Fœdus Græce et Latine ex antiquissimis codicibus pristino nitori restituendum animum adjecit, ut Græcum Textum ab insana illa variarum lectionum mole, quam recentiores codices invexerunt, liberaret, et Hieronymi Versionem ab erroribus purgatam talem daret, qualis e doctissimi Patris manu exiit; opus profecto grande, et tanti viri diligentia, acumine, judicio in primis dignum!

"Cum vero hæc me spes, de qua plurimum mihi sæpe gratulabar, ita penitus destituisset, cœpi subinde mecum agitare, annon et ipse quadam tenus præstare possim, quod tam avidis votis a tanta manu frustra expetiissem."—*Præfatio*, p. xxvi.

[14] See Hare's and Bentley's respective Notes on Ter. Andv. III. ii. 1. and IV. i. 1.

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this is a general remark, applicable to all times and all countries, yet the spirit of jealousy displayed against Bentley, makes one suspect that it was intended as a bitter reflection upon the latter's dedication of Horace to the Earl of Oxford, while Lord Treasurer, whose administration, it was a fashion among the Whigs to denominate 'the worst of times:' and such an allusion to a sore topic was likely to inflame the irritation in the Doctor's mind. The result was that, although busied with the duties of his professorship, and called upon by his engagements to the public to finish his Greek Testament, he did not hesitate to undertake such an edition of Terence, as might at once supplant and extinguish that of the Dean of Worcester.

He prints a rival edition.

To this work he betook himself with an energy as great as he had ever displayed at the most active period of life, and showed the mistake of those who imagined that years had weakened either his spirit or powers of exertion. His object was twofold; to give the reader a critical edition of Terence with a corrected text and metrical arrangement of every verse; and at the same time to censure the performance of his rival. The industry with which he accomplished both purposes, and his rapidity of execution are alike astonishing, and mark the powerful genius of our veteran critic. His text professes to be corrected in not less than a thousand places; and the reasons for almost every change are given in the notes. The latter, as is proved by internal evidence, must have been for the most part written on this occasion; and such was the eager industry with which he hastened the work, that he allowed himself only one week to despatch the notes upon each comedy [15]. That the reader might be able to recognize the measure of verses which differ so prodigiously from those of stricter poetry, Bentley marked with an acute the first accented syllable of every *dipodia*, in every line of Terence: a laborious task, which must have vastly increased the trouble of correcting the press. Richard Dawes, one of his most uncandid adversaries, sneers at this diligence, as imposing useless labour upon himself and his printer [16]. But, I ap-

Accentual marks of the measures.

[15] This was his own statement to Dr. Salter. See *Gent. Mag.* 1779, vol. xlix. p. 547.

[16] Dawes. *Miscellanea Critica*, p. 193.

prehend, that most readers of Bentley's Terence will find occasions to thank him for not having spared his trouble in this respect.

Dr. Bentley printed the whole of Faernus's notes, not like his rival at the end of the volume, but at the bottom of each page, intermixed in the same series with his own; an arrangement far more convenient to the reader. The besetting sin of his criticism, a proneness to subtile refinement, and unnecessary corrections, pervades this edition, though in a smaller degree than that of Horace. It is to be wished that many of these changes had been spared: but a still greater number deserve unmixed praise. And it is certain that by the united effort of genius, acuteness, and nicety of ear, he has restored a multitude of passages which were before corrupted. And after all that can be said to the disparagement of this hasty performance, I believe that most lovers of the great comedian of Rome, will acknowledge that they read him with less embarrassment and more satisfaction in Dr. Bentley's text than in any other copy [17].

Corrections of the text.

His censure of Hare, which unquestionably was the primary motive of the edition, is kept up in his notes from the first page to the last with unwearied severity: every untenable position of the rival editor is attacked by Bentley, who seizes such occasions to exhibit his own superior skill, and generally succeeds in engaging the reader in his favour. But although his language is caustic and contemptuous, he never gives way to the angry and abusive style which marked at that time the quarrels of continental scholars: he seems, however, to have understood in what way he could most gall and irritate the person by whom he thought himself ill-treated. Among other methods of mortifying Hare, he industriously abstains from naming him throughout

Constant censure of Hare.

[17] Professor Wolf, in an account of Bentley, inserted by him in a German literary journal, says, that in his Terence, there are fewer things which ought to be rejected than in his editions of other authors. Professor Hermann printed an academical dissertation at Leipsic, in 1819, to dispute the truth of this observation: this essay, like all Hermann's writings, contains many ingenious and acute criticisms, and some well-considered remarks on Bentley's peculiar merits: but with respect to its object, I cannot perceive that it shakes the truth of Wolf's observation, which was intended, I presume, to compare Bentley's Terence with his Horace, Phædrus, Manilius, and Lucan: and I agree with him in thinking his text of Terence more free from errors than that of any of those poets.

CHAP. XVII. 1725.

the volume, but alludes to him in every page under the designations of ὁ δεῖνα, *quidam, alius, est qui*, &c. and when he designs his sneer to be peculiarly provoking, terms him *Vir eruditus.*

Bentley's notes upon Terence do not run into a discursive length like those upon Horace; nor do they embody so great a store of erudition: but they are elegant, and such as the purpose demanded. It is right to add that the volume is more free from inaccuracies than might have been expected, from the haste with which it was carried through the press.

Bentley's Dissertation on the Metres of Terence.

After a few sentences of preface, Bentley printed a dissertation upon the Metres of Terence. This production, which as being extemporary, he termed *Schediasma*, is in fact the clearest and most satisfactory account that has ever yet been written of that difficult subject. Although the devotion of a greater length of time would have rendered his essay more perfect, and although the perpetual reflections on the errors of his rival had better have been spared, yet it would not be easy to find nineteen pages of any writer upon metre from whence so much solid information is derived: while the arrangement is so lucid, and the style so pleasing, that much interest is given to a subject which is in itself rather dry and repulsive. The superiority over Hare's dissertation is very remarkable. The doctrine, indeed, is essentially the same in both; and, except upon a few points, there is no very material difference in the details: but the manner of handling them marks the distinction between the master of a subject, with which he has been conversant from his youth, and the amateur who is instructing others in a species of knowledge, which he has himself acquired for the first time at an advanced age.

Commencement Speech.

After the *Schediasma* there follows an oration, delivered by Dr. Bentley at the Cambridge Commencement in 1725, on the occasion of his creating seven Doctors of Divinity. What was the reason for inserting it in a work of so dissimilar a kind as an edition of Terence, it is not easy to determine; but being the only one of his Commencement-speeches which is published, we are glad to meet with it in any situation. This production is short and sprightly; all its topics are treated with remarkable good-humour; nor is there a word which could

give offence to any party, or revive the recollection of the angry feuds which had distinguished the late years of academical history. The tone in which he rejoices at the increasing prosperity of the University, is that of a person who had never felt any thing but affection, and never experienced any but kind treatment from that body. This prosperity he attributes mainly to the patronage and munificence so liberally extended to it by the Monarch : and he takes occasion to praise his daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales, whose encouragement of learned men, and particularly of the first English divines, constituted a marked feature in the history of the country as long as she lived. The greater part of this short oration consists of an explanation of the origin and meaning of the several ceremonies, which by ancient custom are used in the creation of a Doctor. It is impossible not to admire his address, and occasional eloquence in giving an interest to those forms, which to the ignorant might appear barbarous or ridiculous. Once only he might be fancied to allude to his own history: when expressing a wish that some one of the seven new Doctors might succeed him in the chair, he says, that in spite of its soft cushion and elegant appearance, *ea, si expertis creditis, quovis scamno durior est et molestior ; quovis stadio et curriculo exercitatior.* CHAP. XVII. 1725.

It would have been well for the credit of Dr. Bentley had he rested here, and given his Terence to the world as soon as the printing was completed. But it occurred to him to strike an additional blow at the rival against whom he was so much exasperated. Hare had announced his intention of editing the Fables of Phædrus, and had them nearly ready for the press. Bentley resolved to anticipate him in this publication, as he had himself been anticipated in that of Terence. He had made no preparations for this work, except such emendations and conjectures as he was in the habit of writing in the margin of all classical authors in the course of their perusal. Many of these were of the most daring class of his emendations ; and many more, though ingenious and plausible, were unnecessary. All, however, were introduced into the text; and the notes did little more than point out the supposed faults of the former readings, and then ordered the substitution of the new ones by a sort of critical decree ; the reasons Edition of Phædrus.

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of which he frequently left for others to explain [18]. Great as had been the haste with which the Doctor's Terence was completed, the Fabulist was despatched with ten-fold expedition. In none of his publications did he display so much presumption, as in putting forth this crude collection of new readings, supported by notes, the jejuneness of which formed a remarkable contrast to his copious annotations upon Horace, and which were unworthy even to appear in the same volume with his edition of the Comedian: and never did he more expose himself to the attacks of enemies, than when, at the suggestion of pique and resentment, he launched this puny and meagre performance into the troubled waters of criticism. That it might come forth under Royal auspices, the edition of Phædrus, having appended to it the Sentences of Publius Syrus, was dedicated to William, afterwards Duke of Cumberland, then a boy of five years old; while the Terence was inscribed to his elder brother, Prince Frederick, whose portrait, engraved by Vertue, forms the frontispiece of the book [19].

The volume issued forth at the beginning of 1726, and immediately excited the attention of the learned throughout Europe. Bentley's dissertation upon the Terentian Metres at once made plain and easy a subject which was before intricate, and, as many imagined, entirely hopeless: and an edition of the author, containing the scansion of every verse, proved to all, even to those who might take occasional exceptions, that the problem was fairly solved, and the laws of Terence's measures discovered. This publication was attended with another peculiar circumstance of triumph. A large and handsome edition of Terence, accompanied with a commentary, had been for sometime in the press,

Westerhof's Terence.

[18] This concise and imperious brevity is acknowledged and defended by a sentence of a very short preface; which itself indicates the haste used in printing the book:

"Porro in emendationibus nostris proponendis brevitatis laudem, qua Phædrus ipse tantopere se effert, studio *sectati sumus: contenti* fere rationem correctionis uno verbo indicasse; nonnumquam de uno quidem; studiosis, qui post me mea probabunt, eam provinciam *relinquens*."

[19] The preface just mentioned begins with noticing a very remarkable fact respecting the three writers who are included in this volume: "Quod Phædri fabulas et Publii Syri sententias huic Terentii editioni subjunxerim; ea partim causa erat, quod hi soli præter Plautum et fragmenta quædam aliorum nunc extent, qui eadem qua Terentius licentia in senariis sint usi; partim quod hi tres, pari conditione liberti et peregrini, in non ita dissimili argumento Comœdiis, Mimis, et Apologis, omnia Italorum ingenia facile superaverint—."

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at the Hague: the Dutch editor, Westerhof, mentions in his preface Bentley's idea of restoring the metrical arrangement of the lines of this comedian, with the following sneer: *Habebit igitur in quo se exerceat Vir Cl.* RICHARDUS BENTLEIUS, *si quod ad Horat. Serm.* II. 5. 79. p. 513. *profitetur, aliquando novam* TERENTII *editionem ad priscos numeros adornaturus sit*: he then proceeds to show the difficulty of recovering the metres of the Comedian, and argues that the attempt must be at the present day hopeless, chimerical, and absurd: for this purpose he writes three pages of common-place remark, really designed to veil his own ignorance of the subject. Unluckily for Westerhof, Bentley's Terence appeared at the same moment as his own: and scholars saw the very achievement which one editor pronounced to be impossible, actually accomplished by the other. Nor was this all: the popularity of Bentley's performance, causing another edition to be immediately in request, it was printed, like his Horace, at Amsterdam; and the person employed by the bookseller to construct the index was no other than Westerhof himself, who thus condescended to assist the triumph of his rival.

Resentment of Dean Hare.

The effect of Bentley's publication upon the mind of Dean Hare was to irritate and provoke him beyond his power of endurance. He saw that the fruits of his own labour were at once driven out of the field; and that their memory was likely to be preserved chiefly by the censures which they had incurred. He had resolved upon revenge even when he knew only from rumour that the book was in preparation. When it appeared, he could quickly discover that in the treatment of Terence, his adversary's advantage was so great, that he had little chance of obtaining satisfaction by a controversy. But Bentley's extreme imprudence in printing his hasty, crude, and unsupported revision of the text of Phædrus, afforded his angry opponent an ample field for retaliation. Hare had been for sometime preparing a new edition of that author: consequently, his materials for the discussion were ready: and it was not difficult for so able and sensible a scholar to expose needless alterations, made in the very wantonness of critical licence. The Dean drew up a review of Dr. Bentley's notes on Phædrus in the form of an *Epistola Critica*, addressed to his friend

'Epistola Critica' to Dr. Bland.

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Dr. Bland, the Head-master of Eton School. His resentment, however, did not lead him to precipitate the publication; and by waiting for leisure, he was able to direct a severer blow upon his adversary. The censure appeared in the beginning of the following year, in 150 quarto pages: the author, though not named in the title page, was unreservedly acknowledged to be Dean Hare.

Though this epistle is learned, abounding in judicious remarks, and written not without elegance, it probably finds at the present day but few readers; so offensive is the spirit of personal acrimony which pervades its pages. But it undoubtedly produced at that time its intended effect, in depreciating the reputation of Dr. Bentley. In pursuance of this design, Dr. Hare went through the whole of Phædrus, refuting with the utmost bitterness the hasty suggestions of his adversary; to whom he dealt out severer measure than he had himself received. Bentley had acknowledged in two or three places of Terence, the merit of his rival: but he is never commended in return, except with such grudging and niggardly praise, as serves not to exalt but degrade its object. For instance, his knowledge of ancient metre is confessed to be greater than that of any one living; but his acquirements in every other department are spoken of with unbounded contempt; and that particular science, to which he is represented to have devoted all his time, is pronounced so trivial and useless, as to be unworthy the study of men of sense. Besides this acrimonious spirit, there are two particular points which the reader of Hare's *Epistola Critica* cannot fail to remark. First, he compromises his own character as a scholar, by speaking contemptuously of parts of Bentley's writings, which all the learned in Europe had commended: secondly, he sacrifices his consistency to his resentment, by depreciating and abusing what he had formerly extolled to the skies. In 'The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus,' he had bestowed the most lavish panegyrics, not only upon the 'Remarks on Freethinking,' but almost all Bentley's other writings, particularly his dissertation on Phalaris, his Emendations on Menander, and his edition of Horace; and lately in the preface to Terence, his undertaking of the New Testament was noticed with unqualified approbation. In the present pub-

His inconsistency.

lication, Hare sneers at every one of those performances with much bitterness. Nor does his spleen content itself here: he makes sarcastic allusions to Bentley's College quarrels, and his alleged neglect of the duties of his professorship. Since he knew that for the greater part of the time that he had held this office, he had been inhibited by the University from any discharge of its duties, the latter topic had better have been suppressed. The Dean, in the course of his long pamphlet, took occasion to notice a few passages of Terence, in which he felt able to make a successful stand against his rival: and at the conclusion, advertised his intention of printing a complete censure of Bentley's edition: a design which it may be doubted whether he ever seriously entertained [20].

Had our critic chosen to take any notice of this elaborate attack, the most effectual reply would have been, to reprint the 'Thanks to Phileleutherus.' So glaring is the inconsistency of these two pieces, that a few years after Hare's death, when his different writings were collected in four volumes, it was perceived that the republication of *both* would not be creditable to the author's reputation: accordingly the panegyric was omitted, and the *Epistola Critica* inserted in that collection. But Dr. Bentley in this, as in several other controversies, resolved to commit his literary character to be vindicated by posterity: he is reported indeed to have spoken in terms of contempt of the present attack, and to have observed of Hare, 'that he had as much pride as himself, and a great deal more ill-nature [21].' It is recorded, on the other hand, that the bitterness of this controversy did not prevent the Dean

[20] Prelo Parantur, *Animadversiones in Terentium Bentleianum, Quibus præstantissimi Scriptoris textus repurgatur ab innumeris corruptelis, quibus Viri doctissimi Critica Temeritas eum commaculavit.*

[21] This speech is mentioned by Dr. Salter as a report at Cambridge: he himself heard Dr. Bentley observe of this piece, 'that he could not read it through, nor imagined Dr. Hare capable of writing such a book.' See his communication to Mr. John Nichols, *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1779, vol. xlix. p. 548. In the editions of the *Remarks on Freethinking*, published after Hare had given offence to the author, the initials of the name of Phileleutherus's correspondent were altered from *F. H.* to *N. N.* In the edition of 1743, after Bentley's death, *F. H.* is re-instated.

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retaining all his admiration of the learning and genius of Bentley, whom he is said to have continued almost to idolize [22].

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During the progress of the quarrel, Dr. Hare was advanced to the deanery of St. Paul's; and, in about a year after, to the bishoprick of St. Asaph. A dispute between a dignitary of his rank and a Professor of theology, carried on with such asperity, upon a topic so foreign to their profession, is reported to have given much scandal: and in particular, Sir Isaac Newton is said to have complained that two such divines should 'be fighting with one another about a play-book [23].'

Burman publishes Phædrus.

The publication of Phædrus had another unpleasant consequence—the termination of Bentley's friendship with his old correspondent Burman. This indefatigable scholar had already printed three editions of the Fabulist. On receiving the Cambridge publication, he was filled with amazement at the numerous and daring changes of the text, for which he laboured in vain to discover the reasons: he was as much surprised at the brevity of Bentley's notes, so widely differing from his own, and the style of imperial decree with which he ordered the adoption of his new and unsupported readings. But when Hare's *Epistola Critica* reached Holland, Burman (who knew less than might have been expected of literary anecdote) experienced fresh astonishment at the furious attack made by the anonymous author, not only on the publications but the character of his illustrious friend. Finding, however, general interest drawn to this controversy upon Phædrus, and thinking that he had made that field his own, Burman resolved upon a new edition of the author; which accordingly appeared, with an elaborate commentary, in 1727. The editor takes great pains in balancing the readings of Bentley and his opponent, (whose name he did not discover till the end of his work,) and in giving a fair statement of their respective

[22] This is the assertion of Bishop Warburton, who declares that he knew Bishop Hare well. I have met with other reasons for believing it to be the fact.

[23] This anecdote is told by Whiston, in his *Memoirs of Dr. Clarke*, p. 113. Bishop Warburton disbelieves it. Whiston certainly is not the best authority; but he here expressly says, that he quotes Sir Isaac's words; and it is far from being improbable that this or similar remarks should be made by Newton, and by many others, at the moment.

merits [24]. He added to the book a reprint of Hare's *Epistola Critica*, at the instance of his bookseller; to which he at first made some objection. It was evident that this publication must give offence to Dr. Bentley, who not only found his positions disputed, but the attack of an exasperated adversary re-issued from the press, in such company as ensured perpetuity to an effusion, which might otherwise have sunk into oblivion; and all this done by a friend, who had been industriously, for five and twenty years past, courting his intimacy, and professing himself the most devoted of his admirers. Burman's preface, which is of inordinate length, and relates principally to his private feelings and grievances, makes a laboured apology for what he had done, and discovers much uneasiness at the probable termination of their friendship, which he could not but anticipate. In fact, another cause of offence, to which we here find no allusion, had already occurred between these two sensitive correspondents.

Rupture between him and Bentley.

Dr. Bentley had, immediately after his restoration to his degrees, undertaken an edition of Lucan's Pharsalia, and applied himself to the work with ardour: after the interruption occasioned by his publication of Terence and Phædrus, he reverted to that task, and made great progress; having his notes on the three first books ready for the press, while those on the remaining seven were in considerable forwardness. He knew that his friend Burman possessed, among the other manuscripts of Nicholas Heinsius, his collations and notes upon Lucan. That scholar, who may perhaps be termed the first critic of the seventeenth century, was always held in high esteem by Bentley; and he did not hesitate to request the communication of his critical apparatus on Lucan, consisting of the collations of above twenty manuscripts, besides his own criticisms. Burman had himself entertained vague ideas of publishing an edition of Lucan, with Heinsius's notes and his own: this would probably never have been taken up in earnest, so entirely was he

Bentley's and Burman's editions of Lucan.

[24] Phædrus was never published till towards the end of the sixteenth century, when it was printed from a single manuscript, found by Peter Pithou, a French Protestant, who having escaped almost miraculously from the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris, in 1572, secured his future safety by turning Papist. The slender nature of that authority afforded a considerable latitude for conjecture in the readings of this author.

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occupied with other undertakings; but when Bentley requested them for his own purposes, Burman, unwilling to part with a valuable treasure, could think of no other excuse but to inform his friend that he was himself engaged in an edition of Lucan; and to verify his assertion, actually betook himself to that task. Bentley was too penetrating not to discern some want of sincerity in his friend's proceeding, and the tone of his letters became altered. Burman, learning that the publication of Bentley's Lucan was postponed, thought it unnecessary to devote to that author the time which was demanded by his other literary works: and it is not improbable, that each of these friends was pursuing the same game, waiting for the appearance of the other's edition, that he might immediately afterwards put forth his own, availing himself of the good, and censuring the defects of its rival. But while they were thus mutually expecting the other to take the lead, two young men actually printed independent editions of Lucan; Cortius at Leipsic, and Oudendorp at Leyden. This was a good reason for the booksellers not wishing to undertake immediately another edition, even from the hands of more celebrated critics. Burman did publish his in 1740, when he had been for fifty-two years incessantly engaged in the press; and from the account given by himself of this affair in the preface, it is plain that the breach in his friendship with Bentley, is attributable to his own want of candour and explicitness. Bentley's notes upon this poet did not see the light till fourteen years after his death, when they were printed at the Strawberry Hill press, attached to the text and notes of Grotius. But, as might have been expected, the coquetry about Lucan, and the appearance of Burman's Phædrus, put a final period to the intimacy of these two scholars; which, considering how prone they both were to take offence, had continued a surprising length of time. Bentley was so much offended, that he meditated an act of retaliation, by publishing Ovid, to supersede or interfere with the voluminous edition which Burman, after twelve years' labour, ushered into the world almost at the same time as his Phædrus [25].

[25] In the manuscripts of Hearne, whose excessive hatred of Bentley originated in political feelings, is found this memorandum:

"Aug. 30, 1727. Yesterday I heard that, whereas Dr. Bentley talked much of putting out a

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Our critic was at this period of his life intent upon discharging all the promises which he had made, and satisfying the expectations of the learned public. Besides the authors mentioned in this Chapter, he proposed to publish in succession Manilius, the New Testament, and Homer. Such heterogeneous undertakings formed ample work for a man whose years already reached to sixty-five. Manilius, indeed, he had prepared for publication about thirty years before; but in the course of that time his opinions upon many passages must have experienced a change. His great design of the New Testament, for the execution of which he stood peculiarly pledged, it is certain, notwithstanding the universal notion of the contrary, that he had never for a moment abandoned. The celebrated Vatican manuscript, which vies in importance with the Alexandrian itself, had not yet been used for the purpose of correcting and fixing the sacred text: for we have already noticed the fallacy of the common opinion, that this was one of the copies used by the Complutensian editors. Bentley obtained accurate collations of a considerable part of this manuscript, through the agency of Philip de Stosch, a learned German baron, known by his splendid publications of antiques, who resided at Rome, secretly employed by the British government to watch the proceedings of the Pretender and his adherents. The person principally engaged in the collation was Mico, an Italian. But he received great and important assistance in this matter from his nephew, Thomas Bentley, who went abroad on a literary excursion in 1725, and continued more than a year in the examination of manuscripts at Paris, Rome, Naples, and Florence.

Perseveres in his design of publishing the New Testament.

Vatican manuscript.

Thomas Bentley.

This gentleman has been already mentioned as having published,

new edition of Homer, he is now mighty warm about an edition of Ovid; for no other reason but out of spite to Peter Burman, a foreigner, who hath lately published Ovid. Thus does this poor, old, spiteful man turn all his thoughts upon revenge, and spends his time in mere trifles."

John Christopher Wolf mentions in a letter, Sept. 16, 1727, that it was expected by all persons, and by Burman among the rest, that his publication of Phædrus would be resented by Bentley; and that he was reported to be preparing animadversions upon Burman's Ovid. *La Croze, Thesaurus Epistolicus*, vol. ii. p. 115.

From a letter of Drakenborch (who was a pupil of Burman) to La Croze, it appears, that our critic's old enemy, Alexander Cunningham, had begun to write a censure of his Phædrus, but gave it up, on hearing that it was in Burman's hands. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 124.

CHAP. XVII. 1727. when a young man, 'a little Horace,' with his uncle's text. Being chosen Fellow of Trinity College, he continued to devote himself to
1713. classical literature: he printed an edition of *Cicero de Finibus*, and was engaged in other learned works. He was cordially attached to his great relative; but so amiable was his disposition, that he appears
1718. to have lived on good terms with the opposite party; and is never mentioned otherwise than as a general favourite. Not entering into orders, he lost his fellowship when a Master of Arts of above seven years standing; but was then chosen Librarian of Trinity, and took the
1724. degree of Doctor of Laws. Cumberland, in a communication to the *Biographia Britannica*, says of Bentley's projected edition of the New Testament, "He had collected and collated all the manuscripts of Europe to which access could be obtained. For this purpose his nephew, Thomas Bentley, LL.D., well known to the republic of letters, travelled through Europe at his uncle's expense[26]." This statement, like most of that gentleman's notices of his grandfather's life, is inaccurate. Dr. Thomas Bentley's primary objects in his continental excursion were the gratification of his curiosity, and the procuring materials for literary publications of his own. He was, no doubt, solicitous to assist the views, and answer the inquiries of his uncle, at whose feet he had been brought up, and with whose careful and critical examination of manuscripts he was familiar. It appears, however, from his letters, that he travelled at his own charge: while at Rome, he candidly explained to Dr. Bentley, that his expenses had exceeded his means, and received a present to relieve him from his embarrassment, for which he
At Rome. was warmly thankful. Both at Paris and at Rome he devoted much of his time to collating Greek manuscripts of Plutarch; of which author he meditated an edition, and received encouraging offers from some booksellers; but found himself unequal to the labour of so great an undertaking. Immediately on his arrival at Rome, he collated an extremely ancient manuscript of Terence, on parchment, formerly belonging to Cardinal Bembo, and bearing his name: this piece of antiquity, which was one of the chief boasts of the Vatican, Dr. Thomas

[26] Kippis, *Biograph. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 244

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Bentley persuaded himself was at least 1700 years old[27]! At all events, it is the most valuable copy of the comedian, and had formed the main foundation of Faernus's edition: he found, however, that it had not been inspected by that editor with sufficient care. He began, about Nov. 1725, with the two last acts of the Phornio, the sixth play, and dispatched the collation to Cambridge; but even this did not reach his uncle till his edition was printed. He employed his time in the library to the best advantage, inspecting and making extracts from other parts of their treasures; but the short period that strangers were allowed to remain daily in the Vatican, and the number of holidays, on which it was closed, made it impossible to effect as great a progress as at Paris, where every possible facility was afforded to a stranger by the liberality of the French scholars, and where he was received by the Abbé Bignon, Father Montfaucon, and others, with the kindness ensured by the name of his illustrious uncle. Dr. Bentley, however, did not find the agency of his nephew as valuable as that of Mr. John Walker had proved; not owing to any deficiency of his learning or zeal, but because he did not enjoy a state of health adequate to long and laborious employments. His letters, written from Paris and Rome, are on many accounts highly interesting: they display an open and ingenuous character, and show not only the devoted attachment, but the profound deference with which he regarded the attainments and person of his uncle[28].

At Paris.

[27] "I am really of opinion that the Codex Bembinus is as old as J. Cæsar, or Augustus, or Tiberius at least; and I have got that notion from many marks, particularly the way of writing and spelling I have observed in the inscriptions I have read up and down of that age: this book has the same; but when you come to Vespasian and Septim. Severus and Constantine, they are very different." *Letter from Rome*, about December, 1725.

[28] These letters refer to all the topics which Dr. Thomas Bentley thought likely to amuse the Cambridge Aristarchus: politics are not forgotten. The following scraps of news he sends from Rome, where then resided a personage whose fortunes excited much interest:

Rome, Nov. 16, 1725. "All the news here is, that the Princess Sobieski went into a nunnery three or four nights ago; some say upon a quarrel about the Lady Inverness, who lives in the family with them; others, that he (i. e. the Pretender) has put a protestant tutor to his son, and that she can't bear that. There's no writing any thing, for they open letters both at Rome and at London. I have seen him: he has not εἶδος ἄξιον τυράννιδος."

Another letter from Rome, without date: it seems December, 1725. "The Pretender's Lady

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Election of Public Orator.

In the early part of 1727, Dr. Bentley engaged in the last acknowledged controversy of his pen; the subject being a dispute upon a point of academical law, arising from the following incident. Dr. Ayloffe resigning the office of Public Orator, which he had filled for thirty-one years, the election of a successor took place in the ordinary method: the Heads of Colleges nominating two of the candidates, of whom the Senate at large were to choose one. But at the nomination, Mr. Heyrick of Trinity, and Mr. Banyer of Emanuel College, had an equal number of suffrages: whereupon the point was referred, by direction of the statutes, to Dr. Bentley, as Regius Professor of Divinity: he decided in favour of Heyrick, who accordingly was returned, along with Mr. Castle of Corpus Christi; and the Senate on the following day elected Castle. But a fourth candidate, Mr. Burford, Fellow of King's, protested publicly against the whole of these proceedings; by which he conceived himself to be unjustly excluded from a fair competition. He was joined by a large party in asserting that nomination by the Heads, a method prescribed by the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, was not legally applicable to the case of the Public Oratorship; that this office, having been founded long before her reign, was subject to the regulations of the *Statuta Antiqua*, an ancient code, whose injunctions were still in force, when not expressly repealed by the Queen's statutes. By those ancient laws, the Orator was to be chosen in an open election: and Burford contended, that notwithstanding recent custom, the same method ought still to be adopted. Dr. Bentley, as senior of the Heads, undertook to maintain the authority and privileges of his order: he declared himself astonished at the objections made to the proceedings, and expressed a wish to see by what arguments they could be supported.

Bentley's controversy with Burford respecting the old statutes.

Burford no sooner heard of this challenge than he wrote an 'Argument' to prove that the old statutes of the University remained in force in all points except where expressly repealed by those of Queen Elizabeth; and that they had received confirmation by a clause

is still in the nunnery. He is generally blamed. They tell me the Pope has refused him audience three times."

April 24, 1726. "The Chevalier went from Rome yesterday; but whither, is a great speculation. Duke Wharton has been here incog"

in the latter code. Bentley immediately took up the contest, and printed an 'Answer to the Argument,' confuting each paragraph, and maintaining, in a high tone, and with keen sarcasm, that the old statutes (which had originally been graces of the Senate) were obsolete and abrogated. In this piece, which seems only printed for circulation among the Senate, the Doctor treats Burford and his friends in an unceremonious and supercilious style, not justified by the occasion. The contest, indeed, was unequal: not to mention the risk which a novice in controversy must run when he encounters an experienced combatant, the two antagonists approached the question under very different circumstances. Burford was master only of the common and popular arguments bandied about by his party. Bentley happened to have had occasion thoroughly to consider this subject, and exert all the powers of his mind in upholding the contrary opinion: during the affair of his Degradation, his adversaries, when hard pushed to defend their proceedings, had advanced some passages from the old statutes. Thereupon it became an object of importance to Bentley to impugn the authority of these ancient enactments: he came, therefore, to the combat ready prepared at all points. His Answer exhibits all the characteristics which we have noticed in his former controversial pieces: it is luminous in its statements, pungent in its arguments, and overpowering in its conclusions. Nevertheless, the question was not set at rest by this veteran champion of the Heads. Burford, after having studied the case, and discovered the weak parts of Bentley's Answer, wrote a powerful Reply: in which piece he seems to have been assisted with materials and suggestions by other members of the University; and I think we may in some places detect the hand of Dr. Colbatch, whose aid was never wanting, when a stand was to be made against his great enemy. This Reply succeeds in oversetting some particulars of Bentley's tract, though it does not satisfactorily establish the claim which gave birth to the dispute, that the appointment of an Orator ought to be by open election. The particulars of discussion are of too local a nature to lay before the reader; they would not even interest members of the University, except at the moment when they happened to be in controversy. Burford's Reply, which was unanswered, must be acknow-

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ledged to have left him in possession of the field; and so it appears to have been felt by the University: for at a subsequent period, the collection of *Statuta Antiqua* was printed by authority for the use of official persons, in the same volume with the statutes received from the Crown; and was deemed to be a sort of common-law, operative in cases where the later enactments were silent.

March 20.

At the moment of which we are speaking, England was deprived of its brightest ornament, by the death of Sir Isaac Newton. Dr. Bentley continued to the last on terms of familiar intercourse with his illustrious friend; and upon his death suggested the following epitaph to be inscribed upon his monument in Westminster Abbey:

Epitaph on Sir Isaac Newton.

Hic quiescunt ossa et pulvis
ISAACI NEWTONI,
Si quæris, quis et qualis fuerit,
Abi:
Sin ex ipso nomine reliqua novisti,
Siste paulisper,
Et mortale illud Philosophiæ numen
Grata mente venerare [29].

Bentley appoints a deputy in the Schools.

Notwithstanding the robust constitution of Dr. Bentley, he had a liability to catch severe colds, owing to the recluse habits in which he had of late years indulged. It was observed that they were commonly brought on by sitting as moderator in the Divinity Schools; and accordingly he was forbidden by medical advice to expose himself any longer to the danger of these repeated attacks. This advice was particularly urged by Dr. Wallis, a young physician, who practised at Cambridge from 1725 to 1729, and during that time was a daily visitor at Trinity Lodge, and retained a great friendship for the Master till his death [30]. It was in the early part of 1727 that he resigned his professional functions in the Schools, and constituted as his deputy Dr. Newcome, of St. John's College, who was about the same time elected to the station of Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity [31].

[29] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iv. p. 18.

[30] Thomas Wallis, Fellow of Magdalene College, was M.B. 1720, M.D. 1725. After leaving Cambridge he established himself in practice at Stamford.

[31] Newcome was one of the seven doctors whom Bentley created, on the occasion when

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For the same reason Dr. Bentley gave up his practice of presiding in the Hall at the College festivals: and he scarcely ever afterwards administered the sacrament in the Chapel; a ceremony which he had hitherto performed in a manner described to have been peculiarly dignified and impressive.

Trinity College.

It is now a long time since we adverted to the affairs of Trinity College: the transactions during the interval are of no great moment, and are such as we cannot feel any satisfaction in recording; nevertheless it is requisite to explain the origin and progress of those strange occurrences which mark the concluding years of Dr. Bentley's eventful life. His triumphant restoration to his degrees, and the discomfiture experienced by all his adversaries, had greatly cooled the ardour of those who had formed the regular opposition to his College government. Dr. Colbatch, though never deterred by fatigue or danger from the pursuit of his great object, deemed all interference at present useless, and withdrew to his rectory of Orwell, deploring the ill-success of his long and painful efforts to procure a visitation, and watching anxiously for an opportunity to recommence operations. A favourable occasion seemed to present itself by the death of Bishop Fleetwood, and translation of Bishop Greene from the diocese of Norwich to that of Ely. The former prelate had continued firm and immovable in his resolution never to suffer himself to be troubled with the affairs of Trinity College. The new Bishop having been for many years Master of Corpus Christi College, and possessing an intimate knowledge of academical matters, was better qualified to exercise jurisdiction in case of a College appeal, than either of his predecessors. But though he listened to Colbatch's statements of the condition of the society, yet such was the terror spread by Bentley's uniform success over every person who placed himself in his path, that

Dr. Greene, Bishop of Ely, 1723.

he delivered his commencement speech, published along with his Terence. This gentleman, who became afterwards Master of St. John's College, and Dean of Rochester, passed an academical life of extraordinary length. He was a student of his College in the year 1700, and he continued to reside within its walls in the memory of persons still living in the University. Cole says in his MSS. that Dr. Newcome acquitted himself in the Divinity Schools 'with tolerable ability;' this faint praise seems intended as a sneer at the Deputy Professor, who being a zealous Whig, was an object of Cole's dislike.

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he held out no hope of interference until the validity of his jurisdiction over Trinity College was established.

In the mean time all the Master's wishes and projects were effected without obstruction. On the death of Mr. Modd, his devoted and unscrupulous agent Dr. Baker was made Vice-master; and in that capacity furthered all his measures, and directed all the departments of the College with a regard to nothing except his sovereign will and pleasure [32]. Mr. R. Walker was an equally active adherent: and being more popular in manners and character than Baker, appears to have had great success in conciliating the minds of his brethren. Some Fellows who had hitherto been of the opposite party, finding that further resistance was likely to have no result, except to destroy their own interest and comfort, deserted their colours, and joined the ruling powers; in particular, Craister and Paris, both men of ability, who have been distinguished in this history by severe marks of Bentley's resentment, now found it expedient to forget their grievances and fall in with all his measures and projects.

Sept. 1722.

Opposition to the Master at an end.

His son chosen Fellow.

At the election of Fellows in 1723, the Master's son, Richard Bentley, was chosen, although a junior bachelor, and only fifteen years of age. This appears a culpable instance of partiality, which it is difficult even to palliate. He was, indeed, a youth of blameless character, and admirable capacity; and would probably, at a proper period, have well deserved the station. But this was the solitary instance, during the forty-two years of Dr. Bentley's mastership, in which any person was permitted even to be a candidate before the third year of his bachelorship [33]. It is not easy to account for Bentley's resolution of fixing

[32] Mr. Modd had continued, like his predecessor, Dr. Lynnet, to attend morning prayers in the Chapel, daily, at six o'clock, till past the age of fourscore.

[33] The practice of former times respecting the election of Fellows of Trinity being misunderstood, even in the Society itself, it will not be amiss to give a distinct statement of its different variations. The statutes prescribe only, that the persons chosen must be under the standing of Master of Arts. From the date of the statutes, 1560, to the year 1667, the Fellows were chosen promiscuously from the three years of Bachelors: but it is to be observed, that though the elections were sometimes held annually, they were more commonly biennial, or triennial. It was in 1667, the year made for ever memorable in College annals, by the admission of *Sir Isaac Newton* to a fellowship, that the candidates were first confined to the third year of Bachelors. This continued the practice in all subsequent years, with two or three exceptions, till 1752, (the

this youth at so premature an age into the society and equality of men; particularly as he was not brought up to any profession. About five years afterwards, he nominated him to one of the two lay-fellowships, which became vacant by the death of Dr. Ayloffe.

Lease of Massam House.

The Master's attention to the interests of his own relations led him to other acts, which excited much greater clamour. But in no instance was his character more assailed with invective, than for the disposal of a College estate, in the city of York, called Massam House. This property, consisting of several tenements in Petergate, had been leased in the year 1696, for a very small fine; and the lessee, under promise from the then Master, Dr. Montague, that the lease should be renewed in seven years for the same consideration, expended 4 or 500*l.* in the repairs and improvement of the premises; but when he applied at the usual time for a renewal, Dr. Bentley positively refused to accept the same terms; alleging that they were unreasonably small, and that he was not bound by the engagements of his predecessor. In 1716 the whole term of the lease expired; but the tenant fancied he could still retain possession; and having some acquaintance with the Doctor's elder brother, Mr. James Bentley, desired him to inspect the premises and the improvements which he had made. The result was very different from his expectations: that gentleman fixed his own affections upon the property; and accordingly, in the following year, the Master proposed to the Seniority to grant his brother a new lease for twenty years of Massam House, upon his paying a fine of 40*l.*, a sum which hardly exceeded one year's clear value. The former proprietor attempted resistance, raised much outcry in the neighbourhood, and filed a bill in Chancery to compel the performance of Dr. Montague's promise on the part of the College. The Chancery proceedings availed him nothing; but the scandal hit the Master very severely. Middleton, in his pamphlet on the Government of the College, works up this story,

election described in *Cumberland's Memoirs*, p. 96.) when the Middle Bachelors were admitted to the competition; as they have been every year since that time. At the elections in 1771, 1772, and 1782, the Junior Bachelors also were suffered to be candidates; and one of that standing was chosen in each of those years; viz. *Rogerson Cotter*, *Thomas Robinson*, and *Richard Porson*. Thirty-seven years afterwards, in 1819, the custom was once more revived, and *Connop Thirlwall* was elected, being then a Junior Bachelor.

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heightened by some additional insinuations, into a most black charge against the Doctor[34]. Ten years afterwards the lease was renewed to Priscilla Bentley, his brother's widow, for twenty years, upon a fine of 20*l*. In both cases the pecuniary considerations were much smaller than the Society were entitled to receive; and a sacrifice was indisputably made to benefit the relatives of their Master.

Bentley retained his conviction that the headship was not in possession of so large a proportion of the College income, as the foundation had destined for it; and though he judged it inexpedient to revive his old projects of reform on this subject, yet he was incessantly on the watch to indemnify himself for what he considered a deficiency in his just emoluments. In the mode of doing this, it must be confessed that he was not always very nice. He fitted up at the College expense the room over the Queen's Gate, and then increased the rent, which was one of those payable to the Master: and, what was a still greater outrage, he destroyed the architectural propriety of the building, by inserting two modern sash-windows in that apartment. He ordered a cow-house and two coach-houses to be built in the stable-yard; reserving the first for his own purpose, and receiving rent from those who were accommodated with the latter: and he over-ruled, with a high hand, the scruples of Edward Vernon, the junior-bursar, who hesitated to pay the bills of these works, as not having been authorized by the Seniority.

The south meadows.

The south meadow in the College walks had always been considered as appropriated to the horses of the senior Fellows. In 1720 the Master requested permission to rent this land for the pasture of his own cows: having, as he said, been accustomed to a milk diet in his childhood, he argued that the same regimen would suit his constitution in old age. The obsequious Seniors, happy to oblige their lord by every sacrifice, public or private, gave him their land for a rent of forty shillings (though worth four times the sum), and it was immediately hedged, diked, and drained, at the public cost.

This miserable transaction appears to have led the way to another of

[34] *Middleton's Works*, vol. iii. p. 755.

greater magnitude. The rent of the meadow was expended in an annual fishing-party at Over, a village about six miles from Cambridge, where the College has a rectorial estate. This is the only out-door amusement in which I find it recorded that Bentley partook; and he was sufficiently pleased with the place, although bordering on the fens, to form the idea of building there a country-house, or summer residence for himself and family. Being now in the plenitude of power, he could at once have carried his measure into effect, by the mere *fiat* of authority; but he seems to have had misgivings and apprehensions of being some time called to account for such an application of College money, and adopted an artifice to disguise his plans. The old house upon the farm wanting repair, he ordered an estimate to be made of the sum requisite for putting it into a proper state; designing to prove that a new house might be erected for little more than that expense. But the workmen found it, contrary to his expectations, strong and substantial, and undertook to put it into a perfect state of repair for 214*l.* His scheme, however, was not abandoned: he proposed to the Seniority to rebuild the house: whereupon Baker and Walker entering into the Master's views, seconded the proposal, and urged the expediency of building a very good one; as it might prove an occasional accommodation to some of the society, who happened to serve the curacy. Accordingly, a new mansion was ordered to be erected with bricks and sash-windows. The pretended object, however, deceived nobody: the plans of the house and the rooms were supplied and the work directed by Dr. Bentley himself; the bricks were of the best quality, and brought by land-carriage from a distance beyond London; workmen were sent for from London; the whole house was wainscotted; a chimney was constructed according to a peculiar notion of his own, having a window behind it, that he might have light for reading while he sat by the fire; nor could any one doubt but that it was destined for his own use. It was finished in the summer of 1727, at an expense of little less than 1000*l.*; but circumstances intervened to prevent his ever occupying this villa.

Bentley builds a country-house at Over.

In 1726 the composition allowed to the Master for his three horses was increased to 100*l.* from 60*l.*, the sum fixed in Dr. Barrow's time, half a century before. It is more satisfactory to record, that in this

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year Dr. Bentley completed the internal fitting and decoration of the Chapel, and erected the present noble repeating clock, the present dial, and the three large bells. These improvements gave occasion to the only piece of courtesy which seems for many years to have passed between the Master and Dr. Colbatch. Bentley offered his enemy the old College clock for his church at Orwell; and, with consideration and delicacy, made the tender through the medium of Colbatch's friend, Dr. Ayloffe.

The Master's nomination of Fellows.

The elections to fellowships continued to be what we have already described, the authoritative appointments of the Master. Had this patronage been regular and legal, it is certain that the mode in which he generally bestowed it would have redounded to his honour. There were admitted into the Society a great number of excellent scholars, whose subsequent distinction in the University and the world justified their claims to that reward, though the power which gave it might be irregular and unconstitutional [35]. Exceptions, however, there certainly were; and the election of 1726 is stated to have militated with every good principle. Benjamin Stillingfleet, grandson of Bentley's great patron, being left an orphan by his father, the Bishop's eldest son, was sent as a sizar to Trinity, in confidence that the Master would, by his patronage of this young man, show his gratitude to his ancestor. Stillingfleet was

[35] Within about ten years from 1718, besides many persons whose academical character will be noticed in this history, the following Fellows of Trinity were admitted by Dr. Bentley: *Thomas Robinson*, afterwards Secretary of State and the first Lord Grantham; *Vincent Bourne*, the unrivalled Latin poet; *William Barnard*, Bishop of Raphoe and of Derry; *Mark Hildesley*, the celebrated Bishop of Sodor and Man; *Walter Titley*, an accomplished scholar, many years British Minister at the court of Denmark; *Thomas Clarke*, who was Master of the Rolls from 1754 to 1764; and *Thomas Newton*, who became Bishop of Bristol and Dean of St. Paul's, and is universally known as the editor of Milton, and author of the Dissertation on the Prophecies. To this list I shall add the names of three of their brethren, elected Fellows within the same period, who were distinguished in the humbler, but not less useful capacity of schoolmasters: *Benjamin Wilson*, Master of Wakefield School, who bore the reputation of one of the best Greek scholars of his age; *Timothy Crumpe*, High Master of St. Paul's; and *John Clarke*, successively Master of Shipton, Beverley, and Wakefield Schools, of whom an interesting Memoir has been published by the late Dr. Zouch, himself one of his pupils, under the emphatic title of "*The Good Schoolmaster, exemplified in the Character of the Rev. John Clarke, M.A. formerly Fellow of Trinity College, &c.*" 1768. This piece is reprinted in Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i. p. 745.

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candidate for a fellowship at this election; and his reputation for scholarship, added to the consideration of his family, made every one conclude his success to be certain. But whatever might be the reason, he was rejected, while four persons, commonly deemed his inferiors in merit, were successful; two of them being pre-elected for the following year, according to that irregular custom, which Dr. Bentley now made no scruple of adopting. One of these was Andrew Hacket, who, as heir to a large estate, ought to have been excluded; but he was related to the senior Fellow, who was perpetually extorting some reward for his support of the Master's measures. Stillingfleet deeply and bitterly resented his failure, and continued throughout life to complain of the Master's cruelty and ingratitude. His attainments as a naturalist and man of elegant literature, have given him much celebrity; and he has been the means of affixing a great portion of obloquy on Bentley's character. I gather from Colbatch's papers, that in point of scholarship, he was really superior to some of his successful competitors: but what were the motives which led the Master to reject him, we have no means of determining: he is reported to have said on the occasion, that 'Mr. Stillingfleet was too fine a gentleman to be buried in a College.' Certain it is that I find no other instance in the course of a long and active life, in which there is any pretence for charging the Doctor with ingratitude[36].

Rejection of Benjamin Stillingfleet.

The public outcry caused by this College election, excited hopes in the mind of Dr. Colbatch, and made him think this a favourable moment for renewing his efforts to bring the Master to account. The learned and eminent Bishop Gibson now filled the see of London; and his great judgment and knowledge, as well as his exalted station, gave him the principal voice and influence in ecclesiastical affairs. Colbatch took occasion to address that great prelate on the state of the College: his immediate object was to represent the unfitness of a candidate for Priest's Orders, who had applied to the Bishop with letters testimonial

Bishop Gibson.

[36] Much is said on the subject of this rejection, in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii. p. 336; and in Coxe's *Life of Benjamin Stillingfleet*, published in 1811. Mr. Coxe's notion that his hero was excluded to make room for Bentley's own son is utterly erroneous: the latter had at this time been in possession of his fellowship three years.

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from the Master and eight Fellows; and to inform him of the culpable facility with which such certificates were commonly signed: a mischievous negligence, injurious to the best interests of the Church, which was, however, chargeable upon the College officers rather than upon the Head. He proceeded to acquaint his Lordship with the wretched state in which the society then was, and must continue to be, without the interference of a Visitor; and craved his interest and assistance in effecting an object so important to the Church as the restoration of this great College. Bishop Gibson hesitated not to declare, publicly and privately, that he considered it a shame and scandal to the Government, that the complaints of Trinity College should have experienced such long neglect, and that no redress could be obtained; while in every other case the laws had provided a remedy. He did not, indeed, promise any assistance, except that, in case a petition were offered to the King in Council, he would attend the Board, and give his best consideration to the case: and he advised that such a petition should be presented by a respectable number of the Fellows. This was now hardly practicable; as experience had shown them that such a measure had no effect, except to bring vexation and loss upon themselves. The Bishop of London threw out a suggestion of another kind; that he thought the Bishop of Ely might proceed to act as Visitor under the statutes, and leave it to the Master to dispute his authority, if he pleased, by moving for a prohibition in the Courts of Westminster: this opinion, when communicated to the latter prelate, appears to have had great influence upon his conduct.

Claims of Westminster School.

Dr. Colbatch endeavoured also to obtain for his cause the powerful assistance of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, as guardians of Westminster School. We have more than once had occasion to notice the connexion of that school with Trinity College. Queen Elizabeth's statutes had given no other advantage to the pupils from Westminster, than a preference in elections to scholarships. But in the fifth year of James I. the governors of the school had interest enough to obtain letters-patent from the Crown, enjoining the College to elect the Westminster scholars to fellowships every year, in preference to all other candidates, (provided they were not exceptionable in learning or

morals), and, to make sure of their success, decreed that they should continue eligible two years after the degree of M.A.; whereas others are superannuated at that standing. It is obvious that the effect of such an ordinance would have been shortly to throw all the fellowships, and all the preferment of the College, into the hands of Westminster men; and to destroy the objects of this liberal establishment, by making it ever afterwards an appendage to another seminary of later foundation. At that period it was neither usual nor safe to contest the validity of Royal commands: nevertheless, the Master and Fellows did resist a mandate, which could not have been received without the violation of their duty, and the subversion of the statutes which they were sworn to maintain. After some angry discussion between the College and the School, a composition was entered into, under the mediation of Archbishop Bancroft; by which it was settled that three scholars should be taken from Westminster every year, and that they should never be prejudiced by pre-elections; and, on the other hand, that the King's letters-patent should never be urged upon the College. By a subsequent letter of James I., which was accepted by the College, the above agreement is enforced, and the Westminster-elect have the privilege of seniority over the other scholars of their year. This arrangement appears to have continued for more than a century, without dispute or complaint: the connexion was mutually beneficial to the two institutions; and many of the most distinguished of the Fellows were those chosen from the 'Westminster Scholars Elect.' Bishop Atterbury being Dean, had lately found out the old letters-patent of James I., and attempted to establish their validity: but his essay was treated by Dr. Bentley with derision, and seems to have been carried no further[37]. It happened that at the last election of Fellows, no Westminster scholar had been chosen, though one of them was generally deemed

[37] It is reported that when the Bishop mentioned the existence of these Royal Letters, and alleged that they were given *Anno Quinto Jacobi Primi*, Bentley replied to this effect: "They would have had more weight in your Lordship's favour had they been *Anno Primo Jacobi Tertii*:" a keen repartee, if we recollect that Atterbury was believed at that time to be anxiously devoted to the cause of the Pretender. The anecdote is told in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1773, vol. xliii. p. 499, by an anonymous writer, who misapprehends the occasion, and spoils the force of the jest.

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superior in merit to some of the successful candidates. Surprise and dissatisfaction being hereby excited among Westminster men, an idea struck Colbatch that it might be possible to make the guardians of the school the instruments of bringing on a visitation of the College. Being encouraged in this plan by the Earl of Oxford, who was his neighbour in the country, as well as by Dr. Middleton, he set off to town, resolving, with constitutional ardour, to leave nothing untried which might contribute to this object. His view was to induce the Dean and Chapter to become themselves petitioners to the King for the establishment of a visitatorial power over the College, preparatory to laying before the Visitor the complaints of the Westminster scholars. This was to be backed by a petition from some Fellows of the House, who might be encouraged to come forward by such an example. If this point was carried, and the Visitor once ascertained, the whole grievances of the College were immediately to be submitted to his cognizance. About the letters-patent of James I. Colbatch took no other interest than as a pretext for effecting the first step toward Dr. Bentley's overthrow: indeed it would not have been consistent with his principles to desire their enforcement. As soon as he propounded the subject at Westminster, he met with considerable encouragement. Dr. Robert Freind, the Master, entered warmly into a scheme, which promised to bring such a rich endowment to his school. Several members of the Chapter, when solicited by these two Doctors, concurred in the propriety of asserting the supposed rights of their scholars; and all agreed that there never could be a better opportunity for an attack upon Dr. Bentley than while he lay under general odium for the late election. The persons educated at the school being met to celebrate Queen Elizabeth's anniversary, the general interest in this design was publicly testified. After dinner, when, in the regular order of toasts, 'Trinity College' was proposed, it was drunk throughout the Hall in the form of 'Restoration to Trinity College,' with the addition of 'the health of Dr. Colbatch[38].'

Jan. 1, 1727.

Dean and Chapter solicited to interfere.

Jan. 16

[38] The toast having been forwarded in these words first by the Earl of Oxford, and afterwards by Mr. Shippen, the leader of the Jacobite party in the House of Commons, (himself an old Westminster-scholar at Trinity,) Bentley's friends contrived to circulate a report that it was intended to apply to another sort of *restoration*.

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Bentley exposes the invalidity of their pretensions.

The scheme was, that the aggrieved candidate should first memorialize the Dean and Chapter; whereupon they were to present their petition at the Council Board. There was no hope of the favour of persons in power; but Colbatch engaged Dean Sherlock and Dean Hare to use their interest with Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole, that they would not interfere, but suffer the matter to take its course. When the subject, however, was agitated in the Chapter, Bishop Bradford, the Dean, objected to take any step before they had communicated to the Master of Trinity the claims of the School, grounded upon King James's Letters Patent, and enquired what he had to allege against them. Accordingly he wrote a letter of such purport to Dr. Bentley, his old intimate, and his ally in the University. The Master, who was accurately apprized of the meditated designs, now found himself assailed on a ground which he was ready and desirous to defend. He knew that the King's Letters, never having been accepted by the College, were invalid: he had, during his Mastership, admitted to fellowships a full proportion of the Westminster scholars; and he foresaw, that in resisting the revival of an obsolete claim, which tended to make Trinity a close College, he should have the feelings and wishes of every disinterested person in his favour. Accordingly, on the receipt of the Dean's letter, intimating the proposed appeal, the Master replied in a confident and indignant tone, denying the assumed validity of the Letters of James I., inasmuch as they had never been accepted by the College, and returning an unequivocal defiance to the menaces which were implied[39]. He next summoned his Seniority, who agreed unanimously to support him in a resistance to the threatened appeal, and resolved that 'the College would defend itself and the honour of their predecessors at the public charge.' He presently went to town to take measures for meeting the storm. His letter, however, appears to have convinced the Dean and Chapter that the establishment of their point in favour of the scholars was impracticable; the lawyers who were consulted gave them no encouragement to proceed; and although

March 5, 1726-27.

March 13, 1726-27.

[39] This epistle is preserved at Westminster, where it has been shown to me by the kindness of the Very Rev. Dr. Ireland, the Dean.

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Colbatch and Freind took great pains in canvassing the members of the Chapter, it may well be supposed that the Bishop of Rochester would not be forward in lending himself as an instrument in the hands of those who only calculated on ulterior proceedings, which aimed at the ruin of his ancient confederate.

CHAPTER XVIII.

General election—New members chosen by the University of Cambridge—Fresh attempts to procure a visitation of Trinity College—Opinions of five leading counsel on the question—King George II. visits the University—Claim to fees determined by the Chancellor—Bentley creates fifty-eight doctors—Entertains the King in his College—His dangerous illness—Marriage of his daughter Joanna—Scheme for prosecuting the Master—Parne—Mason—Johnson—Bentley anticipates his prosecutors—Petition to the King—College meeting—Commissary Greaves—Petition of the Bishop of Ely—Bentley writes a pamphlet on the case—Colbatch's reply—The Privy Council decline all interference—Bentley's dispute with Archbishop Wake on the Library-keeper's place—Decided by the Attorney General—Johnson promoter of the suit against Bentley—Edward Smith—Bentley's expenses paid by the College—Bishop Greene cites Dr. Bentley—Application to the Court of King's Bench for a prohibition—Proceedings of the Court—Nature of the articles—Bentley appears at Ely House—His objections—Second application to King's Bench—Resumes his edition of the New Testament—Causes of its not being published—Rule for a prohibition made absolute—Progress of a new mode of action—Bentley refuses an offer of the deanery of Lincoln—New Senate House—Contest for Vice Chancellorship—King's books placed in the old Senate House—Taylor's music speech—Internal state of Trinity College—Vindictive measures against the prosecutors—Court of King's Bench overrule Bentley's pleas—Continue the prohibition on Bishop Greene.

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June 11. General Election.

The death of King George the First, and consequent dissolution of Parliament in the summer of 1727, involved the University of Cambridge in another political struggle of considerable interest. At the last General Election, in 1721, the Tory representatives, Mr. Windsor and Mr. Willoughby, had been re-elected: but on the present occasion, a great and successful effort was made to supplant them. Their opponents were the Hon. Edward Finch, brother of the late candidate, and the Hon. Thomas Townshend, second son of the Minister: had these young men stood upon their separate interests, it is probable that neither of them would have succeeded: but a coalition was effected between them. The Master of Trinity, who had possessed himself of great influence, gave them his active and strenuous support. Mr. Windsor, however, who had represented the University for 22 years, maintained a vigorous though ineffectual resistance. The numbers at the poll

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were, for Finch, 221—Townshend, 198—Windsor, 176[1]. The new members were sons of two noblemen, who enjoyed the greatest popularity at Cambridge of all public characters in the kingdom; Lord Nottingham having proved himself, for above forty years, the most zealous and conscientious supporter of religion and the Church; and Lord Townshend having benefited the University in a more signal degree than had been done for centuries by any person in power. However, as the gratitude of the Senate to those personages was accompanied by an abandonment of their representative, an old fellow of a College, who had served them so many years, without change of principles or any other blemish, I must consider this to be the least creditable transaction with which our *Alma Mater* can be charged. She did, indeed, redeem her credit for consistency by the exemplary fidelity with which she adhered to the two members now elected; who were returned together without interruption as joint representatives for the University between forty and fifty years: an instance which, perhaps, can hardly be paralleled in the annals of the House of Commons. The result of this election was considered by all parties as materially owing to the influence and exertions of Dr. Bentley: his interest with the ruling powers was consequently strengthened: and the prospect of his opponents in Trinity College of obtaining a visitation through Royal interference became more hopeless than ever.

New members chosen by the University of Cambridge. Aug. 22.

Dr. Colbatch's recent endeavours to procure a Visitor, as described in our last chapter, had succeeded in once more arresting public attention; and the hardship of the members of the College having no court of appeal or avenue to redress was much canvassed. Doubts were expressed among legal men about the soundness of the opinion given by Queen Anne's lawyers in 1712, which held that the general visitatorial power had been taken away from the Bishop of Ely by

Fresh attempts to procure a Visitation of Trinity College.

[1] This is the earliest University poll that I have ever met with in print. The Cambridge reader may be interested in seeing how the votes in the two great Colleges were disposed of:

	Trinity.	*St. John's.*
Hon. Edward Finch, Trinity	43	26
Hon. Thomas Townshend, Clare Hall	39	23
Hon. Dixie Windsor, Trinity	17	36

Queen Elizabeth's statutes, and transferred to the Crown: it was thought that this opinion, although subscribed by so many eminent names, did in reality emanate from Sir Edward Northey; and they preferred the judgment of Sir Joseph Jekyll, who dissented from the rest, and held that the Bishop's original appointment as Visitor had never been revoked, but was expressly recognized by the code of Elizabeth. A ready and confidential communication was maintained between Colbatch and Ely-House, through the intervention of the Bishop's secretary, Mr. Francis Say; who was himself a Trinity man, and entered zealously into the views of the Master's enemies. At length the prelate pledged himself, that if the opinions of counsel should declare him possessed of sufficient jurisdiction, and if he were indemnified in respect to all expenses of the proceedings, he would take upon himself to hear the complaints of the Fellows, and administer impartial justice to the College.

Opinions of five leading Counsel on the question.

Accordingly in the latter part of 1727, a set of particular and searching queries relative to the claims of the Bishop of Ely, the validity of the statutes of Edward VI. and other matters regarding the question, were proposed to two eminent civilians, Dr. Henchman and Dr. Audely, and three of the first common-lawyers, Sir Philip Yorke, Sir John Cheshire, and Mr. Reeves: and in order to obtain their unbiassed opinions, they were proposed to each separately. All the five concurred in pronouncing that King Edward's statute *De Visitatore* was still in force: that in virtue of its provisions the Bishop of Ely continued Visitor of Trinity College, and was enabled to hold a general visitation every three years: and that the 40th statute of Elizabeth was corroborative of the former, containing only directions for proceedings in the particular case of complaints against the Head. Upon minor points there were some shades of difference, though none of importance, except that the Attorney General, whose occupations prevented his looking at the case till long after the others, and perhaps from bestowing on it the same attentive consideration, held that the Bishop was only empowered to hear the complaints under Queen Elizabeth's 40th statute *(De Magistro Amovendo)* in the course of his triennial visitation: a notion which does not appear to have been

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entertained by any other lawyer, in the endless discussions on this much agitated question. But before this last opinion was given, circumstances were near rendering the meditated proceeding unnecessary.

King George the Second visits the University.

King George the Second having announced his intention of visiting his University of Cambridge, great preparations were made for his reception. His Majesty reached Newmarket on the 23d of April. The Vice Chancellor, Dr. Lambert, Master of St. John's, went over on the morrow, accompanied by the Heads, to entreat his presence; which invitation he accepted for the following day. As the approach of this august visit recalled to every one's recollection the disputes which ensued on the last occasion of a similar honour, precautions were taken to obviate such misunderstanding on the present. The Duke of Somerset issued a mandate, as Chancellor of the University, settling the amount of the fees to be received by the Regius Professors for creating doctors at the Royal Commencement: that of the Divinity Professor was *two* guineas, besides his broad-piece[2]. The amount fixed was evidently designed as a compromise between the opposite opinions in the old dispute; but the principle of an extraordinary demand being recognized by authority, it cannot be denied that the final victory in the controversy rested with Dr. Bentley.

Claim to fees determined by the Chancellor.

April 25.

His Majesty came attended by a noble retinue, among whom were no less than seven dukes: being met by the Mayor and Corporation on horseback before he reached the town, he was conducted across Christ-College Piece to the entrance of Cambridge by Emmanuel; from which College to the Schools he passed through two continued lines of the younger academics, who were drawn up for his reception. At the Regents' Walk he was greeted by the dignitaries of the University, addressed in a speech by the Chancellor, and another by the Public Orator, and then conducted to the Regent-house. Here the *Regia Comitia* were celebrated: and at this time, the last occasion that the University has been honoured with the presence of its Monarch, doctors' and other degrees were conferred by the Royal mandate with unprecedented liberality: the rank of D.D. was given to no

[2] The Chancellor's Decree, dated Newmarket, April 25, 1728, is printed in *Wall's Ceremonies of the University*, p. 334.

less than fifty-eight persons, and other degrees in great numbers. Dr. Bentley had intended that the ceremonies should be performed by his deputy; but the Duke of Somerset and other grandees being urgent that the veteran Professor should execute his functions in person, he complied, and had the fortune to confer the doctorship that day upon many distinguished characters in the Church; amongst the rest upon two who became successive Archbishops of Canterbury, Thomas Herring and Matthew Hutton. These ceremonials concluded, his Majesty, after hearing an anthem at King's Chapel, was conducted to Trinity College, where he was greeted at the King's-gate by the Master in an appropriate speech. He then walked through a double line of the undergraduates to the College Hall: here a banquet was prepared, exceeding in splendour all that had ever been witnessed on the shores of the Cam. The King was seated in an elevated chair of state at the upper end of the Hall, and waited upon by twelve fellow-commoners of the College; Dr. Bentley standing by his side, and remaining in conversation with him while at dinner. His Majesty took his leave in the evening, after marking his satisfaction with the University by a noble present of two thousand pounds, towards the completion of the Senate-house[3].

Bentley creates fifty-eight Doctors.

Entertains the King in his College.

On this occasion Dr. Bentley experienced great marks of Royal favour and attention: but the results of the day were near proving fatal to him. The fatigue which he went through, and the sudden alternations of heat and cold to which he was exposed, hazardous to a person of his recluse and sedentary life, brought on an alarming fever: for some days his life was pronounced to be in great danger; and at the particular wish of his physician, his friend, Dr. Mead, was sent to for his presence or advice. But either medical skill or the goodness of his constitution restored him: in a few weeks he recovered; but his legs being swollen, he was sent to Bath for the benefit of the waters. After his return to College he had the satisfaction of giving his favourite

His dangerous illness.

[3] King George II. gave another thousand pounds for the Senate-house, as I apprehend, while Prince of Wales. My account of this Royal visit is drawn from various sources: from the University Register, Cole's MSS., Salmon's Chronology, and from an interesting letter of Mr. James Bentham, the well-known historian of Ely Cathedral, who was at that time a student in Trinity College, preserved in Nichols' *Lit. Anecd.* vol. ix. p. 396.

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daughter, Miss Joanna, in marriage to Mr. Denison Cumberland, a young man of his College, of excellent character, and good family and expectations. He was son of Archdeacon Cumberland, and grandson of the learned Bishop of Peterborough.

Marriage of his daughter Joanna.

Scheme for prosecuting the Master.

The opinions of the civil and common lawyers having coincided in giving to the Bishop of Ely the visitatorial jurisdiction over Trinity College, it was resolved to call the Master of Trinity to account for malversation and abuse of his authority. Colbatch's hopes were now revived, and he again unsparingly devoted his labour and property to effect the great object of his life: but so completely was the Master's authority established in the society, that at first he only found three of the junior Fellows, Parne, Ingram, and Mason, who were willing to co-operate with him: these, however, proved highly zealous and able assistants. Parne, who was one of the College tutors, was a person of great talents, and high reputation in the University. He had an intrepid spirit, but accompanied with a violent temper; which, however, so long as he continued under Colbatch's influence, was restrained from breaking out into excesses. Mason was all his life distinguished by a peculiar roughness of appearance and manner: but he was a man of extensive and varied learning; eminent as a mathematician, a scholar, and an antiquarian; and notwithstanding his unhewn exterior, he must have possessed excellent qualities, since we find him enjoying the friendship and regard of most of the first characters in the University for a long period. In his youth his rugged nature had been subdued by the charms of Miss Joanna Bentley: he was numbered among her devoted admirers; and if the reports of the young wits, his contemporaries, may be believed, he enjoyed his full share of the smiles of the fair damsel [4]. In the prosecution of her father, to which he now devoted

Parne.

Mason.

[4] Those who are curious about such anecdotes, may find, in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 224, a copy of verses, written by Edward Prior, also a scholar of Trinity, and afterwards a Fellow, deploring his own banishment from the presence of Miss Joanna, and satiziring Mason, his favoured rival, whom he describes in these lines.

"Mason, to love and shape eternal foe,
That chaos of a man, that unlinked lump of beau.
Behold the haggard honors of his face,
The ghastly smile, and the Cyclopian grace!

himself, his industry, research, and accuracy, in examining and transcribing old documents and records, made him a powerful auxiliary.

Johnson.

An important accession was soon obtained to this band—Robert Johnson, a Fellow of higher standing than those just mentioned, who had hitherto kept aloof from both the parties by which the College was distracted. His present adhesion to Bentley's enemies was attributed to personal resentment. At the late Royal visit, the Master had, among other marks of favour, been allowed to recommend whomever he pleased for degrees; he accordingly procured doctorships for seven of the Fellows attached to his interests—Parran, Barnwell, Paris, R. Walker, Humphries, Hooper, and Vernon. The three last were below Johnson; but by thus becoming doctors, they obtained a priority over him, whose degree was only Bachelor of Divinity, in the choice of livings and chambers; an advantage never to be recovered. Hooper and Vernon, who were his juniors by ten years, had also been made College-preachers by the Master; an appointment from which he was excluded. Incensed at this manifest exercise of favouritism, Johnson associated himself with Colbatch's party; and being a man of business and despatch, proved a formidable enemy to the Master. The knot of malcontents exerted themselves with much diligence in preparing articles of inquiry and accusation, and collecting evidence for the expected trial, which they hoped would take place at the College, in the course of the Bishop's triennial visitation, this summer. His Lordship, however, preferred hearing the complaint, as his predecessor, Bishop Moore,

Had but this age a Polyphemus known,
The giant sure had marked him for his own.
Those harpyan claws, that should the plough sustain,
Now screen'd with ruffles, dare the plough disdain:
The brawny calves in silken stockings shown;
Strange change, to wear the best from wearing none.
In snaky curls the bristling wig appears,
With all the horrors of Medusa's hairs.
Nor disagreement thro' the whole we find:
He's Mason both in body and in mind."

Cumberland, when he described Dr. Mason in his Memoirs, p. 106, was probably not aware that he had once been a favoured admirer of his mother.

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had done, upon the latter part of the 40th statute of Elizabeth, as the ground least liable to dispute. The conspirators, wishing to keep their plans secret till the moment of action, held their meetings in Dr. Colbatch's rectory-house at Orwell; which the opposite party used, consequently, to term the *Rye House;* a jocular appellation, that it long retained in the society.

Bentley anticipates his prosecutors.

No caution could prevent the secret of the hostile designs transpiring: and Bentley took a prompt resolution not to wait for the attack, but to commence operations, by throwing himself upon the protection of the Crown, and at the same time engaging the College to adopt his cause as its own. He accordingly drew up the following petition to the King, which was circulated among the Fellows three or four days before they were called upon to ratify it.

Petition to the King.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty,

"The humble Petition of the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, within the Town and University of Cambridge.

"Sheweth, that this your College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity having been founded by the bounty and munificence of King Henry VIII. has ever since had the peculiar happiness to be governed by the laws and statutes received from your Royal predecessors, the successive Kings and Queens of this realm, as Royal Visitors of the same.

"But whereas some persons are desirous to deprive this your Society of the felicity of being governed by your Majesty as Visitor of the same, in like manner as it has been by your Royal predecessors, by subjecting the same to other jurisdictions, in prejudice of the rights and privileges of this your Society, as well as in derogation of your Majesty's right and authority, as your petitioners apprehend and believe; wherefore we your petitioners beg leave to apply to your Majesty, not to avoid any enquiry into the state of our Society, or the conduct of any member thereof, being desirous that the same may be made by any legal authority; but that your Majesty would graciously condescend to take our case into your Royal consideration, that we may receive your Royal determination thereon, in such wise as to your Majesty, in your Royal wisdom and justice, shall seem most meet and convenient.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto put the common seal of our College, this 10th day of August, 1728."

College meeting. August 10.

The meeting of the sixteen seniors, whose assent was requisite for sealing this corporate act, being convened to the Chapel, the Master, foreseeing some dissent and secession, sent word by Dr. Walker to all the Fellows who dined in Hall that day, that they had better go to the

Chapel to witness a matter which so much interested the whole College, and to vote, if required. Some chose to keep aloof; but twenty-one met in the chancel, where the Master produced and read the petition. Colbatch then began to read a protest, signed by himself, Johnson, and Parne, against sealing the petition, as interfering with the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ely. Bentley interrupted him, and endeavoured to snatch the paper from his hands; but Johnson taking it, read it aloud, and then required the Master to order all below the sixteen to withdraw. Parne desired that 'security might be given that the College should not, by sealing this petition, be drawn into expense:' to which the Master fiercely replied, "To whom should I give security? To thee? Who should bear the expense but the College, since it is a College affair?" The meeting becoming tumultuous, the three protesters, followed by three more Fellows, left the Chapel; and those that remained completed the business, by putting the common seal to the petition. In all their subsequent proceedings, Bentley's prosecutors alleged his conduct upon this day as a prominent article of accusation; but the facts did not warrant their charges. The tumultuary conduct of the meeting was rather owing to the Fellows than the Master; and perhaps, in the excited state of their minds, could hardly have been prevented. The practice of putting the seal to any instrument, except in presence of the sixteen senior residents, might be irregular; but it had been frequent of late years: the statutes were so far complied with, that a formal summons had been sent to that number; and the question was *bona fide* decided in favour of the sealing by the voices of the Master and nine of the Fellows legitimately entitled to vote upon the occasion.

Commissary Greaves.

The petition was presented to the King at Hampton Court by Mr. Greaves, a young barrister, who left the circuit for that purpose. This gentleman, whose name is much connected with the history of Trinity College for nearly sixty years, was a Fellow of Clare Hall, but had been early patronized by Dr. Bentley; at whose recommendation, it is said, he was made, by the Duke of Somerset, Commissary of the University. On the death of Lisle, in 1727, he became auditor, steward

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of the courts, and registrar of Trinity College; and what was probably of more value to a young barrister, he was the Master's counsel in all the complicated law proceedings which ensued; and never was an advocate more zealously devoted to the interests of his friend and client than he proved to those of Dr. Bentley. The patents of his College offices having been made out for the whole term of his life, and some informality being apprehended, the College exchanged them for patents for the term of fifty years, '*si tam diu vixerit*;' thinking this a reasonable extent of tenure: but their calculation fell short of the longevity of Commissary Greaves, who not only lived to surrender his patents in December 1778, a few days before their expiration, and to receive a present of plate, with the thanks of the College for his long and faithful services, and his affectionate regard for the prosperity of the Society; but six years afterwards he made a donation to the College of 100*l.* to found an annual prize for an essay on the character of King William the Third.

December, 1728.

Petition of the Bishop of Ely.

The prosecutors drew up different counter-petitions to the King; and pressed the Bishop of Ely to proceed to a visitation: that prelate, however, waited to see what steps the Privy Council might take upon the College petition: and after three month's delay, finding it unnoticed, he also petitioned the King in Council, that in case any cognizance was taken of that document, he might be heard in behalf of the rights of his See. Hereupon a committee of the Privy Council was appointed to consider the merits of the case; which met on Nov. 27th to hear the arguments of the several parties. Dr. Bentley's counsel, however, prayed for a postponement; and at his instance the hearing was adjourned to the 11th of December: but not without an intimation from one of the committee, Mr. Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, that he thought the matter was one which would more properly be determined in a court of law than by the Council; an opinion in which Lord Trevor, the Lord Privy Seal, coincided.

Nov. 6.

Before the time fixed, the Master prayed for a further postponement, alleging that the audit of Trinity College, which required his presence,

began on Dec. 2, and lasted twenty days: and he was again indulged with a compliance [5]. Dr. Bentley's object in these delays, besides increasing the expenses of the prosecutors, was to obtain time for printing and circulating among the members of the Council a pamphlet inforcing his own view of the case. This appeared at the beginning of 1729, entitled 'The Case of Trinity College; whether the Crown or Bishop of Ely be the General Visitor:' its style bearing undoubted evidence of the Master's hand. It begins with giving extracts from the opinion of the seven learned counsel of Queen Anne, which held that King Edward's statutes were repealed by those of Queen Elizabeth, and that the general visitatorial power had reverted to the Crown; Bishop Fleetwood's letter declining to insist upon the jurisdiction; and other matters which made in favour of his own views: upon these he built an ingenious argument, to shew that the 40th of Elizabeth's code must also be invalid. He contended that it was unreasonable to suppose that the Master could have two Visitors, the King and the Bishop; that the latter should have power over him alone of the whole Society, and not over his accusers: that he should be able to injure and not to redress him. He argued besides with considerable humour, that this statute was void *ab initio*, from its very absurdity; since by its latter provisions, the Master of Trinity, if accused of murder or any other heinous felony, was to be tried not by the judges of the land, but by the Bishop of Ely; and if found guilty, was not to be hanged, but only expelled from the College.

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Bentley writes a pamphlet on the case.

Dr. Colbatch lost no time in preparing a pamphlet in refutation of the Master's arguments: it is called 'The Case of Trinity College in Relation to a Visitor;' and comprises a clear and comprehensive view of the question, as well as an exposure of the partial character of the other's statements. The reply, however, had not the advantage possessed by Bentley's tract, of being perused by the committee of the Privy Council, before the hearing of the case. This having been several times postponed, and then interrupted by the business of Parlia-

Colbatch's reply.

[5] Bentley's enemies long continued to exclaim against this pretence for delay: the fallacy of which was rendered more glaring by the fact, that he did not once come to the audit this year.

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ment, did not actually take place till the middle of March, when the Master and many of the Fellows were present. After listening to the arguments of Sir Philip Yorke for the College, and Mr. Fazakerly for the Bishop, their Lordships came to the decision, which must have been anticipated, that they could not advise his Majesty to interfere at all with the question; but that the Bishop was at liberty to proceed in the cause as he thought proper.

The Privy Council decline all interference.

Before we describe the further operations of the contending parties, it is necessary to notice a dispute, which was carried on at the same time with much energy, between Archbishop Wake and Dr. Bentley. To embroil the Master with that great prelate was part of the hostile system of his prosecutors, whose cause stood particularly in need of confederates among the great. The occasion arose from his nephew, Thomas Bentley, holding the place of Library-keeper of the College. This office had been founded in 1602, by Sir Edward Stanhope, the Vicar General, an old Fellow of Trinity, and endowed with a benefaction of 700*l.*: he attached to his foundation several strict conditions; ordering, among other things, that the Librarian should not be absent more than forty-two days in the year; that he must never take a higher degree than Master of Arts; and directing, that if the Master and Seniors do not fill up the place within fourteen days after the occurrence of a vacancy, the appointment should lapse to the Archbishop of Canterbury: of this clause the primate had actually availed himself once before in the year 1716, to appoint a successor on the resignation of Mr. Clagett; the same who became afterwards Bishop of Exeter. The present Librarian, so far from adhering to the injunction of residence, had not been in the College more than three months in any one year; and had not resided, upon the whole, above six months in six years: and he had further broken the conditions by taking the degree of Doctor of Laws. Colbatch and Parne, while drawing up the Master's offences of omission and commission, as charges for the Visitor, bethought them of selecting the case of the Librarian, as one to be submitted to the Primate; they therefore wrote to inform his Grace, that the office was forfeited by non-compliance with the rules, and consequently waited his appointment. Archbishop Wake immediately addressed himself to Dr. Bent-

Bentley's dispute with Archbishop Wake on the library-keeper's place.

ley, inquiring into the facts of the case; and a spirited correspondence ensued. A dispute between the Head of a College and an Archbishop must be maintained on such unequal ground that it might be supposed not likely to be of long continuance: the present controversy did, however, last nearly a year and a half: and Bentley, who was all this time occupied in defending himself against a formidable prosecution instituted for his ruin, nevertheless held much the highest tone in this debate. The merits of the argument bear little upon the other events of the Doctor's life, and are of too local a nature to interest the reader: but the whole correspondence, which has been preserved in the Lambeth Library, exhibits the ingenuity and argumentative subtilty, which we have so often remarked in Bentley; while the letters of Parne, who conducted the opposition, show talent, spirit, and manliness; and the Archbishop's are marked with a liberal and candid consideration for all parties, a clear-sighted penetration, and an anxiety to act right under embarrassing circumstances. Bentley pursued the same system of tactics as in his great cause; inventing delays, and calling attention to other questions, in order to gain time and the chance of availing himself of circumstances which might intervene. Thus at one time the Senior Fellows are not all returned to College, at another his nephew has a fever, and he himself a sprained ancle; while two or three small underplots form the matter of correspondence between Lambeth Palace and Trinity Lodge. Meanwhile Thomas Bentley was himself not solicitous to retain a situation, the duties of which he had no intention of fulfilling. Nevertheless, an argument was drawn up in his name, against the claim of the Primate: and thereupon the Master and eight Fellows subscribed their satisfaction at the reasons which he alleged, and decided that the place was not vacant. This step, however, occasioned the Master much difficulty: some of the Seniors, though obsequious enough in other matters, did not relish embarking in a quarrel with the Archbishop, and declined to subscribe their names; and he was forced to complete his list of eight signatures from the very juniors of the Society. The argument itself is written in a style as foreign as possible from the modest and unassuming manner of Thomas Bentley, and bears indubitable marks of his uncle's pen; who, indeed, not only

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acknowledged it in the College, but boasted of the short time in which it had been despatched. In this piece, as in almost all the writings of his latter years, Bentley injures the effect of his close and ingenious reasoning by the indulgence of a taunting and contemptuous tone, which is at war with propriety and good taste: this remark applies peculiarly to the concluding paragraph:

Dec. 7, 1728.

"Two things, I think, I may be sure of: that if *vis major* forces one [a librarian] upon the College, without their own election, it may resume what it has voluntarily given, and it will pay him his strict dues, as covenanted by the will. The other is, that he who by accusation turns one man out, for breach of some puny articles, may *eodem jure* be himself turned out for the breach of any one of them; and so the third successor in his turn; so a fourth, and a fifth, *in infinitum*. And since all the pack of those articles never were kept, nor ever can or will be, you may possibly see a dozen new Librarians in one year; and in the meantime the Library will be gloriously served.

"Thomas Bentley."

Colbatch, in a reply to this argument, observes upon the liberty of so free a style in a composition intended for the eye of the Primate:

"Men may, by constantly treating their equals and inferiors in a gross way, so much debauch their manners as to forget that any decency is to be observed even to the greatest of mankind."

Decided by the Attorney General.

To bring the matter to a conclusion, Archbishop Wake proposed that it should be referred to the decision of the Attorney General, though aware that he was retained as Dr. Bentley's counsel in the great cause which was approaching. To this the latter assented; and Sir Philip Yorke, after a considerable interval, gave his opinion that, as the penalty of forfeiture was not specifically attached to those two violations of Sir Edward Stanhope's rules, and as the librarian had not received three admonitions for his neglect, the office was not vacant. Hereupon the Archbishop gave up the point: the matter, however, was not suffered to drop. His Grace had already appointed Sandys Hutchinson, a Bachelor of Arts of the College, recommended by Colbatch and Parne, to hold the office: and this young man's uncle thought proper to maintain the contest, and assert his nephew's right. The Master, having triumphed in his argument, wished to free himself from further trouble on this question: accordingly Dr. Thomas Bentley made a formal resignation of the office; and the Master and Seniors, within

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the limited time, elected another young man, Gossip, to succeed. But as this act could not alter the former question, Hutchinson applied to the Court of King's Bench for a Mandamus to the College to admit him librarian, as having the nomination of the Archbishop; and a rule was granted to show cause. Bentley having no motive for further dispute, and having already as much law proceedings on his hands as he could manage, put an end to the question by making two librarians: Hutchinson was admitted upon the conditions of Sir E. Stanhope, and with no more stipend than he had allotted; and Gossip was made 'additional Library-keeper, with a salary from the College.'

Nov. 3. As soon as the decision of the Privy Council had left the Bishop of Ely at liberty to receive the accusation against the Master of Trinity, steps were taken by the complainants to prosecute their charges. Dr. Colbatch was laid up this spring by a fit of the ague, and felt the infirmities of increasing years. It was therefore arranged that Mr. Johnson should be promoter, or prosecutor; and he embarked in a cause which was likely to prove very expensive, with no other resources than his own small income, and the promised assistance of his brethren, who strained every nerve, and subjected themselves to every privation, to supply funds for the accomplishment of their undertaking. The principal reliance was placed on the pecuniary resources of two individuals, Dr. Colbatch, and Mr. Edward Smith, a Fellow of the College, who is now mentioned for the first time in our history. He had for some time resided in the country; and I find no mention of his having ever come into collision with the Master: but his strong opinion of the want of a superior authority to correct the existing state of the Society, induced him to devote his means, which were more considerable than those of his brethren, to the prosecution of this suit. His correspondence with Colbatch, in whom his confidence was unlimited, marks a singularly spirited, liberal, and disinterested character. The contest, however, was unequal: while the prosecutors embarked in an enterprise of certain difficulty and expense, at their own risk and cost, the party accused obtained an order of the Seniority, regularly entered in the Conclusion-book, that all charges which might result from the proceedings against him, as being connected with the question of the visitatorial power,

Johnson promoter of the suit against Bentley.

Edward Smith.

April 11. Bentley's expenses paid by the College.

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and therefore a matter of common concern, should be defrayed from the revenues of the College.

The articles of accusation against the Master being drawn up by Colbatch, and digested into form by a professional civilian, were presented to Bishop Greene, who immediately cited Dr. Bentley to appear before him, as Visitor specially appointed by the 40th statute of Elizabeth, at Ely House, on May 5, to answer the charges preferred by Mr. Johnson, the promoter. Of this citation the Master took no notice, until two days before the time fixed for his appearance; when he made an application to the Court of King's Bench for a rule to prohibit the Bishop's proceeding against him; alleging, that the 40th statute, the ground of his pretended power, required that the Master should be twice admonished by the Vice Master and Seniors, before any accusation could be preferred against him. The reader may recollect that this same objection was started by Dr. Bentley to the charges laid against him nineteen years before, in a letter to Bishop Moore [6]. It was then overruled by that prelate; but he perceived, that if he could obtain the sanction of the Court of King's Bench to his interpretation, he should be for ever relieved from all trouble from this statute: as he took care to have a Vice-master who was his creature and tool, there was no chance of an admonition, which could never be pronounced but with his concurrence. The Court granted a rule for the Bishop to show cause why he should not be prohibited: and the Master speedily summoned his Seniority, who are, with himself, the interpreters of doubtful questions in the statutes: he here proposed his explanation, which six of the eight Seniors approved and ratified; declaring it to be the sense of the statutes that two previous admonitions were requisite before the Master could be accused of the greater crimes mentioned in the latter section of the chapter [7]. But in a few days the Bishop's counsel, Dr. Henchman, Serjeant Eyres, and Mr. Fazakerly, showed cause against the rule

April 1. Bishop Greene cites Dr. Bentley.

May 3. Application to the Court of King's Bench for a prohibition.

May 7.

[6] See the statute itself in p. 196, and Bentley's arguments upon it in p. 208, *note*.

[7] This interpretation by the Master and six Seniors, dated May 7, 1729, with the reasons on which it is founded, was not inserted in the Conclusion-book, but written on a loose paper, in the Master's possession. It is not easy to see Bentley's reason for not entering it in the regular register: possibly that volume might just then be submitted to the examination of lawyers.

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before the Court of King's Bench. The Judges of that high tribunal had been all changed since the affairs of Dr. Bentley were last under its cognizance. Chief Justice Raymond now presided; and his brethren were the Judges Page, Probyn, and Lee. The arguments against the prohibition appear to have been irresistible; at least the instructions for the Bishop's counsel, which are preserved, comprise the most satisfactory demonstration that the admonitions by the Vice-master and Seniors apply only to the cases of negligence, or lighter delinquency, mentioned in the first part of the statute: nor did the Court hesitate in forming the same judgment. The four Judges gave their opinions to that effect, and set the question at rest by discharging the rule, and leaving the Bishop of Ely at liberty to proceed as Visitor.

Proceedings of the Court.

It was apprehended that this point being decided against him, all Bentley's resources were at an end, and that he must now abide a trial upon the charges which had been so long and loudly made against his administration. Bishop Greene, determining to exercise his judicial functions with firmness, and at the same time to show attention to the feelings and interests of the defendant, sent him a copy of the articles, with notice of a day on which he might make what preliminary objections he thought proper to their form or substance. These articles, sixty-four in number, will be found in the Appendix; and the reader will perceive that they touch upon almost all the material events of the College history during the last eighteen years. There was, however, one charge of grave import, which we have not yet mentioned among the alleged delinquencies of the Master: his neglect of daily service in the College Chapel. For twenty years past he had scarcely ever been seen at prayers in the morning; and for ten years or more as seldom in the evening. There could be no doubt that this habitual omission was a serious offence in the Head of a College, whose station called upon him to set an example to the whole Society of regularity and piety. His excuse was infirmity of health; but as he was generally known to be a person of robust constitution, this pretence was treated with incredulity and ridicule: and, accordingly, his habitual neglect of Chapel was made the head and front of the long catalogue of his offences. Medical testimony, and that of his intimates, distinctly

Nature of the articles.

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proved his great liability to catch cold, and the consequent danger of his leaving the house in damp or severe weather; but it made out no apology for his absence in other seasons of the year [8].

The accusations presented a more formidable catalogue of delinquencies than those upon which the Master had been tried before Bishop Moore in 1714: at the same time it may be remarked that on this, as well as the former occasion, he was arraigned for a number of acts, which rather deserved the name of informalities than of violations of statute. Some of the prosecutors were aware of this disproportioned character of the charges; but they waived their objections, in deference to Colbatch, who had devoted his life to the prosecution of this cause, and was regarded as the centre and main-spring of their party. His feeling was peculiarly strong as to the propriety of adhering to statutes in their literal and simple acceptation: he had been engaged in discussions and altercations with the Master upon every one of those particulars; and he deemed them, though some of small consequence in themselves, necessary to prove his habitual and systematic disregard of the statutes. It appears, however, that they did in fact afford Bentley's friends a ground of outcry against his prosecutors, as descending to frivolous and worthless matters, in order to injure the object of their hatred. They complained also of the date of part of the pretended offences: some of them were of twenty years standing: and even the transaction with Serjeant Miller, upon which such great stress was laid, had taken place no less than ten years before. But the prosecutors alleged in reply, that they had been ever since endeavouring in vain to find a Visitor, to whom their complaints could be preferred; and that this was the first moment that they could even obtain leave to make a statement of their grievances.

[8] For a long time the non-attendance of Dr. Bentley had been considered so certain, that the Chapel-clerks had forborne to light the candles of the Master's stall, in order to avail themselves of that small perquisite. After his restoration to his degrees in 1724, he resumed his long-neglected attendance at evening chapel: on which occasion, there occurred a ludicrous scene, detailed in a copy of doggrel verses in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 920, and *Noble's Continuation of Granger*, vol. iii. p. 104. The lock of the door of his stall had, from long disuse, become rusty, and he was unable to open it. The fact was related nearly in the same way by an eye-witness, Mr. Edward Smith, in his deposition at Ely House.

The preliminary steps were taken in this great cause at Ely House on the second of June, when Dr. Bentley appeared in person, habited in a purple cloak; and had a further day appointed for tendering his exceptions to the articles [9]. On that day his proctor, Greenly, excepted against a large portion of them, that they alleged nothing more than offences of negligence, which belonged to the first part of the 40th statute, and were therefore not cognizable, since he had never yet been admonished by the Vice-master and Seniors. Against all accusations of misdemeanours previous to the year 1721, he objected, that those matters, supposing them to be criminal, had been pardoned by the Act of Grace. Lastly, whatever had been done by order of the Master and Seniors, was, he contended, a corporate act, and therefore not cognizable by the Bishop, but by the King, as general Visitor of the College. All these objections were overruled by Bishop Greene: he did, however, direct several alterations in the wording of the articles, principally for the sake of specification and exactness, and one article, which related to the pre-elections of fellows, he entirely expunged; since that practice, however censurable, could not be shown to be a violation of the statutes. The articles were then returned to the promoter, and a day appointed for presenting them in their corrected form.

Bentley appears at Ely House. June 10.

His objections.

But before that time arrived, Bentley gave another specimen of the skill with which he could elude and baffle his adversaries. A few days before the end of Trinity term, his counsel, Mr. Reeve, applied to the Court of King's Bench for another writ of prohibition against Bishop Greene proceeding as judge in this cause; alleging the three objections just mentioned, which his Lordship had refused to admit. The Court again granted a rule for the Bishop to show cause why he should not be prohibited: ordering all proceedings to be suspended while the question was before them, and allowing civil lawyers to speak upon the subject, as one particularly belonging to their profession.

June 21. Second applicaiton to the King's Bench.

[9] Mr. Shelton, a barrister, an old member of Trinity College, writes thus to Dr. Colbatch, June 3. "I was last night at Ely House, where the Doctor appeared in person, with a purple cloak; which occasioned some of the *Turba Remi* to call him Cardinal Bentivoglio."

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From Bishop Green's decision upon the admissibility of the articles, it was easy to discover that he considered some which could unquestionably be established, like that of the bargain with Serjeant Miller, as cause for the deprivation of the Master. It was, therefore, the policy of the latter to prevent the case ever coming to a trial before that prelate. For this purpose, delay and expense were the surest expedients: the former enabled him to avail himself of circumstances to break the confederacy; and as the Bishop's costs were to be defrayed by the prosecutors, he calculated that protracted litigation must ere long exhaust their resources: while all his own expenses were paid by the College stock, in which his enemies bore a share, and were thus doubly losers by the action. His motion, if it effected nothing else, was certain to postpone the business till after the long vacation, that period in which the Bishop had reckoned upon completing the trial. The suggestions upon which his application was grounded, were so framed as to include the whole of the articles, and extend over 230 pages; a copy of which, when applied for by the opposite side, occupied above a week in transcription, and cost them no less than nine guineas.

June 29.

Before the end of the term the Bishop's counsel showed cause against the rule, and urged the Judges to take off the prohibition, as being a mere stratagem on the part of Dr. Bentley to gain the long vacation. The Court, however, not having time to enter into the questions involved in the application, continued the prohibition; and the discussion was of course postponed till the Michaelmas term. They afterwards granted a rule, empowering the Bishop, or his agents, to consult all the College books, records, and registers, for the purpose of evidence: a commission which he deputed to Parne and Ingram, two of the prosecutors.

Resumes his edition of the New Testament.

When the summer recess afforded a truce to his judicial struggle, Bentley appears to have resumed the task of his New Testament, with a resolution of discharging his debt to the public, and at the same time supplying a practical answer to those who accused him of passing 'an irreligious life.' His attention was now directed to two particulars; the evidence respecting the disputed verse of St. John, and

the collation of the Vatican manuscript. Upon the former point, the advocates of the genuineness of the text relied greatly upon its insertion in the Dublin Greek manuscript. To ascertain, therefore, the antiquity and authority of that copy became an object of much importance: he applied for information on various particulars to Dr. Delany, the well-known friend of Dean Swift, then Chancellor of Christ-church, and to Mr. Doyle, one of the Chaplains of that Cathedral [10]. The former sent a fac-simile of that part of the Epistle, in which the Heavenly Witnesses occur, and the latter answered all the Doctor's queries with minute and laborious exactness. From the character of Bentley's inquiries, I apprehend that it was his intention to introduce a discussion upon this controverted verse in the *Prolegomena* of his edition [11]. His corres-

[10] His applications were made through the medium of Mr. John Wilson, one of the Fellows of Trinity.

[11] I shall quote the concluding sentence of Dr. Delany's letter, as it is curious to see what a person of his celebrity felt upon this question:

"This is all the information I can give upon this controversy; which I am sorry to see revived in an age wherein the early editions of the New Testament ought, in my humble opinion, to have more weight than perhaps all the manuscripts now extant put together. No man who knows the character of the early editors, can doubt the credit of those manuscripts they published from."

Mr. Doyle's letters are very long, and his style unhappily prolix: nevertheless, his statements respecting the Dublin MS., which lay before him while he wrote, are so important, that the readers who take an interest in that subject, will feel obliged to me for the following extracts:

"Sir,

"I received yours this day, and immediately set about consulting the MSS. you desired, especially that text you mention: of which I send you a copy, with part of the context. I had thought at first there would have been but little occasion for it, because 'tis inserted at length in Mr. David Martin's book, which I mentioned in my last: in which also there is a large description and account of our MS. But I find by my own notes, which I have taken of the MS., and by looking into the MS. itself, and comparing it with Mr. Martin's account of it, (which I have been doing almost all this day) that in many things he, or Dean Yeard, from whom he received it, have been very often mistaken, and even in this very text; for though the words agree with the original, yet the writing Mr. Martin has inserted in his book, p. 272, as the exact copy of the MS. is, I assure you, not a little different from it; as you may judge yourself by examining the paper inclosed, which I copied this day in the library, and which is as near the original as I could possibly write it. And yet, after all, the form of the letters is different, as the hand of one man will, though he takes never so much care to make it like another's, be, after all, distinguishable from it.

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pondent at Rome, Baron de Stosch, transmitted to him a transcript of a large quantity of interlinear and marginal notes, extracted from the Vatican manuscript; for this purpose he had employed the services of the Abbé Ridotti, as his old amanuensis Mico was dead. It appears from the Baron's letter, dated July 9, 1729, that Dr. Bentley had

"Now as to your other demands concerning the text, I have been no less careful about them. The paper is the very same with the rest of the book, as is also in all respects the colour of the ink, and the hand and manner of writing. The leaf on which this text is wrote, is not any where scraped or blotted, neither is it pasted in, but makes one continued piece with another leaf, which contains part of the Apocalypse. And thus I hope I have been as particular with relation to this passage as Dr. Bentley could wish; and if in this, or any thing else, I can be serviceable to him, while he is on so excellent a work, I shall serve him with the greatest pleasure and readiness imaginable."—

Then follows a very long and detailed account of the form, size, and description of the MS. with much verbosity. The following are extracts.

"It is all of paper, but the paper exceeding thick, as thick as any white paper I have ever seen; but withal exceeding smooth and fine, without the least wrinkle, knot, or the like, that ever I observed. Dean Yeard indeed (and from him Mr. Martin) asserts it is parchment: but when a dispute arose between us thereon, we referred it to another, who affirmed it to be paper; of which this is a clear proof, that all the rules which we see in paper are clearly to be seen in every leaf.

"Dean Yeard is certainly a very learned gentleman, and much better versed in these things than I am: but his eyes are so very bad, and have been this considerable time, that one that knew him would not wonder, if he were mistaken in every thing the knowledge of which depended on his eye-sight: and it is to this misfortune we are to attribute his mistakes in this and several other particulars concerning this MS. And for this reason, and also because Mr. Martin has very often not done him justice in misquoting and mistranslating the Latin letter he sent him on this subject, and from which Mr. Martin, in his defence of the 1 John v. 7., has taken what he has said concerning this MS. (all which the Dean himself told me) I say on these accounts it is that you cannot give much heed to any thing Mr. Martin there speaks about this book, at least nothing contrary to the account I send you."

"As for the age, 'tis in all probability as late or later than printing, and so Dean Yeard thought, and so he wrote Mr. Martin word, though this latter pretends the Dean told him 'twas five or six hundred years old. And as for the proof Mr. Martin brings of its being so old as he pretends, 'tis only a note wrote at the bottom of St. Mark's Gospel, declaring in what year the Evangelist wrote it, which yet Mr. Martin has ridiculously and preposterously interpreted, as if thereby the MS. I am speaking of was declared to be wrote in the eleventh century."

"It agrees very much with the Alex. MS., even where they both differ from all others, and especially where the Alex. agrees with the Vulgar Latin, though this latter not always; but the various readings, (supposing this to be Montfortius's) are not very exactly collated by Walton or Mills, and therefore if Dr. Bentley would insert the various readings out of Montfortius, we must collate it anew for him: because he cannot trust to the others, besides that they have collated only to the first chapter of the Romans."

urged despatch, and was in great haste to receive those extracts from the Vatican. This urgency, and the fact that in the copy from which he designed to print his edition, both text and notes were in as great forwardness as his materials allowed, make it probable that he waited only for the completion of the collations of the Vatican MS. to send his book to the press. After this time I discover no trace of his being occupied upon his projected edition: the contest which he waged with his prosecutors allowed him but little intermission for several years; and in those short intervals other literary objects were pressed upon him, and when at length greater leisure arrived, it found him disabled by age for the exertion requisite to complete the work.

Causes of its not being published.

In the Michaelmas term the war recommenced upon the affair of the Bishop of Ely's jurisdiction, and the articles against the Master of Trinity. The former, being defendant, shewed cause in the Court of King's Bench, against the rule for a prohibition, which Dr. Bentley, as plaintiff, had obtained in the preceding term. The matter of the 'suggestions,' upon which the rule had been obtained, was discussed by the respective counsel at two different hearings. On the latter day the Court remarked that 'the cause was of a nature to which they were unaccustomed; that none like it had ever been before them:' they declined, therefore, to pronounce judgment upon the case, until it had been argued by way of 'declaration and answer;' and in order to give an opportunity for such proceedings, they made the rule for a prohibition absolute.

Rule for a prohibition made absolute.

Nov. 10.

1730.

Progress of a new mode of action.

The only course which now remained for Dr. Bentley's prosecutors was, that the Bishop should sue for what is called a writ of *consultation*; that being the act of the superior Court, by which alone the prohibition could be removed, and the cause sent back to the Bishop's jurisdiction. Accordingly the pleadings for that purpose began in the year 1730. On the 31st of March the plea of the Bishop was delivered to the Court. But it was found necessary to apply to the Bench for a rule to oblige Bentley, the plaintiff, to reply to this plea: and when the time came for his reply, his counsel prayed for a month longer: the Judges, however, thinking this delay unreasonable, granted him only a week. Dr. Bentley then put in his *replication*, which

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was, as Strange observes in his Reports, 'immaterial.' The Bishop immediately *demurred*, that being the next step in the action, whereby the defendant denies the sufficiency of the matter of law alleged by the opposite party.

This description of suit was admirably calculated for Bentley's immediate objects, procrastination and expense. As it is generally the interest of the plaintiff to avoid all unnecessary delay, and to expedite the decision, the practice of the Court presumes that he will lose no time in taking the steps which are incumbent upon him. But Bentley, though plaintiff, had an opposite view; and he neglected to 'join in *demurrer*,' which is the next step in the action, and is requisite to submit the consideration of the legal question to the Judges. On the first day of Trinity term, a rule of Court was obtained to oblige the plaintiff 'to join in *demurrer*.' This done, the next matter was to enter all the proceedings in the action upon the records, and to make copies of them, called *paper-books*, for the use of the Judges. To 'make up the paper-book,' is the ordinary business of the plaintiff; but as he neglected to do this, the defendant had it made up, and delivered to Bentley's attorney: the latter replied, that this step was irregular; that it was assuming a business belonging to the plaintiff. Hereupon, the Court was applied to by both parties; but the result of a little intricate management on this point was, that the Bishop's lawyers were unable to push the affair any further during the Trinity term; and thus another legal year passed away.

June 2.

Bentley refuses an offer of the deanery of Lincoln.

Just before this time a general expectation prevailed that a termination would be put to these tedious litigations, by the removal of the Doctor from the scene of dispute to a considerable dignity in the Church. It was understood that some promise had been made to him of the deanery of Lincoln, which became vacant in March this year, by the death of his friend Dr. Gee. It was natural to expect that he would eagerly embrace an opportunity of exchanging his headship, the present tenure of which seemed precarious, for such a station. He went to town on the occasion; but, for some reason, the negotiation failed. It appears that he did not consider that deanery, although richly endowed, as an equivalent for the sacrifice of his academical stations:

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he probably reckoned, that if he once quitted his mastership, he might experience difficulty in retaining the emoluments of the Regius professorship. As for the efforts now making to deprive him, he relied upon his own resources to defeat them; and this legal warfare, though it consumed his time, did not injure his health, his spirits, or his peace of mind. From putting together the different accounts, I conclude that he aimed at getting both the deanery of Lincoln and a stall at Westminster; and being refused that addition, declined giving up his mastership [12]. When he wrote word to the College that he was not to quit them, some of his friends, who had gone all lengths to serve him, and were, perhaps, alarmed at the prospect of his leaving them at that juncture, determined to give him a triumphal reception on his return. Accordingly, part of them went to meet him at Bourn Bridge, and brought him back in triumph to Cambridge; while others arrayed the College so as to welcome his return in a manner similar to that in which they had received the late visit of his Majesty [13].

New Senate House.

The interior of the new Senate-House being at length completed, it

[12] Mr. Say, the Bishop's secretary, writes to Dr. Colbatch, March 21, "There has been a strong report last week, that Dr. B. would be made Dean of L. and Preb. of Westm. and give you a release: but that report is now vanished: and unless he will take the deanery alone, you must e'en be troubled with him till the end of your law-suit."

[13] This scene is described in a copy of doggrel verses, given in Cole's MSS. They may also be seen in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1779, p. 560; they are called 'The Trinity College Triumph.' The writer is evidently a member of the College, and there is much allusion to the small politics and jokes of the place. The following are the concluding lines:

"But Baker alone to the lodge was admitted,
Where he bow'd, and he cring'd, and he smil'd, and he prated:
'And pray now, good Master, how came it, the Queen,
Who knew you so well, would not make you a Dean?'
Quoth he, 'I might now have been in Lincoln Church,
Would I 've left my dear college and you in the lurch.
But, I thank 'em for that, they shall ne'er find me willing
To give eighteen-pence to receive a poor shilling.'
Then he grinn'd a broad laugh at his own joke so pretty,
And the Vice-master smil'd 'cause the Master was witty:
And let him laugh on; he'll soon find to his cost,
A shilling is better than eighteen-pence lost."

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was determined that the opening of this beautiful room should be accompanied with the solemnities of a 'Public Commencement.' This celebration had usually occurred at intervals of fifteen or sixteen years, and therefore naturally coincided with an event which forms an interesting epoch in the history of the University of Cambridge [14]. The Tory party, which retained the ascendency, were solicitous that this august ceremony should take place under the auspices of a chief magistrate, whose feelings coincided with their own. It was the turn of Dr. Mawson, the Master of Corpus-Christi, a personage, the splendid liberality of whose donations has made his name illustrious both in the University and the Church: but he was a Whig; and the other party contrived to put in nomination along with him Dr. Lambert, the Master of St. John's, who had served the office last year but one. The election took place on the following day: the ministerial party were entirely taken by surprise; they exerted themselves, however, with great energy to obtain a majority on the poll for Mawson: in particular Dr. Gooch, who had recently changed his party, used in favour of the Whig cause the activity and influence, which we have heretofore seen him exerting on the opposite side. But the Tory interest was still too strong; and elected Lambert by 84 votes against 83 [15].

Contest for Vice Chancellorship.

When the new building was finished for the transaction of academical business, the University converted the old Senate House into a room for the reception of the late King's present of books; keeping them apart from the rest of the library, in opposition to the advice of Middleton, the Principal-librarian. Their sojourn here was designed

King's books placed in the old Senate House.

[14] The last Public Commencement had been in 1714, when Dr. Greene, the Bishop of Ely, had presided as Vice Chancellor. Roger Long, afterwards Master of Pembroke Hall, and a distinguished astronomer, being then a young man, spoke the Music-speech. Those who are curious about such matters, will find a burlesque copy of verses relative to that Commencement, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

[15] Cole, in his manuscript Life of Dr. Lambert, gives an account of this election; and he also places on record some doggrel verses, written on the occasion by one of the successful side: they are very scurrilous, and no part of them is worth quoting. Cole gives the list of votes on each side: in Trinity College seventeen voted for Mawson, three for Lambert: in St. John's, none for Mawson, thirty-two for Lambert.

indeed only to be temporary, or, to use the words of the Grace, 'till they had a building more suitable to the munificence of their Royal benefactor:' but here, after the lapse of a century, they still remain[16]. July.

There seem to have been three leading objects of attraction at the Public Commencement. First, Dr. Bentley appeared once more in the quality of Divinity Professor, moderating and opposing for several hours at the theological exercises, which were on this occasion performed in the new Senate House, to indulge public curiosity. Secondly, the University was treated with an extraordinary exhibition of musical talent, by Maurice Greene, the celebrated composer, who set to music Pope's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day, altered and enlarged by the poet himself for this occasion[17]. Lastly, the medley of Latin and English, called a Music-speech, was delivered by one of the best scholars in the University, John Taylor, then Bachelor of Arts of St. John's College, and afterwards renowned as the editor of Lysias and Demosthenes. Part of this farrago consists of a satirical copy of verses, the leading feature of which is a description of the students of Trinity College as an idle and frivolous set, addicted to all the vanities of dress and dissipation, and neglectful of science, literature, and every thing else which ought to be cultivated in an University. The feelings of College jealousy must have been exceedingly strong a hundred years ago, to prompt such a sweeping condemnation of the whole youth of a rival Society, and predict still greater degeneracy in the course of one more age; when Trinity Library was to be converted into a ball-room!! However, now that the age has actually passed, it is curious to remark how completely Taylor's predictions have been falsified; and that the youth of that College, which he designates only as a 'dressing, dancing race,' have been pre-eminently distinguished in the Senate-House,

Taylor's music speech. July 6.

[16] This room, which was more commonly known by the name of 'the Regent-house,' is on the north side of the quadrangle, over the Divinity Schools. Its denomination in all official proceedings was *Novum Sacellum*; of the origin of which term I am not certain.

[17] Immediately after the Commencement Dr. Greene was appointed by the Senate to the professorship of Music, which happened to be then vacant, as a reward for his display of talent on this occasion.

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then first opened, for their successful devotion to every laudable pursuit [18].

[18] The lines which follow are part of an address to the ladies who graced the University with their presence in the Senate-House on that occasion:

" By this plain dealing will the fair-ones guess
Our clumsy breeding, and our lame address.
'Tis true our courtship's homely, but sincere;
And that's a doctrine which you seldom hear.—
I hope the charge is not so general yet,
As no good-natured comment to admit.
Pray, cast your eyes upon our youth below,
And say, what think you of our *purpled* Beau?
For if the picture's not exactly true,
The thanks to white-glov'd *Trinity* are due.
What though our *Johnian* plead but scanty worth,
Cold and ungenial as his native North,
Who never taught the virgin's breast to glow,
Nor rais'd a wish beyond what vestals know;
The *Jesuit* cloister'd in his pensive cell,
Where vapours dark with contemplation dwell,
Dream out a being to the world unknown,
And sympathise with every changing moon;
Though politics engross the sons of *Clare*,
Nor yields the state one moment to the fair;
Though *Ben'et* mould in indolence and ease,
And whist prolong the balmy rest of *Kay's*;
And one continued solemn slumber reigns,
From untun'd *Sidney* to protesting *Queen's*:
Yet, O ye fair!———
Let this one dressing, dancing race atone
For all the follies of the pedant gown.
The Templar need not blush for such allies,
Not jealous *Christ-Church* this applause denies.
How sleek their looks! how undisturbed their air,
By midnight vigils, or by morning prayer!
No pale reflection does those cheeks invade,
No hectic student scares the yielding maid.
Long from those shades has learned dust retir'd,
And toilets shine where folios once aspir'd.
Pass but an age—perhaps thy labour, Wren,
Rear'd to the Muse, displays a softer scene.
Polite reformers! luxury to see
The pile stand sacred, Heidegger, to thee.

CHAP. XVIII. 1730.

Such an effusion as this is not the place to look to for a true account of the state of a society; however, there is reason to believe that the satire, though overcharged, was not altogether unfounded. Dr. Colbatch used to declare, that his principal motive for such exertions to procure a visitation, was the dissolution of discipline, and consequent neglect of study, which was an unavoidable consequence of the feuds and distractions of the College. The state of things resembled that into which the Society was thrown by the prosecution of the Master twenty years before; but with this difference: at that time all the Seniors were at the head of his enemies; now the majority of the governors were under his absolute control, and gave him the disposal of their funds, and power of legislating at his discretion. This he was never backward in exerting for the annoyance of his adversaries. Parne had distinguished himself by his activity in the prosecution, and incurred a deep share of the Master's resentment. Being a person of reputation for ability and scholarship, upon a vacancy of the Public-oratorship this year, he was nominated by the Heads of Colleges as one of the two candidates; but owing, as it seems, to the division of his own College, he was outnumbered in the contest by his opponent, Mr. Williams. As a public tutor, he was more exposed than the other prosecutors to be harassed by the ruling powers. Frequent orders were made to enforce strictness of discipline; but the penalties were attached rather to the tutor than the pupil. Thus, in an edict against keeping dogs in College, the tutor who did not prevent the practice was to be 'excluded from his office:' an order was made, from which two of the Board dissented, that the payments of the young men to the College should be advanced by their tutors, monthly; and in case of any default, both tutor and pupil were to be discommuned. These, and other enact-

Internal state of Trinity College.

Vindictive measures against the prosecutors.

April 1.

Where Plato undisturb'd his mansion keeps,
And Homer now past contradiction sleeps,
The vizard squire shall hear the concert's sound,
And midnight vestals trip the measur'd round.
I see the classes into side-boards flung,
And musty codes transform'd to modern song;
The solemn wax in gilded sconces glare,
Where poring Wormius dangled once in air."—

CHAP. XVIII. 1730.

ments of a similar complexion, were made by Baker and the Seniors, who, while the Master was in London, carried on operations at home with great activity. Most of the younger Fellows who adhered to the prosecutors, were convened before the Board, and censured upon different pretexts. Prior and Hadderton were admonished for charges of contumacy to Dr. Craister, the dean. Ingram and Mason, who were employed in consulting the College records, were special objects of the Master's resentment. Mason being a man of rough manners, grounds of complaint were easily discovered against him. He had, upon some provocation, beaten one of the butler's servants; and for this offence he was convened by the Master before the Seniority: here an uncommon occurrence took place. Bentley was unable to obtain the consent of a majority to any severe punishment; but five dissentients, of whom Colbatch was one, agreed to inflict the statutable censure of the loss of one month's commons, and an admonition. This blow was in a few weeks followed up by a similar one. Upon Ingram going to demand some of the College books, under authority from the Court of King's Bench, the Master brought against him and Mason a charge of having ill-used the College cook, by setting him in the stocks. The circumstance had taken place nearly four years before, and had long been forgotten. Mason, who had been the principal, alarmed by threats of proceeding to extremities, and having the terrors of expulsion before his eyes, propitiated the Master by some concessions; the other, who possessed firmer nerves, faced the storm, and was convened before the Seniority. But the charge was so palpably vexatious, that Bentley could not gain the consent of a majority to the infliction of any punishment: he, therefore, adjourned the meeting; and then declared himself and Craister the judges of a case of discipline, appointing Hacket and Walker their two assessors. Before such a tribunal, all difficulties vanished. For this offence, as well as on the general charge of irreverence to his superiors, and as *rixæ auctor*, he was subjected to a similar sentence as had lately been pronounced on Mason. Parne being produced, among others, as an evidence in this inquiry, had a sharp altercation with Bentley, and complained of his bringing up against one of the Fellows a silly story of such old standing: to which he made this pithy

Jan. 5, 1730-31.

Feb. 5, 1730-31.

reply, "You are now prosecuting me for things done thirty years ago." CHAP. XVIII. 1731.

This last exercise of power was not suffered to pass unquestioned. Bentley's prosecutors thought that its discussion might advance their cause: accordingly, Ingram lodged an appeal against the Master and senior-dean before the Bishop of Ely, praying him, as Visitor, to reverse so unjust a sentence. Bishop Greene wrote a letter to Dr. Bentley, not commanding, but advising him to suspend the execution of the sentence till the question of the visitatorial power, then pending before the Court of King's Bench, had been decided. Feb. 26, 1730-31.

Court of King's Bench overrule Bentley's pleas.

These petty hostilities had no result except to aggravate the evils and distractions by which the College was torn: they neither accelerated nor retarded the progress of the great cause, which was winding its deliberate course through the Court of King's Bench. In the Michaelmas term of 1730 the objections of Dr. Bentley to Bishop Greene's proceedings, were fully argued on three several days, by Mr. Greaves and Dr. Andrews on his side, and by Mr. Harper and Dr. Henchman for the opposite party. At the conclusion of the argument the four Judges delivered their opinions in order, and concurred in rejecting two of his pleas, relating to the King's pardon and the corporate acts: they all held that the Act of Grace related only to offences against the public laws of the realm; but did not apply to breaches of College statutes, which were private laws, enacted only for the government of one particular house, and were cognizable by no jurisdiction except that of a Visitor. As to the other plea, they were unanimous in deciding that it was no defence against such charges to allege that they were corporate acts; that every member of the corporation was answerable to his Visitor for his own actions; that if a measure was criminal, it was the duty of the Head to have resisted it; and that it was no apology to allege that others had concurred in its execution. Upon the remaining point, however, the alleged jurisdiction of the Crown as Visitor of the whole College, their Lordships were not prepared to deliver a judgment: this was accordingly postponed for a future discussion. Nov. 6. Nov. 19. Nov. 25.

It was not till the following Easter term that a further hearing could be obtained: in addition to other causes of delay, the Chief Justice did 1731.

CHAP. XVIII. 1731.

May 11.

not choose to hear a matter of such importance except when all his brethren were upon the bench. This long-agitated case now suddenly assumed a novel complexion. When the counsel were proceeding to speak upon the articles of accusation, the Judges directed their attention to another question, that must previously be settled—the validity of Queen Elizabeth's statutes, upon which they were grounded. Their Lordships all declared their opinion, that the Bishop of Ely was Visitor of the whole College, by virtue of the original statutes of King Edward. It may be remembered that Lord Raymond, the Chief Justice, had, when Solicitor General in 1711, concurred in an opinion that the Crown was General Visitor of Trinity College: he now candidly declared in court, that, upon fuller information, he had seen cause to change that opinion, and was not ashamed to acknowledge his former error. Mr. Justice Lee entertained the strongest scruples about going any further with the case: it seemed to him, that the Crown, having once constituted the Bishop of Ely Visitor, possessed no more jurisdiction to grant; and had neither power to revoke that authority, nor to promulgate new statutes for its government. Since neither the plaintiff's nor defendant's counsel were instructed to dispute the authority of the latter statutes, the remainder of the cause consisted principally of the Judges' remarks to the bar, and to one another, upon the difficulty which they had struck out. As Elizabeth's statutes are those by which the College has been governed ever since their promulgation, and which the Society are sworn to obey, the notion of overturning them by a judgment of the Court, threatened not only to terminate the present action, but to dissolve the whole frame of the institution. Their Lordships, however, were not agreed in their views of this question. But another point occurred to the Court, which enabled them to dispose of the case by an unanimous judgment. In the original citation, wherein the Bishop had summoned Dr. Bentley to answer to the articles alleged against him, he had styled himself 'Visitor, *specially authorized and appointed* by the 40th of Queen Elizabeth's statutes, to examine the Master,' &c. The Court held, that this description of his powers was incorrect, since he was already the Visitor, and authorized to examine the Master, by King Edward's

statutes: this inaccuracy they judged to be fatal to the whole subsequent proceeding: therefore, although they had overruled every one of the Master's exceptions to the Bishop's exercise of his jurisdiction, yet they thought this flaw, which they had discovered themselves, was a reason for continuing the prohibition upon the Bishop. In Trinity term Lord Raymond ended the case, by delivering the judgment of the Court: his speech, of which a copy has been preserved, exhibits great clearness and ability; but the point itself, upon which the judgment was founded, is of a very narrow description. The Judges were decided in their opinion, that the Bishop of Ely, having been made by King Edward, the immediate heir of the founder, General Visitor of Trinity College, continued possessed of that power in as unrestricted a manner as any Visitor could enjoy it; that Queen Elizabeth's 40th statute did not and could not appoint him Visitor over the Master, since he was such already; but only recognized him in that capacity. Upon the question of the validity of Elizabeth's statutes, his Lordship did not consider it necessary to give an opinion, since all his brethren agreed with him in thinking the inaccurate expression of the citation a sufficient cause for continuing the prohibition.

Continue the prohibition on Bishop Greene.

Such was the termination of this long cause, which cost Colbatch and the other prosecutors little less than 1000*l.*; while Bentley's expenses, paid out of the College-chest, amounted to 1300*l.* By the complaining party the result was considered a denial of justice. None but professional persons could appreciate the force of a technical objection, which was thus made to counterbalance all the substantial and admitted merits of the case: the exception to the words 'specially authorized and appointed,' appeared to the unlearned rather to resemble a piece of verbal criticism, than the solemn judgment of a high tribunal upon a question which had been pending before it above two years. Even to lawyers the flaw was not very obvious: it had not been discovered by any of Dr. Bentley's counsel, nor even by the Judges themselves, till the very close of the case, when there was no opportunity for the Bishop's counsel to argue in defence of the words. Nay, even some legal characters did not hesitate to declare their

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belief, that the judgment, although emanating from such high authority, was bad in law. It added to the hardship of the case, that the prosecutors had to pay the Doctor 289*l.* as costs; although the whole expense had been contracted in discussing his objections, every one of which the Court had decided to be invalid.

CHAPTER XIX.

Situation of affairs after the decision of the Court of King's Bench—Bentley's petition to the King—The Attorney-General's fiat refused—The case carried by Writ of Error to the House of Lords—Difficulties of the prosecutors—Fire in the Cottonian Library—Origin of Bentley's edition of Milton—His want of qualification for that work—Fiction of Milton's reviser—No intentional deceit practised—Presumptuous character of his notes—The general disapprobation—Real merits of Bentley's Milton—Publications against it—Pearce's Review—Bentley patronized by Lord Carteret—Colbatch's tract on the Visitatorial Power—Mr. Porter Thompson—The case between Bishop Greene and Dr. Bentley argued in the House of Lords—Bishop Sherlock speaks against the Master—The Lords reverse the judgment of the King's Bench—The articles discussed separately—The case adjourned to another session—Bentley commences an edition of Homer—The Lords prohibit some and confirm other articles—Commencement of Bentley's second trial at Ely House—His defensive plea—Expense of the defence—Dr. Bentley sentenced to be deprived of his mastership—Bentley resists the execution of the sentence—Continues to act as Master—Hacket the Vice-Master resigns—Walker succeeds—Probable error in the Statute—Colbatch petitions the House of Lords—Compromise between Bentley and part of the Prosecutors—Colbatch renews the suit—Court of King's Bench grant a mandamus addressed to Dr. Walker—Death of Dr. Davies—Destruction of his notes on Cicero's Offices by fire—Contests for the Vice-Chancellor's Office.

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Situation of affairs after the decision of the Court of King's Bench.

Dr. Bentley, although he obtained a decision in his favour, did not enjoy much opportunity for triumph. All his positions had been overruled by the Judges; who had, besides, unequivocally pronounced that the Bishop was General Visitor of the whole College, and could execute that office at his discretion. It was now expected that a visitation would forthwith take place; and Colbatch drew up a set of articles, or interrogatories, which, to prevent cavil, were grounded upon the statutes both of Edward and of Elizabeth. The Master was again thrown upon his resources, to avert a danger which appeared to be great and imminent. The Bishop's plan of proceeding, however, was not settled: he went to Cambridge in July, and was there considering the course to be adopted: but Bentley did not wait the result of his deliberation; he sent Dr. Hacket and Dr. Walker to ask him whether it was his intention to visit Trinity College during the vacation. These ambassadors waited upon his Lordship at Bene't Lodge to put this question; but in their anxiety to uphold the dignity of the personage whom they repre-

July 20.

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sented, they seem to have forgotten that of him whom they addressed; and the prelate, offended at their behaviour, refused to give them any answer. As the courts of law were not sitting, the Master announced to the Bishop his intention of immediately moving the Court of Chancery for a writ of prohibition, under the Great Seal, to prevent his exerting any visitatorial power over himself or his College. But in three days he saw occasion to change his measures, and declared his intention of petitioning the King to command the Attorney General to issue his *fiat*, prohibiting the Bishop's visitation: he lost no time in presenting such a petition, taking his old ground of allegation, that the Crown only was Visitor, and that the Royal jurisdiction was invaded by the Bishop. The Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State, sent the petition to the Attorney and Solicitor General, with the King's orders to report their opinion of its merits: and those gentlemen, Sir P. Yorke, and Mr. Talbot, appointed an early day for hearing the counsel of all the parties concerned in the question. Nothing in the whole proceedings gave so much displeasure to Bishop Greene, already sufficiently prejudiced against the Master, as this fresh attempt at litigation. He says, in a letter to Mr. Harper, one of his lawyers:

July 27.

Bentley's petition to the King.

> "I am sufficiently convinced that all which the Doctor's counsel have hitherto done, was purely to create delays, to make it as long as possible before this affair can be finally determined: which is the hardship I complain of; since it occasions an infinite expense, and all this while prevents the discipline of the College to be taken care of as it ought to be; which is of so great consequence to that University and to the whole kingdom likewise. I have great reason to complain of Dr. Bentley's petition to the King for a prohibition against my proceeding against him and the College during the vacation of the term, contrary to my promise to the Council; which is all a suspicion of his own; for I never yet gave the least occasion to him, or any one else, to suspect it, by any thing that I have said or done; only that I refused to give any answer to two impertinent men, whom he sent to me, to ask me the question whether I designed it."

The Attorney-General's *fiat* refused.

The merits of Bentley's petition underwent two hearings before the Attorney and Solicitor General; where, among other evidence, was produced the original copy of King Edward's statutes, with proofs that the signature was in the hand-writing of that King himself. After an argument, the Attorney and Solicitor decided that the *fiat* prayed for by the Master would be illegal and unprecedented.

Aug. 14.

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The question with the Doctor's prosecutors now was, in what way the suit might be renewed with best prospect of success; for no one thought of retreat. Perhaps it may have occurred to some of my readers, that it would have been an easier, cheaper, and safer method, to have introduced a bill into Parliament to ascertain the visitatorial power over Trinity College, than to endeavour to establish, by protracted litigation, a point upon which the greatest legal authorities had disagreed with one another and with themselves. In fact this plan was thought of, and the heads of a bill for the purpose are found among Dr. Colbatch's papers; but, I apprehend, it was deemed impossible to carry such an Act through the two Houses without the countenance of Government; of which there was not the slightest probability. The choice lay, therefore, between two methods: the Bishop of Ely might summon the Master, as General Visitor, to answer articles of complaint against him, and then contest a new action of prohibition, which was certain to ensue; or he might appeal to the House of Lords to reverse the late judgment of the Court of King's Bench. After much deliberation the latter course was adopted, and a writ of error was sued out.

The case carried by writ of error to the House of Lords.

This proceeding was singularly daring: a person must be very sanguine who could expect the House of Peers to overturn a judgment pronounced by an unanimous bench, in the highest tribunal of common law, and upon a point of which lawyers only could form an opinion. Nor did it escape notice, that Lord King, who, as Lord Chancellor, must be principal judge in the appeal, was a friend and patron of Dr. Bentley [1].

The immediate difficulty was to insure funds for the still-increasing expenses of the prosecution. The efforts already made by the few Fellows associated in this cause, were so much greater than could have been expected from persons in their station, as to be a matter of general surprise. Bishop Greene had thus far been indemnified; but they could give him no security for the expense of future litigation, except their personal promise: and in case of the death of Colbatch,

Difficulties of the prosecutors.

[1] He had recently given the living of Stanwick, in Northamptonshire, to Bentley's son-in-law, Mr. Denison Cumberland. The Doctor in his correspondence with his nephew Thomas while abroad, communicated to him his great intimacy with the Lord Chancellor.

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whose health was precarious, it was probable that the confederacy would fall to pieces. His Lordship required, therefore, a bond from Dr. Colbatch and Mr. E. Smith, the only two of any substance, to bear him harmless to the amount of a thousand pounds. This was decidedly refused by Smith; who, though liberal to an extreme in his contributions to the cause, declined to submit himself to a perilous obligation [2]. Colbatch, however, found means to satisfy the prelate. Subscriptions were certainly given and renewed from several quarters; but who supplied those external resources, I cannot ascertain [3]. It is not improbable that assistance came from Gooch, Middleton, Ashton, and other

[2] The following sentences are extracted from Smith's letters to Colbatch:

Sept. 20, 1729. "I received your letter of the 14th instant, and in answer thereunto have sent you inclosed a bill for fifty pounds.—I must beg the favour of you to let me know how to direct to you when you are in town, and I will take what care I can not to be wanting in any thing that I can contribute towards the welfare and prosperity of Trinity College." *March* 3, 1730-31; in reference to the Bishop's demand for security, he says, "In the way that I am in at present, I know what I do. The cause that we are engaged in I shall readily assist to the utmost of my power; but I must desire to be excused if I reserve to myself the liberty of judging when I can do no more." *April* 14, 1731. "I take this opportunity of sending you, together with my best wishes for your success, the inclosed note for 50*l.* and shall beg the favour of a line or two, that it is come safe to hand."—"If the worst his Lordship seems to apprehend should really come to pass, and our cause at last must fall upon us, I shall not be wanting in my endeavours to make the weight of it as easy to every body as I can; but I shall not willingly put myself under the power of any man." *Feb.* 8, 1731-32. "If I can be of any service to you by a little supply or so, be pleased to give me your directions, and I will see what may be done." *March* 14, 1731-32. "I received a few days since a letter from Mr. Johnson, desiring some further aids and assistance. I did design to write to him to-morrow by some neighbour that should go to Royston market; but having, I think, at present the opportunity of a much safer conveyance, I shall take the convenience of it, and send a note for 30*l.* to you, as I intended to have sent to him. The expense that you are likely to be at in this way (i. e. *in the appeal to the House of Lords)* or how you are provided for it, is what I cannot so much as guess at; but if what I have offered be not sufficient to the business of this journey, I should be very sorry if you should mince the matter, and not acquaint me with it; assure yourself, upon the first notice, I shall endeavour to supply you further." *June* 2, 1732. "I send you inclosed a note upon Mr. Thomas Blackman, for seventy pounds. The money is already in his hands, and will, I dare say, be forthcoming whenever you shall think fit to demand it."

[3] In the course of the extensive correspondence which I have seen relative to this prosecution, there is hardly any mention of contributions, except in the letters of Mr. Smith. But it is certain, from other evidence, that several persons, and some of eminence, did contribute. I presume, therefore, that their names were kept secret, and all documents relating to the subject immediately destroyed.

members of the University, whom we have met with in a character unfriendly to the Doctor; and I find reason to suppose that pecuniary aid was sent from the Earl of Oxford, son of the late Lord Treasurer, and Dr. Lockier, the Dean of Peterborough, an old Fellow of Trinity College, who is stated to have been a hearty friend to 'the cause.'

Fire in the Cottonian Library.

It was at this period that a disaster befell the library under Dr. Bentley's care, which was near proving an irreparable loss to literature and the world. The King's and Cottonian collections had been removed from Cotton House, first to Essex House, near Temple Bar, and lately to Abingdon House, in Little Dean's Yard, adjoining Westminster School, which had been purchased for that purpose. In this house, which was kept by a Mr. Bently, a fire broke out in the night of Oct. 23; it did much damage to the Cottonian collection, and was very near destroying the whole united treasures. Dr. Bentley happened to be in town, and hastened to rescue from the flames what he justly considered the palladium of the library, the Alexandrian manuscript of the Scriptures; and Dr. Freind, a witness of the fire, describes in a letter his figure coming out of the house in his night-gown, his great wig, and the *codex* under his arm [4]. The number of volumes destroyed or greatly injured by the flames was above two hundred. After this catastrophe the two collections were removed to the Old Dormitory at Westminster, their last migration before the year 1752, when they were given to the British Museum, and found a resting place in Montague House.

Origin of Bentley's edition of Milton.

At this crisis, while he was awaiting the session of the great tribunal by whom his fate was to be determined, Dr. Bentley employed himself in the most extraordinary and disastrous of his literary undertakings, his edition of Milton's Paradise Lost. It will be expected that I should give some account of an enterprize, which is without parallel in the history of literature, and which, at first sight, argues mental aberration, or the dotage of talent. The facts of the case I believe to have been these: the idea of correcting a poem, which from the blindness of its author, might be supposed to have suffered some

[4] This is said to be the only anecdote, worth notice, which is contained in Dr. R. Freind's letters to Lady Sundon. *Nichols' Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ix. p. 592.

CHAP. XIX. 1731.

injury in the transcription and the press, originated with Elijah Fenton, Pope's coadjutor in the translation of the Odyssey: he published in 1725 an edition of Milton, containing many changes in the punctuation, and some substitutions for words, which he imagined might, from similarity of sound, have been misapprehended by the amanuensis. This performance seems to have led Bentley to exercise his critical ingenuity in some corrections of the poem, which he mentioned to his intimates; for I find that a report was spread just afterwards of his design to write notes upon the text of Milton [5]. The idea was probably soon abandoned; but the mention of it might have suggested to Queen Caroline the wish that the great critic would exercise his talents upon an edition of the prince of English poets, and thus gratify those readers who could not enjoy his celebrated lucubrations on classical writers. Her Majesty having expressed her pleasure that Dr. Bentley should undertake such a work, he immediately complied; having the double motive of obedience to the Queen's commands, and a wish to bring his literary merits immediately before the noble judges, who were in a few months to become the arbiters of his fate.

His want of qualification for this work.

He took up the text of Paradise Lost with the determination of not only detecting every slip of language in a poem whose author was unable to revise what he had dictated in his moments of inspiration, but also of noting for rejection all the instances of bad taste or incorrect imagery that his lynx-eyed criticism could discover. For a person who was neither a poet, nor possessed of poetical taste, to venture upon such a task, was no common presumption: but it would have been well had he stopped here. Wishing that Paradise Lost should be read in his edition agreeably to his notions of a perfect poem, he proposed, in every case, his own alterations of Milton's verses, printed in the margin. For such an undertaking, which hardly any endowments or acquirements could justify, Bentley wanted almost every qualification. He not only was destitute of poetical talent, but had contracted an aversion to the rapturous flights of genius, and glowing language which distinguish the

[5] Dr. Ashenhurst, who, being in ill health, was at Bristol about 1726, published this fact, in conversation. See *Gent. Mag.* vol. ii. p. 754. He died in 1733; whereupon the Master nominated Mr. Walter Titley to succeed him in his lay-fellowship.

divine poem. Scarcely ever was he able to sympathize with the author; and was, besides, frequently ignorant of his allusions and the source of his phrases and imagery. Of the works of the Italian poets, to which Paradise Lost is greatly indebted, Bentley knew nothing: and of the writers of romance, who had been the delight of Milton's earlier years, and from whom many of his allusions are drawn, he was equally ignorant. To have ventured upon an undertaking for which he wanted such indispensable qualifications, and put to hazard his eminent reputation, upon a ground where he was under every disadvantage, appears a wanton prodigality of credit; and is hardly to be accounted for, without considering the peculiar circumstances which impelled him to an immediate compliance with the wishes of her Majesty.

Fiction of Milton's reviser.

The method in which his censures on Milton were delivered, corresponded with the presumptuous and revolting nature of the criticisms themselves. He devised an imaginary personage in the character of an 'editor of Paradise Lost,' some nameless friend of its author, who had corrected the press: to him, and not to Milton he pretends to attribute all those faults and defects which he so confidently points out. Of course it is presumed that the author never heard the poem read over; not even when a second edition was published seven years after the first; and that all the forgeries of the editor, consisting of the substitution not only of words, but a multitude of whole verses, and the introduction of many passages of ten or twenty lines together, were palmed upon the world as the offspring of Milton's genius, without the knowledge or suspicion of the blind poet himself. This monstrous hypothesis is thus propounded in the preface:

"Our celebrated author, when he composed this poem, being obnoxious to the Government, poor, friendless, and, what is worst of all, blind with a *gutta serena*, could only dictate his verses to be writ by another. Whence it necessarily follows, that any errors in spelling, pointing, nay even in whole words of a like or near sound in pronunciation, are not to be charged upon the poet, but on the amanuensis."—

"But more calamities, than are yet mentioned, have happened to our poem: for the friend or acquaintance, whoever he was, to whom Milton committed his copy and the overseeing of the press, did so vilely execute that trust, that Paradise, under his ignorance and audaciousness, may be said to be twice lost. A poor bookseller, then living

CHAP. XIX. 1731.

near Aldersgate, purchased our author's copy for ten pounds, and (if a second edition followed) for five pounds more: as appears by the original bond, yet in being. This bookseller, and that acquaintance, who seems to have been the sole corrector of the press, brought forth their first edition, polluted with such monstrous faults as are beyond example in any other printed book."—

"But these typographical faults, occasioned by the negligence of this acquaintance, (if all may be imputed to that, and not several wilfully made) were not the worst blemishes brought upon our poem. For this supposed friend, (called in these notes the editor), knowing Milton's bad circumstances; who (vii. 26.)

> 'Was fall'n on evil days and evil tongues,
> With darkness and with dangers compass'd round
> And solitude;'

thought he had a fit opportunity to foist into the book several of his own verses, without the blind poet's discovery. This trick has been too frequently played; but especially in works published after an author's death. And poor Milton in that condition, with threescore years weight upon his shoulders, might be reckoned more than half dead."

This theory involved so many obvious improbabilities, was so totally unsupported by evidence, and so little reconcileable with the memoirs which have been preserved of Milton's life, that it was not to be expected that any one should acquiesce in it; nor can it be imagined that Bentley himself seriously believed its reality. Upon this point Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his 'Life of Milton,' calls in question the moral character of the critic:

"The generality of my scheme," says he, "does not admit the frequent notice of verbal inaccuracies; which Bentley, perhaps better skilled in grammar than in poetry, has often found, though he sometimes made them, and which he imputed to the obtrusions of a reviser, whom the author's blindness obliged him to employ; a supposition rash and groundless, if he thought it true; and vile and pernicious, if, *as is said,* he in private allowed it to be false."—*Johnson's Life of Milton.*

No intentional deceit practised.

I cannot consider this view of the question correct; or think that the Doctor subjected himself, in his unfortunate performance, to the charge of designing to propagate deliberate falsehood. In my opinion, the ideal agency of the reviser of Paradise Lost, was only a device to take off the odium of perpetually condemning and altering the words of the great poet; as he seems to have thought that the readers of his notes could better endure the censure of a nameless editor, than of Milton, the glory of our country. At the same time, he was neither deceived

himself, nor intended to deceive others: he never really believed that all those exquisitely harmonious similes and digressions in Paradise Lost, containing allusions to classic or romantic fables, or all the long enumerations of proper names, in musical arrangement, were the offspring of some corrector of the press, hired by the blind poet in Bunhill-fields. But the fact was, that however delightful they are to the ear, he deemed them out of place, and blemishes to the poem; and thought that he might decree their rejection with less offence to the reader, by assuming them to have been the interpolation of an editor, unknown and unsuspected by Milton himself. It is true that this machinery was clumsy and ill-devised, presenting an unexampled instance of failure in judgment: but Bentley was no more impeachable for a moral fraud, than the dramatist who introduces a fictitious character into the action of an historical play.

The execution of this extraordinary project of our critic kept pace with the infelicity of the conception. His censures of Milton, nominally levelled against the editor or corrector, are pronounced in so flippant and presumptuous a tone, and in language so contemptuous and even insolent, that, if regarded in a serious light, they become perfectly insufferable. It seems as if Bentley had determined to justify, by this performance of his old age, the ridicule long ago thrown upon his commentaries on Horace in different publications which we have had occasion to notice. The jocular and bantering style of his criticisms is particularly exceptionable, from its inconsistency with the sacred subject of the poem, and offends those feelings with which the reader of Milton is sure to be possessed. Almost every thing that he chooses to censure in the poem, is placed in a ludicrous point of view: and as such buffoonery is not unfrequently employed upon passages comprising the most awful allusions, it is difficult to acquit him of irreverence and profaneness, in allowing such a licence to his pen [6].

Presumptuous character of the book.

[6] This is a severe condemnation of our critic; but I think that his notes upon the following passages, among many others, will prove that it is not unmerited. Book IV. 269. Raphaël

> "Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
> Winnows the buxom air; till within soar
> Of tow'ring eagles, to all the fowls he seems

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The haste with which his notes were despatched is evident to the reader, even if Bentley had not told him in the preface, that they were

A phœnix, gaz'd by all, as that sole bird,
When to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's
Bright temple, to Ægyptian Thebes he flies."

This passage Bentley rejects as spurious, observing, " When our editor once begins with his similitudes, he knows not when to leave off; but still blunders on, through sense or nonsense. Milton said, ' Raphael sail'd between worlds and worlds,' wisely steered through the vacuous ether that lay between them. But the editor, in contradiction, tells us, he sailed ' sometimes on the polar winds ;' which winds could not exist, but within those worlds. And then, when he came so near the earth, as eagles used to soar, he took the shape of a phœnix ; and three verses are bestowed on the story of this phœnix. But why that shape, good master Editor ? Why, says he, to deceive all the fowls, who look and gaze at him as a true one. Was that a whim fit for an Archangel, sent from heaven to earth on so important a commission ? Is not this rare trifling ? and among so many real birds of grand magnitude and fine feather, could none content you but a phœnix, a fictitious nothing, that has no being but in tale and fable ?"

" Of elements
The grosser feeds the purer, earth the sea,
Earth and the sea feed air ; the air those fires
Ethereal, and as lowest first the Moon :
Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd
Vapours not yet into her substance turn'd.
Nor doth the Moon no nourishment exhale
From her moist continent to higher orbs.
The Sun, that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompense
In humid exhalations ; and at ev'n
Sups with the Ocean." B. V. 415.

This, too, is rejected with the following note : " Our author should have taken great care what notions, what points of philosophy, he put into the mouth of an Archangel. Not to examine what he has said here, ' Know, that whatever was created,' even spirits immortal, ' needs to be sustained and fed.' This doctrine may pass in Heaven, where nectar and ambrosia are always in plenty ; but how will it do in Hell ? If the Devils want feeding, our author made poor provision for them in his Second Book, where they have nothing to eat but ' hell-fire,' and no danger ' of their dinner cooling.' To pass this over ; yet what he subjoins, from a catch in Anacreon, Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει, &c. paraphrased by Mr. Cowley, is not to be borne. Our air, our atmosphere, he says, ' feeds the Moon first,' as the lowest of planets. Thin diet for her truly, and thinner for those above her ; for before the highth of her orb, it is a million times thinner than on the top of the Andes, where no animal can breathe. But, ἐπὶ φακῇ μύρον, to mend the matter, he adds a fine observation on it : ' thence,' says he, ' those spots are seen in the Moon's visage, which are vapours unpurg'd, not yet turn'd into her substance.' I find she has a poor stomach, or a very slow digestion ; for her food, the very same spots, have stood upon her table untouched for thousands of years, ever since this Angel then spied them. Well, but though the

written *extempore*, and sent immediately to press. In the twelfth Book, he pretends that the supposed editor had taken fewer liberties with Milton than in any of the preceding, and had therefore spared him the trouble of noticing his enormities: but the reader perceives plainly enough the real fact, that it was not the want of topics, but the approach of the session of Parliament, which led him to pass the last Book almost untouched, and hurry the publication of his volume. It appears, however, that although impelled by a strange infatuation to fling away his credit in this ill-imagined and preposterous adventure, yet he was not blind to the almost certain consequences. His nephew, Richard, to whom was allotted the task of correcting the press, foresaw the result, and earnestly dissuaded the publication; but in vain [7]. In noticing the two last lines of the poem, and Addison's suggestion for their erasure, Bentley thus alludes to his own undertaking, and the Royal commands which had imposed it upon him:

"*If I might presume*," says an ingenious and celebrated writer, "*to offer at the smallest alteration in this divine work.*"—If to make one small alteration appeared to be so *presumptuous*, what censure must I expect to incur, who have presumed to make so many? But *jacta est alea;* and *non injussa cecini*:

Παρ' ἐμοίγε καὶ ἄλλοι
Οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

Moon in so many ages has eat so little herself, yet she has out of her moisture fed the higher stars, and the Sun too is fed by 'humid exhalations.' This is Anacreon exactly:

'The Sun himself, as one would guess
By his drunken fiery face no less,
Drinks up the sea; and when that's done,
The higher stars drink up the Sun.'

But, above all, thank our Editor for that, 'the Sun every evening sups with our Ocean:' no doubt of it; and, as the poets vouch, Thetis washes and rubs down his horses. But this Sun, methinks, is but a cannibal sort of guest, to swallow up his own host. I own, to see such stuff as this, delivered by an Archangel, raises my indignation:

Indignor, quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.

But I hold to that point, that Homer himself did not write this, but Chœrilus, his editor."

[7] This fact I learned from Mr. Bentley Warren, to whom it was communicated by Dr. R. Bentley himself.

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A similar defiance of the censures which he foresaw, is expressed in the concluding sentence of the preface:

"Who durst oppose the universal vogue, and risk his own character, while he laboured to exalt Milton's? I wonder rather, that it is done even now. Had these very notes been written forty years ago, it would then have been prudence to have suppressed them, for fear of injuring one's rising fortune. But now when seventy years *jamdudum memorem monuerunt*, and spoke loudly in my ears,

Mitte leves spes et certamina divitiarum;

I made the notes extempore, and put them to the press as soon as made, without any apprehension of growing leaner by censures, or plumper by commendations."

In this preface, while speaking of Milton's power of abstracting his mind from his own troubles, and, 'surrounded as he was with cares and fears, spatiating at large through the whole compass of the universe,' Bentley makes a palpable allusion to his own situation, and the calmness which he was able to maintain amid the ill-usage and persecutions with which he thought himself beset:

"This theory, no doubt, was a great solace to him in his affliction; but it shows in him a greater strength of spirit, that made him capable of such a solace. And it would almost seem to me to be peculiar to him, had not experience by others taught me, that there is that power in the human mind, supported with innocence and *conscia virtus*, that can make it quite shake off all outward uneasinesses, and involve itself secure and pleased in its own integrity and entertainment."

Appearance of the publication.

January, 1731-32.

The new Paradise Lost appeared in a handsome quarto volume just before the day on which the session of Parliament was opened [8]. The punctuation is more correct than in any former edition: and the text of Milton is given with no other alteration, except that the words which Bentley was pleased to condemn are printed in italics, and the many passages which he ordered to be struck out of the poem, are enclosed between brackets. No words can describe the feelings of the public at the amazing audacity of this attempt, in which the bad taste of the alterations was rendered more intolerable by the flippant arrogance of the commentary. The admirers of Milton found many of his most harmonious passages condemned as the productions of some silly,

[8] The book was printed for Jacob Tonson and other booksellers; who, it is said, gave the Doctor 100 guineas for the edition. If this be true, I apprehend it was a larger sum than he ever received for any other of his publications. The price of each copy was a guinea.

senseless blockhead, his learning treated with contempt, his poetical expressions taken to pieces, not without harsh abuse, and converted into some heavy prose; and, as if the critic's classical predilections were in abeyance for the time, the imitations of Greek and Latin poets, their phrases and idioms, with which Milton abounds, were generally proscribed in terms of banter and insult [9].

[9] Of this many instances might be given: in fact there is hardly a passage in Paradise Lost, where classical allusion, or any other description of learning, is employed, which Bentley does not propose to expunge as unworthy of the poet; and in so doing, certainly contrives to lop off many of the most beautiful parts of the poem. I will give but two instances, taken casually, and without selection. The first is his note upon B. IV. 323.

"Adam, the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve."

"I'll not believe this distich to be Milton's. We have had too much trial of his busy acquaintance, to be easily imposed on. The sense is entirely expressed in the lines preceding; and the diction is very vicious. Adam 'the goodliest of his sons,' Eve 'the fairest of her daughters.' Which, *in* strict *con*struction, implies him to be one of his sons, and her one of her daughters. Besides, *his* sons, *her* daughters; as if *his* sons were not her's too, and *her* daughters his. He might have avoided the fault of expression thus:

Adam a goodlier man than men since born
His sons, and fairer than her daughters Eve.

"But the whole is silly, superfluous, and spurious."

The second instance is from B. IX. 385.

"Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand
Soft she withdrew, and like a wood-nymph light
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves, but Delia's self
In gait surpass'd, and goddess-like deport,
Though not as she with bow and quiver arm'd,
But with such gard'ning tools as art yet rude,
Guiltless of fire, had form'd, or angels brought.
To Pales or Pomona thus adorn'd
Likeliest she seem'd, Pomona when she fled
Vertumnus, or to Ceres in her prime,
Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove."

"Here our editor thought he had a field before him, to implant what he pleased. He seldom intermeddles in speeches, wherein Milton chiefly excels; but when any thing of description will make way for him, he'll never fail to intrude his rubbish. We have had frequent accounts of Eve's beauty already; particularly viii. 59. when leaving Raphael and Adam she went to her groves; these most noble verses fully describe her charms:

With goddess-like demeanor forth she went,
Not unattended; for on her as queen

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The public disapprobation.

The combined effect of all the literary attacks upon our critic in the course of forty years had not inflicted so great an injury upon his credit, as was done by this one ill-fated production of his own; and he thus became an illustration of the truth of his own maxim, 'that no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself.' His notes on Milton excited either indignation or ridicule, according to the character or disposition of the reader. Scholars witnessed this exposure of their acknowledged chief, with shame and humiliation; while the unlearned English reader saw reason for despising the classical knowledge and

> A pomp of winning Graces waited still;
> And from about her shot darts of desire
> Into all eyes, to wish her still in sight.

Yet now, when only she leaves Adam to go to the groves, the Editor has a prolix attempt to describe her afresh, as if nothing had been said before; and yet he falls as much below the true Milton, in book viii. as a novice sign-dauber below a Titian, or a Raphael. Let us see what fine work he makes. Instead of something real, he empties all his common-place of mythology. She walked so light (a great commendation) as any wood-nymph, Oread or Dryad, or one of Diana's train; nay, she had a finer gait than Diana herself, though she had no bow and quiver: as if carrying a heavy quiver at her back made Diana walk the more gracefully. Aye, but he alters his mind; and now she's 'likeliest (he meant *likest*) to Pales or Pomona;' and yet not to Pomona always, but when she fled Vertumnus, who would have ravished her: Eve here had no such occasion to run away so fast. Aye, but she's like Ceres too: all these, even in fable, are unlike one another; and yet Eve is like them all. But she was like Ceres, when she was a maid, and in her prime,

> Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.

I find the Editor's goddesses, though immortal, have the decays of old age, grow past their prime, and then grey-haired and wrinkled. But what monster of a phrase is that, 'virgin of Proserpina,' virgin of her daughter? Any one else that was minded to speak human language, would have said,

> Like Ceres in her prime,
> Not mother yet of Proserpine by Jove.

But it is time to leave this animal; and to try if we can find any mangled limbs of our poet, scattered among this dozen of lines; *veluti disjecti membra poetæ*. These four, with some help of surgery, have the features of Milton:

> Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand
> Soft she withdrew, and hasten'd to the groves,
> Arm'd with such gard'ning tools, as art yet rude,
> Guiltless of fire, had form'd, or angels brought.

All the nymphs and goddesses, whether in their prime, or past it, we'll return to their right owner."

critical skill which he had so often heard extolled. In the meantime, his friends were silent; no tongue or pen ventured to oppose in the least degree the general voice of censure. Nor has public feeling been altered by time: the work has continued for nearly a hundred years to call forth, whenever it is named, expressions of condemnation and amazement.

Real merits of Bentley's Milton.

When opinion is unanimous upon any question, it is difficult to mention a word of exception or opposition: nevertheless, it is certain that Bentley's Milton contains many just and sensible remarks, and many acute pieces of criticism, for which the world allows him no credit. If any unprejudiced judge were to try the experiment of considering Bentley's remarks on Milton's text, divested of the absurd fiction of an interpolating editor, the flippant and unseemly language of his notes, and all his own proposed emendations, he would be surprised to find himself frequently compelled to acknowledge the justness of his strictures; and even when he dissented, he would recognize the ingenuity of the critic. Of all great poets with whom we are acquainted, Milton was, in his earlier days, most in the practice of correcting and polishing his verses[10]: and there can hardly be a doubt but that, if he had retained his eyesight, he would have altered many of the words and lines against which Bentley excepts. And had similar strictures been communicated to the blind poet, though he might have rejected with indignation the suggestion of omitting so many favourite passages, as well as the prosaic alterations of poetical expressions, yet he would probably have accepted many of the hints: he would have changed or omitted many flat and inharmonious verses, and removed those inconsistencies and improprieties which cannot be denied to be blemishes to his immortal work. Nay further: if Bentley's objections to the introduction of heathen mythology and northern superstitions into a poem which possesses a perfect machinery of its own, had but been expressed in decorous language, many of Milton's greatest admirers might have acquiesced in their justice; and joined with him in wishing that all those allusions, as well as the romances of

[10] This fact appears conspicuously in Milton's copy of Comus, and many of his earlier poems, which is preserved in Trinity library.

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the middle ages, and part of his astronomy, his geography, and scholastic learning, had found a place elsewhere, rather than in the divine poem of Paradise Lost.

Publications against it.

It naturally followed that Bentley's publication was attacked from every quarter, and particularly by the host of small writers, who swarmed at that day in unusual multitudes. The Grub Street Journal, and its contemporaries, continued for a long time to level severe and acrimonious abuse at this unhappy publication ; and the Gentleman's Magazine, which had recently begun its career, by extracting some of those critiques, has secured them a more permanent existence than they were entitled to expect. Of the sixpenny pamphlets which appeared in refutation or ridicule of this book, one called ' Milton Restored and Bentley Deposed,' gave the Poet's words and Bentley's alterations in opposite columns ; that every one might have an opportunity of joining in the outcry against the audacious critic. Another called ' A Friendly Letter to Dr. Bentley,' written in ironical language, contains a very witty exposure of some of the worst and most preposterous of the alterations. The title-page says it is by ' A Gentleman of Christ-Church ;' but I suspect it to have come from a College with which Bentley was better acquainted. His hapless performance soon became the butt of every laugher, and the scandal of every lover of poetry. I shall mention only two other works in which it is censured : ' Explanatory Notes and Remarks,' by the two Richardsons, the painters, father and son, of whom the elder is known as the friend and correspondent of Pope ; and ' A Review of the Text of Paradise Lost,' by Zachary Pearce. The last is a publication of considerable value, and, in my opinion, deserves a preference over all the commentaries upon Milton. Its author had long ago shown himself not afraid of an encounter with our great critic, on the subject of his proposed edition of the Greek Testament. Pearce was at this very time engaged in a sharp dispute with Conyers Middleton relative to ' His Letter to Dr. Waterland,' the first work in which he discovered a disposition to cavil at and undermine Religion. Being very conversant with Milton, and acquainted with the sources of his poetry, he printed his remarks while the public interest was drawn to that subject, and was thus

Pearce's Review.

engaged at the same moment in literary contests with those two great adversaries Bentley and Middleton. His 'Review of the Text of Paradise Lost' appeared in three separate parts: it must be noticed that although he condemns the present performance of the Doctor, he treats him with the respect due to his splendid talents and reputation, even while they were suffering under an eclipse; and the moderation of his tone forms a contrast to the language with which he was assailed from his other adversaries.

Bentley patronised by Lord Carteret.

Our literary veteran had now to encounter a more formidable ordeal than he had ever yet undergone; a contest in which both character and station were involved, before the supreme tribunal of the kingdom. He had several acquaintance among the Peers, whose support he solicited on this exigency. The person who took up his cause with the greatest decision and energy was Lord Carteret. That distinguished and eloquent statesman had, since he was last mentioned in this history, filled the station of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and the affair of Wood's Patent, and the resistance produced by the writings of Dean Swift, have made the six years of his government one of the most interesting periods in the annals of the sister island. I find no trace of his intimacy with Dr. Bentley before the last year or two; and it seems to have arisen from his Lordship's love of classical literature, and the pleasure which he took in the conversation of our veteran scholar[11]. The countenance afforded to him by Royalty itself was probably not unfelt on this occasion: but the Bench of Bishops seemed in general dissatisfied with the proceedings which had taken

[11] The peculiar attachment to Terence, which is found among persons educated at Westminster School, might probably be the means of cementing their acquaintance. The following anecdote is told by Kippis, in the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 280.

"Dr. Bentley, when he came to town, was accustomed, in his visits to Lord Carteret, sometimes to spend the evenings with his Lordship. One day old Lady Granville reproached her son with keeping the country clergyman, who was with him the night before, till he was intoxicated. Lord Carteret denied the charge; upon which the lady replied, that the clergyman could not have sung in so ridiculous a manner, unless he had been in liquor. The truth of the case was, that the singing thus mistaken by her Ladyship, was Dr. Bentley's endeavour to instruct and entertain his noble friend, by reciting Terence according to the true *cantilena* of the ancients."

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place, and wished the cause to be decided, not upon the ground of some legal nicety, but upon its substantial merits.

Although the session was opened on the 13th of January, it was not till after Easter that their Lordships could find leisure to hear this question. As it was a Writ of Error to set aside the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, the situation of the parties was reversed: Bishop Greene was now plaintiff, and Dr. Bentley defendant: the former was represented by Mr. Fazakerley and Mr. Harper as his counsel, the latter by Sir Philip Yorke, Mr. Reeve, and Mr. Greaves. The last gentleman proved, although a junior counsel, the Doctor's most useful and efficient advocate, both before the King's Bench and the House of Lords: being not only the advocate, but the intimate and confidental friend of his client, he entered into all his feelings and gave effect to all his views.

Colbatch's tract on the Visitatorial power.

Before the case was argued in the House, Dr. Colbatch put forth an able pamphlet, called 'A Defence of the Lord Bishop of Ely's Visitatorial Jurisdiction over Trinity College in general, and over the Master thereof in particular.' This was an enlarged and improved draught of his former tract upon the same subject: its arguments are clear, well arranged, and almost irresistible. The author, being taught by sad experience, took care not to allude to the august tribunal, at whose bar the question was now to be discussed.

Mr. Porter Thompson.

It may appear surprising that Dr. Bentley should at this crisis have again gone into the Court of King's Bench: such, however, was the fact. Mr. Porter Thomson, a gentleman residing in Trinity College as Master of Arts, had some quarrel with Dr. Hacket, a personage who never let slip his interest with the Master. In consequence, as it was believed, of this feud, Bentley with the assistance of Craister, the

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senior-dean, banished Thompson from the College. He, resenting this usage, entered into the party of the malcontents, and appealed to the Bishop of Ely, as Visitor, for redress; alleging that 'he had been expelled without having any thing objected to him, and without even

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a summons.' That prelate, conceiving himself to have been pronounced General Visitor by the Court of King's Bench, felt it his duty to summon the Master and Dr. Craister to appear before him on

February 1, to answer the appeal, under the penalties of contempt. Bentley chose to treat the citation with neglect, and applied to Westminster Hall for a rule to prohibit the Bishop from inflicting the threatened penalties. The Court granted a rule for his Lordship to show cause: but before the matter was ripe for an argument, the events in the House of Peers were thought to have rendered further proceedings in this small affair unnecessary [12].

The case between Bishop Greene and Dr. Bentley argued in the House of Lords.

It was not until Bishop Greene had himself petitioned their Lordships to take the appeal into their consideration, that a day was fixed for the hearing; and the Judges were ordered to attend the House each time that it was discussed, to assist, if necessary, with their advice. The heads of the arguments of the plaintiff and defendant were printed in a concise form, for the consideration of the Peers; those of the latter containing the articles of accusation against the Master, as well as parts of the statutes upon which they were grounded. The interest attached to this cause, and the personage whose fortunes were at stake, produced full houses on almost every day that it was argued. On the 6th of May it was heard for the first time: the counsel for Bishop Greene, the plaintiff in error, argued that the supposed incorrectness in the words of the original citation, which was the sole ground of the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, was neither a reasonable nor legal cause for continuing the prohibition, and refusing all justice to the complainants. They maintained, first, that the words '*specially authorized and appointed* by the 40th of Queen Elizabeth's statutes,' were not incorrect; since the Bishop, though constituted Visitor by the former statutes, was then going to proceed upon the

[12] Porter Thompson had been a fellow-commoner of Trinity, admitted in 1725. He became M. A. at the Royal visit in 1728. The only account that I can give of this probably insignificant affair, is the following notice, from the MSS. of Will. Cole, who, when speaking of the village of Trumpington, and his friend Dr. Barnwell, who succeeded Hacket, and built the vicarage-house, says: "Dr. Hacket quitted this vicarage on a quarrel between him and Mr. Porter Thompson, whom he got Dr. Bentley to expel from Trinity College, where he was Fellow Commoner, upon an idle, frivolous affair; and Mr. Thompson, in return, insisted on his residence here; which, not suiting Dr. Hacket, he resigned it." I cannot even discover the alleged cause of his expulsion; for the feud being afterwards made up, Bentley erased the entry of his sentence in the Conclusion-book so completely, that it is hardly possible to decipher a word of it.

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latter enactment. Secondly, 'that had the citation been defective, Dr. Bentley's appearing upon it, as he did, at the time and place appointed, would have cured the mistake.' Thirdly, that Visitors, not being tied up to any particular form of proceeding, ought not to be prohibited for informality, but only for want of jurisdiction: in this case, it was admitted that the Bishop possessed the jurisdiction, and only objected that he had given a wrong description of his authority. When the plaintiff's case had been gone through, the House adjourned, it being Saturday, and fixed the following Monday for hearing the other

May 8.

party. On that day Dr. Bentley's counsel spoke in answer to the arguments of their opponents, relying principally upon the topics which had been supplied to them by the Chief Justice himself, in his speech on delivering the opinion of the whole Court. One of the Bishop's counsel replied: after which they were all ordered to withdraw, and it was moved, that the judgment of the Court of King's Bench should be

Bishop Sherlock speaks against the Master.

reversed, and the prohibition taken off. A debate ensued, in which the most prominent speaker was Bentley's old opponent, Sherlock, who then occupied the see of Bangor. This distinguished prelate had already displayed his senatorian talents in the discussion on the Pension Bill, and other occasions; he now reasoned against the Master of Trinity with a power of argument which bore down the efforts of his supporters. The speeches have not been reported, and the journals of the House contain nothing but minutes of the proceedings. I can, therefore, only glean occasional hints of the debates, and notices of the divisions, from loose memoranda of persons present; but it seems that Bentley's prosecutors attributed much of the unexpected success of this

The Lords reverse the judgment of the Court of King's Bench.

day to the arguments of Bishop Sherlock. Upon a division being called for, the judgment of the Court of King's Bench was reversed, by a majority of twenty-eight Peers against sixteen.

Another debate then took place upon the method of proceeding; the result was, that the counsel were called in, informed by the Lord Chancellor of the decision of the House, and asked whether they had any thing to offer. Those of the plaintiff prayed in general, 'that a Consultation might be granted,' that is, that the cognizance of the articles might be remitted to the Bishop of Ely. One of the defend-

ant's lawyers, probably Greaves, suggested that their Lordships should examine each article of the accusation, compare it with the statutes, and give directions thereupon. After further argument at the bar, the House agreed to this suggestion, probably not being aware of the magnitude of the task which they imposed upon themselves: the effect was, that a postponement of the trial for another year became inevitable. The Peers adjourned the further proceeding in this cause to that day se'nnight: another long argument then took place at the bar upon the mode of proceeding; and their Lordships agreed, after further debate, that every article should be argued separately. The Bishop's counsel then prayed that a consultation might be granted upon the sixth article, that which accused the Master with constantly and habitually absenting himself from divine service in the chapel; this being a charge which the House considered very flagrant. In the arguments at the bar, the extent of the Bishop's jurisdiction having been questioned, the Judges were directed to give the House their opinion upon that point. After learning from those authorities that the Master's habitual absence from chapel was a violation of Queen Elizabeth's statutes, and therefore cognizable by the Bishop, another debate ensued: in conclusion, it being moved that a prohibition should issue against inquiring into this article, the House divided, and a majority decided in the negative: a consultation was then granted. On the morrow the subject was resumed, when the seventh article underwent a similar discussion: this related to the negligence of the Vice-masters, and was really aimed at Baker. The Peers determined that no accusation should be submitted to the judge, which would not, if proved, be a sufficient ground for the Master's expulsion; they therefore prohibited this article: and thus ended the business of the day. The prosecutors now found a double inconvenience from the multiplicity of articles: many of them being insignificant in comparison with those on which the real stress was laid, they raised a prejudice against their cause, and at the same time gave their opponents fresh means of increasing the duration and expense of the suit. As the method was to hear three counsel upon each head of accusation, and then debate the question in the House, one charge was as much as could be

The articles discussed separately.

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disposed of at a sitting. Accordingly, on the next day Bishop Greene's counsel acquainted the House, that in order to take up as little of their Lordships' time as possible, they were willing to waive proceeding on several of the articles. But the defendant's counsel declined this forbearance: and, after an argument, the Peers resolved that the plaintiff must proceed, article by article. The lawyers were then heard upon the eighth and ninth articles, the latter depending on the former, and accusing the Master of suffering the chaplains of the College to be non-resident: and upon these, the House ordered the prohibition to stand.

The case adjourned to another session.

As they were now within a fortnight of the end of the session, and much public business, particularly the bills relating to the frauds on the Charitable Corporation, were still pending, their Lordships found that the affairs of Trinity College must be postponed; and therefore adjourned proceedings in this cause till Tuesday, in the second week of the ensuing session [13].

The reversal of the judgment of the King's Bench, was a matter of great triumph to all Bentley's adversaries; though the matter was so managed, that the wished-for result was postponed and rendered doubtful. The success which had been obtained was attributed to the courage, and perseverance of Dr. Colbatch, by whom the whole proceeding had been directed, and all the arguments supplied to the counsel [14].

[13] Parliament was prorogued this year on the first of June, as the King was setting out to visit his German dominions.

[14] The following letter is a specimen of the manner in which the news of Colbatch's success was received by Bentley's enemies at Cambridge. The writer I presume to have been Mr. John Perkins, a Fellow of St. John's College:

"Dear Sir, *May* 13.

"I am obliged to you for the favour of yours, and am glad that our friends served you so effectually. Give me leave to rejoice with you, and to congratulate you upon your success. All admire your courage now, and applaud your victory, who have overcome an enemy so obstinate, so powerful, and so well-skilled in all evasive arts and stratagems. You are the common toast of the place, and it is surprising to see how the scene is altered; they who before had not virtue enough to declare against the vices of the man, are now the most zealous against him, and wish and long for justice. It is a pity that the Bishop of Bangor's speech and arguings are not taken down in writing. Pray be pleased to remember who of Sir J. Cotton's friends attended. I have spent the afternoon with the Master of Jesus, who desires his service to you, and is well pleased; he says, you fought to such a disadvantage that he began to despair. I beg you will be so good as to let me have the favour of seeing you at your return to College.

"I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate and faithful servant, "J. Perkins."

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As soon as the parliamentary proceedings ceased for the year, the Master, who knew that much remained to be contested, before a final victory could be gained over him, resumed his studies, and commenced an edition of Homer; a work which he had meditated for a few years past, and which every scholar was anxious that he should accomplish. By taking it in hand at this crisis, he supplied one more evidence of the truth of what his enemies alleged; that whenever he was in legal peril, his practice was to interest the public in his favour by some literary undertaking. Lord Carteret, who had fought his battle in the House of Peers, now encouraged and urged this design, and endeavoured to hold him pledged to its completion, by borrowing for his use all the manuscripts and other assistance which his interest and connections could procure. Our account, however, of this projected edition must be deferred, till we have described the issue of the proceedings which were pending in Parliament against the editor.

Bentley commences an edition of Homer.

1733. The House prohibits some and confirms other articles.

In the month of January the House of Lords resumed the consideration of the articles; they entered, day after day, into all the minute details of academical discipline and studies, interpreted the statutes, and took upon themselves the various functions of a College Seniority. Nor do the noble senators appear to have disliked the employment; for instead of the matter being heard, as appeal cases generally are, by two or three unwilling auditors, the Journals show that there was a large attendance of Peers on every day that the affairs of Trinity College were discussed, even when there was no other business before the House. Upon the first day, their Lordships took into consideration the four articles, Nos. 10, 11, 12 and 13, all which related to the Master's refusing to appoint lecturers on the Catechism; and the majority determined to send Dr. Bentley to his trial upon this charge. On the morrow the fourteenth article was heard, which charged him with not allowing the vacancies in the College-preacherships to be filled up. It occupied the House the whole day; but the majority held that the preacherships were useless, and that his refusal to elect was no offence; upon this charge, therefore, the prohibition continued. They prohibited also the two next articles, which accused the Master of not giving away vacant livings till more than five months had passed: the

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Jan. 25.

Jan. 26.

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statutes, to be sure, are precise and peremptory in ordering that the presentation shall be given in one month; but it was held that this was inconvenient to Fellows, who might visit them to view their condition; when, by reason of distance and bad roads, the appointed time might be exceeded. The prosecutors then begged leave to waive the seventeenth and eighteenth articles, which accused the Master of not hearing the probationary sermons of the College preachers: this indulgence was conceded. But upon the two next, relating to the disputations in chapel, a sharp debate ensued: the Bishop of London, Gibson, maintained that the subject was one of very great importance; that the power of reasoning, and knowledge of theology, obtained by the disputants were essential acquirements; and that if the House thought lightly of them, an important exercise would be discouraged. Lord Carteret, in reply, spoke with some respect of the religious exercises, but ridiculed those upon philosophy, as grounded upon the Physics of Aristotle. As for the articles themselves, he termed them 'the distempered frenzies of cloistered zealots;' said that a late Bishop of Ely (meaning Fleetwood) 'would have scorned to accept of such; and that no man of tolerable sense or learning could with a grave face expel a Master upon this charge; nor even admonish him, without the censure of dullness and incapacity, and the amazement of mankind.' Bishop Willis, of Winchester, spoke nearly to the same effect as his brother of London. Bishop Reynolds, of Lincoln, agreed with his Reverend brethren in considering it a subject of moment; but as this alleged neglect did not seem to him a sufficient ground for expulsion, he thought it better to vote for a prohibition. Lord Ilay doubted whether the disputations in question did not do more harm than good, and instanced the practice of the Jesuits in other countries, who adhered to the old jargon of the schools. Upon a division, the prohibition was carried by fourteen against twelve. It was then determined, by a majority of one, to sit on the following day, Saturday, contrary to ordinary practice, in order to get forward with this interesting cause. The prosecutors waived the four next articles, of which the two first concerned the lecturers of the College, and the two last that abuse of the porter's office, which has been noticed in a former chapter. The House then debated the

Debate upon College exercises.

Jan. 27.

twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, which charged Bentley with violation of statute in transacting the College business at a board of eight Fellows, some of whom were neither Seniors, nor deputed by Seniors: here their Lordships interpreted in favour of the Doctor; but, on the same day, they came to an opposite conclusion upon the four next articles, which regarded the affixing the College seal at meetings where less than sixteen Fellows were assembled: for this they sent him to his trial; and it cannot be denied that the opposite manner of deciding those two cases showed some discrimination. The four following articles, upon the elections to scholarships and fellowships, one of them regarding Bentley's son, were withdrawn; but a contest took place on the thirty-fifth, which charged him with not visiting the College estates; and again, on the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh, relating to the lease of Massam House to his brother; a matter which had been the source of as much odium as any transaction of his life: but both charges were prohibited by the Peers. It was now evident that the cause was proceeding with accelerated velocity; twenty articles had been disposed of in three days; but at the next sitting Bentley's friends proposed that the mode of proceeding should be altered, and that his counsel should speak first upon each article, in order to have the advantage of the reply. Had this suggestion been adopted, it is probable that the case would not have been got through the House in that session. The Lords, however, chose to persevere in the method prescribed, and proceeded to try the merits of the four articles regarding the alienation of a small piece of land in the North, as long ago as the year 1713; and in conclusion they confirmed them; but all those relating to the evasion of the Corn Act were prohibited. Their Lordships advanced with exemplary diligence through the remainder of the charges, and confirmed those respecting the granary and other buildings on the Master's premises, the country-house at Over, the alleged extravagance in the household consumption of the lodge, and the bargain with Serjeant Miller. The decision of the last question proved how different an impression it had made on their Lordships' minds from any of the others. In general the divisions had been nearly equal; this last article was confirmed without a dissentient voice.

Jan. 29.

Jan. 31.

Feb. 1.

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The two last days of the discussion were occupied in settling the question of costs, which were claimed by Dr. Bentley. Their Lordships having ordered the attendance of the Judges, proposed to them a feigned case, the answer to which was to guide their decision on this subject. They supposed a case of appeal from the Common Pleas to the King's Bench, in which the judgment of the lower court was in part reversed and in part confirmed by the higher; and inquired whether the costs would be reduced or stand undiminished. The Judges finding this a nice and difficult point, which required deliberation and research, a week was given them for consideration. The result of their opinion was in favour of giving to Dr. Bentley moderated costs. It was then moved, that Bishop Greene should pay him fifty pounds on this account; but the Doctor's friends considering that sum too small for an appeal of such length, resisted and negatived the motion: whereupon it was voted, that the Bishop, as plaintiff in error, should pay the defendant one hundred pounds as costs, and final judgment was pronounced, giving him permission to try the Master of Trinity upon twenty of the sixty-four articles.

Feb. 8.

Feb. 15.

As the charges which were admitted comprehended most of the serious imputations against Bentley, the final result was not likely to be affected by the obstinate struggle which he had made in detail before the House of Lords. He had, in reality, gained nothing but delay; and this was purchased by a sum little less than 1000*l.*, paid from the College chest, as the defendant's expenses in the parliamentary proceedings. There were still, however, so many difficulties in the way, that a compromise was suggested to the prosecutors, as the most expedient method for the restoration of Trinity College; and it was thought that the Master, being now in extreme peril, would consent to certain conditions, of which the principal was, an immediate settlement of the society by the Bishop as General Visitor. This was recommended by Mr. Say, the confidential secretary at Ely House: but I find no mention of an overture for accommodation from either party; nor did such a scheme suit the character either of Bentley or of Colbatch.

The prosecutors, impatient as they were to bring to a close this long protracted affair, found another and unlooked-for source of delay. The

'writ of consultation,' decreed by the Peers on the 15th of February, was not sent to the Bishop of Ely till the 31st of May, although no pains were spared in urging the Lord Chancellor to execute the order of the House. This extraordinary delay was attributed by the aggrieved party to that nobleman's partiality towards Dr. Bentley: a suspicion to which no credit ought to be given [15]. Whatever was the cause of this dilatory proceeding, the effect was, that the business was driven off for another twelvemonth. Bishop Greene had engaged the assistance of Dr. Audley and Dr. Cotterell, as his assessors in the approaching trial: the avocations of these gentlemen compelled them to leave town at the end of June; and one month was too short a period to bring to a close this important suit. In the meantime both the Bishop and Dr. Colbatch were in a doubtful state of health; and the death of either would probably have quashed the whole proceedings.

Commencement of Bentley's second trial at Ely House.

The moment that the writ was obtained, Bishop Greene issued his citation to the party: and the first court was held at Ely House, on the 13th of June. Here Dr. Bentley in his seventy-second year had to undergo a second public trial upon charges which seriously affected his character. He did not think fit to obey the summons in person: but

[15] The following letter from Mr. Say to Mr. Johnson, expresses the sentiments of Ely House at this treatment:

"Dear Sir, *May* 12, 1733.

"I received yours of the last post, and will take care to acquaint my Lord with it, as soon as he is fit for business: at present he is very ill, and I think, as I have all along thought, in a dangerous way.

"Lord Chancellor, though he had the judgment ten days before the end of the term, has not yet finished it; though no pains have been wanting on the part of my Lord to press him to despatch. But that you can account for . . . . . No remedy, therefore, but that we must stay till next term for the consultation; and who knows, as that will be a very short term, but some way or other will be found out to baffle us till the vacation?

"These are hardships, but such as you and we have been used to.

I am, dear Sir, yours,

FRA. SAY."

I know not whether this seeming denial of justice might be partly attributed to the peculiar state of the Court of King's Bench this year. I observe that Lord Raymond died in March, and that for seven months, there was no Chief Justice; his successor, Sir Philip Yorke, not being appointed till October. Mr. Justice Page presided in the Court during the interval, and executed the functions of the Chief.

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June 13.

Mr. Greenly, his proctor, answered the articles, in his name, with a negative plea. The Bishop then laid down the method which he had resolved to follow. All the evidence was to be in writing: but full notice of every witness brought forward by each party was to be given to their opponents, for the purpose of cross-examination: and he determined to hear only two counsel, one common and one civil lawyer, on each side, respecting the several articles. The counsel of the promoter in vain petitioned his Lordship to admit oral as well as written testimony.

His defensive plea.

Ten days afterwards the Master gave in his 'Defensive Plea.' As this piece is on every account curious, it will be given at large in the Appendix. It exhibits the strong, clear, and peculiar style of the author, invested with the technicalities of the civilian, who reduced it into the form of a legal document. Our readers being already in possession of the plain unvarnished facts, will not always be satisfied with the defence; but they cannot fail to remark the ingenuity with which many of the charges are evaded, and a new light thrown upon the transactions. At all events, it is important to those who would form an estimate of this extraordinary man, to see his own account of those parts of his conduct upon which his moral character was peculiarly called in question.

To this plea, Johnson the promoter replied: and the depositions of the different witnesses began immediately to be taken. As the majority of them were absent from London, the Bishop gave commissions to various persons to receive depositions. Of these commissioners the principal was Mr. Edmund Law, a Fellow of Christ College, who became in the fulness of time a distinguished member of the episcopal Bench.

Ord and Clarke's petition to the King.

An attempt was just now made, as it was thought, at Bentley's instigation, to divert the public attention, which was fixed with intense interest upon this trial, and to induce the Crown to interfere in the affairs of Trinity College. Mr. Ord and Mr. Clarke, two Junior Fellows, whose profession was the bar, presented a petition to the King in Council, praying that he would increase the number of Lay-fellowships; or, in other words, would permit more than the two specified in

the statutes to remain Fellows after the appointed period, without taking Orders. The petition was sent to the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion. A day being appointed for the hearing, Dr. Bentley's prosecutors deemed it right to oppose the progress of an affair calculated to delay and obstruct the present trial. After Mr. Wynne, the counsel for the promoter, had spoken, the Attorney and Solicitor-General determined that the matter and circumstances were such, that they could not advise the King to take any proceedings upon the petition.

July 19.

Evidence for the prosecution and defence.

The evidence of the witnesses for the prosecution and defence, as well as the cross-examinations of each were taken at great length. It happens that the depositions have been preserved, and have enabled me to give a distinct and impartial statement of the various transactions to which they relate; besides supplying much incidental information relative to Dr. Bentley's life, which would otherwise have been lost. Of the Fellows of Trinity, the witnesses for the prosecution were Colbatch, E. Smith, Vernon, Parne, Ingram, and Mason, with the late Fellows, Pilgrim, Malled and Fleming: the defendant produced the evidence of Walker, Taylor, Whitehall, Holme, Webb, Allen, and J. Wilson; along with that of Baker, the late Vice-master, who had recently quitted his fellowship. Many other members of the College were brought to prove the Master's almost constant neglect of chapel; and various workmen and College servants were examined upon the charges relating to the buildings and expenditure. The Doctor's defence relied principally upon the testimony of Dr. Baker, Dr. Walker, and Porter, the College butler; the whole of which was given in a studied form, to bear out the positions of his 'Defensive Plea.' As these had been his principal agents, the cross-examination which they had to undergo was of an embarrassing nature. The witnesses for the prosecution were closely questioned about the contributions of themselves and others towards carrying on the cause: the Seniors avowed without hesitation the sums which they had themselves subscribed; but were silent as to their knowledge of the assistance received from others. Colbatch and Smith refused to answer all such interrogatories, submitting that they were immaterial to the case.

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The twenty articles upon which the House of Lords suffered Dr. Bentley to be arraigned, comprised only eight distinct heads of accusation. 1. His habitual absence from chapel. 2. The non-appointment of lecturers on the Catechism. 3. Using the College seal at meetings which did not consist of the statutable number of sixteen. 4. The sale of a piece of land belonging to the College at Kirby Kendal. 5. Extravagance in building upon the Master's premises. 6. Erecting for himself a country-house at Over. 7. The wasteful expenditure in his household. 8. The bargain with Serjeant Miller. Two of these charges, the third and fourth, appear by the evidence to have been frivolous, and failed to attach any stigma upon the accused: the mode of transacting College business with the senior Fellows upon the spot was the same as had been practised by all Bentley's predecessors: the want of a deputation was only the omission of a form, the observance of which must have been attended with great inconvenience. The transaction respecting the land might have been irregular, but did not involve even a suspicion of bad or corrupt motives. But upon no other of the accusations was the Master able to clear himself. The three which bore heaviest upon him, the first, sixth, and eighth, were distinctly proved, and nothing was established in his defence by which they were rebutted, or even palliated. His general neglect of chapel, after the few first years of his mastership, was established by a cloud of witnesses; and the evidence of his physician, Dr. Wallis, and his intimates, Dr. Baker, Dr. Walker, and Professor Taylor, respecting his liability to catch cold, referred to a period much subsequent to that at which his neglect had commenced. An attempt had been made to cloke the affair of the country-house, which he had built at so great an expense. After the commencement of the prosecution, Bentley gave up all thoughts of ever occupying it, and the College estate at Over, the lease of which had expired, was demised to a different lessee for twenty years: this lease included the new-built mansion, which became the farm-house, but for which no additional consideration was paid: in fact, it was proved by distinct testimony, that this house was less eligible for the occupation of a farmer than the old one, which had been pulled down. It was also proved by the estimates of Newling

the carpenter, and Kettle the bricklayer, that they could have put the old house into a state of repair for little more than 100*l.*; and even that charge ought to have fallen upon the former lessee: consequently, the total expense of the new building had been a wanton waste of the College money. The agreement with Miller, and the payment of large sums of money to him and the Master, as expenses of the prosecution before Bishop Moore, were proved by mere reference to the College registers. Bentley's defence has been already mentioned in describing this transaction, (p. 403.) It was asserted to have taken place in compliance with the desire of thirty-three Fellows, (of whom the promoter, Johnson, was one); and Baker declared that the whole business had originated with himself. This assertion, had it been true, would not have justified the expenditure of College money to the amount of a thousand pounds, particularly as the effect which it tended to produce was the very opposite of tranquillity: but the fact is, that a mere reference to the dates overturned at once all the validity of this pretence.

Respecting the other charges, it is unnecessary to repeat the account already given of the real merits of each. The chief particulars in which the Master's conduct is to be condemned, is his arbitrary and autocratic style of effecting every object; his disregard of all statutes, rules, or customs, which stood in the way of his sovereign pleasure; with a general recklessness of consequences, and contempt of opposition. In regard to his buildings in the College, (with the exception of the granary, which involved a charge of a different kind), it did not appear that they were either unnecessary or extravagant; but it was proved that they were all undertaken without the sanction of that body to whom the foundation has entrusted the government and revenues of the Society. Respecting the alleged waste of all household articles with which Trinity Lodge was supplied at the public charge, the Master's defence was ingenious: it was not denied that a greater consumption of such articles had taken place in Dr. Bentley's time than under any of his predecessors; but it was shown, by a detailed calculation, that the average emoluments of his mastership, when compared with those of a fellowship, had not exceeded, or even equalled, the proportion which the foundation allotted to the Head. This argument, had it not

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been over-stated, and pressed too far, would have been a powerful reply to his accusers; though it could not justify the waste which was incontestibly proved to have taken place in some parts of his establishment[16].

Expense of the defence.

There was another article of expenditure, which, although it formed no part of the present accusation against Dr. Bentley, was in fact more burthensome to the College, and more destitute of colour or excuse, than any of the extravagances for which he was arraigned. I mean the expense of all his law proceedings since August 1728. Under pretence of the whole being a defence of the King's visitatorial jurisdiction, all the complicated proceedings before the Privy Council, the King's Bench, the House of Lords, and the Bishop of Ely, the greater part of which had no bearing on that question, were paid for from the common stock. Nor was this all: his own personal expenses, and those of his witnesses, were defrayed with lavish profusion from the same source. It appears by the bursar's books, that in 1733 the costs amounted to about 700*l.* and as much more in the following year. Such a continued drain was more than the revenues of the Society could support, and the result was a considerable debt and embarrassment.

1734.

After all the witnesses' depositions had been taken, the articles of accusation were separately discussed at many successive hearings, before the Bishop and his assessors. The trial being concluded, before sentence was pronounced a long demur took place: and a report

[16] In the mode of instituting the comparison, there was a fallacy so palpable, that it is extraordinary that Bentley should have committed himself to propound it. In estimating the emoluments of the mastership, he took the average of all the years since his appointment; while in reckoning the value of the fellowship, he supposed the fellow to be resident in commons the whole of the year, and to be in enjoyment of the largest advantages that the fellowship had ever reached. These premises being unfair, the result of the calculation was of course fallacious. Besides, he omitted to include, what ought to have formed a part of such a computation, some allowance for the furniture and internal decoration of the lodge.

The expense of coals for the lodge had in some years exceeded 100*l.* And it was much complained, that in addition to the large quantities of beer and ale supplied to the Master's family, those articles were sometimes sent for to the butteries, and then charged 'to the College head.' On these occasions, the only security against the imposition of servants was, that Madam Bentley used to send her snuff-box along with the order, as a token. But for any good purpose, she needed not have parted with her snuff-box: since it could not tell whether she wanted a large or small quantity, that point was left to the veracity of the messenger.

transpired, that a difference of opinion prevailed between the Bishop and one or both of his assessors. At length a sitting of the Court was announced for the 27th of April, to deliver a final judgment on this long-protracted cause. The Hall being full of anxious auditors, Bishop Greene appeared without his assessors; the result being anticipated, Dr. Andrews, as counsel for the Master, immediately rose, and begged that his Lordship would defer giving sentence till his assessors could be present, and deliver their opinions. This the Bishop peremptorily refused; but being asked whether they were consenting to his judgment, replied in the affirmative. He then declared in terms of great solemnity that Dr. Bentley was proved guilty both of dilapidating the goods of his College, and violating its statutes, and had thereby incurred the penalty of deprivation appointed by those statutes: accordingly, he pronounced him to be deprived of the mastership of Trinity College.

April 27. Dr. Bentley sentenced to be deprived of his mastership.

This sentence was by no means unexpected: but the mystery which regards the opinion of the Bishop's assessors I am not able to clear up. Immediately after judgment was pronounced, Kenn, an agent of Bentley's was sent to question Dr. Cotterell upon this subject. His report of the interview is the only account we possess of this affair; and being only an *ex parte* statement made for a particular purpose, and being likewise inconsistent with the Bishop's declaration and with itself, it does not claim much consideration. Kenn says, that Cotterell first told him, he would not reveal in private his opinion upon a subject on which he had been judicially consulted; but that he went on to say, that he considered Dr. Bentley to have been proved guilty upon only two of the charges, his neglect of chapel, and his bargain with Serjeant Miller; and that even these were not proved as they were laid; that, consequently, he thought he ought to have been acquitted; adding, that he believed Dr. Audley's opinion to be the same as his own [17].

Reported dissent of the Bishop's assessors.

[17] The following is the communication itself made by Kenn to Dr. Hacket, the Vice-master:

"Sir, *April* 27, 1734.

"As you know the Bishop came into Court without his assessors, and was rising up to pronounce judgment, Dr. Andrews thought fit to make the following motions, to which you

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The supposed dissent of Bishop Greene's assessors does not appear ever to have been publicly alleged: but it was an opinion received and circulated among Dr. Bentley's friends. A statement written by Professor Lort, mentions the report, adding that the Bishop was believed to have made up his mind that justice must take its course, in consequence of the Master's declaration, at the last fellowship-election, when he pre-elected three persons, that if he gained his

have the Bishop's answers in his own words, as taken down my me in short hand, and agreed by the gentlemen present to be so. viz.

" Dr. Andrews. 'Your Lordship hath had the assistance of two learned gentlemen of great judgment and integrity; who have taken great pains, and, I believe, were very exact in their notes; and it will be to the satisfaction of every body to hear their opinion before your Lordship gives your judgment, and therefore I submit it to your Lordship, whether you will not defer giving it till they are present.'

" Bishop. 'No, I sha'nt.'

" Dr. Andrews. 'Then, my Lord, I am desirous to know if they are consenting.'

" Bishop. 'They are consenting and desirous of it.'

" And as it was apprehended by most of the persons then present, who were numerous, that the Bishop meant his assessors were consenting to his judgment, it was thought proper by Dr. Andrews and Mr. Greaves, that I should wait upon Dr. Audley and Dr. Cotterel, the two assessors; which, accordingly, I did, and saw Dr. Cotterel, but Dr. Audley was just gone out of town. To Dr. Cotterel I show'd an exact copy of what is before wrote; upon reading of which, he declared that he never had, nor never would give his opinion in private in a case where he was to assist in judgment, especially in a matter of so great consequence, and that he was willing and ready to have attended this day, to have given his reasons in public, for his opinion, which was so far from agreeing with, or any ways consenting to the judgment pronounced by the Bishop, that he had not the least doubt as to any of the articles against Dr. Bentley, except that relating to his absenting himself from Chapel, and that relating to Serjeant Miller, and in regard to them, they were not proved as laid, and therefore as he should always think his honour and conscience concerned whenever he was to declare his opinion to lead the mind of another man to the judgment he was to give, he must have declared that Dr. Bentley ought to have been acquitted, as to them as well as to others. He further said that he never had talked with Dr. Audley in relation to this matter, till after the Bishop had been with them both separately, which was on Thursday last, and since that he had had some conversation with him about his opinion, and might venture to say that Dr. Audley was of the same opinion with him, and that he believed they would have differed very little in their reasons, if they had had an opportunity of offering them, and that he should be very sorry that the world should run away with a notion of his being consenting to the Bishop's sentence.

" This, Sir, I send to you to communicate to Dr. Bentley, or to whom you shall see occasion.

I am, Sir, your most faithful and humble servant,

L. Kenn."

cause he would make vacancies for them, by expelling as many of his prosecutors [18].

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Bentley resists the execution of the sentence.

Our readers who have felt surprise at the skill and address shewn by Dr. Bentley, in eluding a visitation for the last six years, will be still more astonished when they find him retaining his place in defiance of a final sentence of expulsion, emanating from a judge who was specially sanctioned and authorized by the highest tribunal in the empire. He had long formed a resolution, in case of his conviction by the Visitor, to take his stand behind the last entrenchment, and resist the execution of the sentence. His ground consisted in the following words of the 40th statute: supposing a Master to have been convicted before the Bishop of Ely of any of the greater crimes there specified, it is directed *sine mora per eundem Vice-Magistrum officio Magistri privetur.* The execution being thus left to the Vice-master, Bentley perceived, that if the King, and not the Bishop, were presumed to be General Visitor, the Vice-master owed no allegiance to the latter, or, at least, could not be punished by him for disobedience. Should he, therefore, induce a Vice-master to refuse or neglect to obey the injunction, there existed no power to compel him to perform that duty: and by this means the Bishop's jurisdiction, which had been asserted with so much effort and difficulty, might be set at nought. The scheme was indeed so beset with hazard, that scarcely any one except Bentley would have seriously entertained it: it might be difficult to induce any Vice-master to stand in the breach, and expose himself to the penalties of contumacy, in order to preserve his principal: or the Court of King's Bench might decide the matter by a mandamus. The Doctor had the precaution to take Mr. Reeve's opinion upon the latter point, immediately after the House of Lords had taken off the prohibition, and allowed the Bishop to exercise his jurisdiction. Mr. Reeve replied, that taking for granted that the King was Visitor, he much doubted whether the Court would grant a mandamus, and was not aware of any precedent for such an interference.

Baker had quitted his fellowship a year before, in consequence of

[18] From a manuscript book of Professor Lort, in Gough's Collection, now in the Bodleian library.

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taking the College living of Dickleborough [19]: Walker, not being yet one of the eight Seniors, could not succeed him as Vice-master: accordingly Hacket was appointed to that office. As soon as Bishop Greene had pronounced the sentence of deprivation, he transmitted one copy of it to Dr. Bentley, ordered another to be affixed to the College gates, and sent a third to Dr. Hacket, with a mandate, requiring him to execute the deprivation. But the Vice-master was advised, at the same time, by Bentley's counsel, to return for answer, that he would take legal advice for his conduct, and to wait the further steps of the prosecutors.

April, 1733. Hacket the Vice-master.

Bentley continues to act as Master.

Bentley remained tranquil at his post, and in the capacity of Master summoned a statutable meeting for the 10th of May, for the election of scholars. Colbatch and all the adverse party signed a strong protest against the transaction of any business, under the pretended authority of a deprived Master, declared that every act done in such circumstances was a nullity, and denounced Hacket for neglecting to execute his statutable functions, as well as every one else who should adhere to their late Head. A great proportion of the Fellows had from the beginning of the prosecution kept aloof, and absented themselves as much as possible from the scene of feuds and distractions: but of those who had sided with Bentley, I do not find that any one abandoned him in the hour of adversity. He himself, supported by a majority of the Seniors, maintained not only his spirits, but his accustomed gaiety; and in allusion to his own predicament, gave the candidates, as a subject for a theme, the following words of Terence:

hoc nunc dicis,
Ejectos hinc nos; omnium rerum heus vicissitudo est.

Hacket resigns.

Dr. Hacket, who had never supported the Master but with a view to his own interest, felt uneasy at the situation in which he was placed: he plainly saw the danger that he incurred by open disobedience to the statutes, and had no mind to become a victim in defence of one whom he regarded with no affection. But Bentley's ingenuity never

[19] Dr. Baker continued to reside in College, being allowed by the Master to hold, along with that rectory, the perpetual curacy of St. Mary's, and being pre-elected one of the conducts or chaplains. The reason assigned was, that he was embarrassed with debt.

failed him in cases of difficulty: although he could not induce Hacket to run any hazard in his behalf, yet he had sufficient interest with him to procure his immediate resignation of the Vice-mastership. It happened, most fortunately for him, that Walker had recently become one of the eight Seniors, and consequently capable of holding that office. Hereupon this devoted friend of our hero was appointed Vice-master; and was prepared and resolved to use the power with which he was invested in maintaining his patron in his seat. His attachment to Bentley seems to have been so perfect, as to resemble the devotion of a Highland clansman to his chief; and it is likely that he would, if necessary, have cheerfully risked his life in the protection of his Master [20].

Walker is made Vice-master.

Had the Bishop of Ely proceeded in the first instance with the prompt and summary powers of a Visitor, to enforce obedience to his mandate, and punish all attempts at evasion, it is probable that his sentence would have been executed; but the delay of three weeks altered the posture of affairs: there was no longer to be found *idem Vice-magister* in the College: the present officer was different both in person and character from the one who had been required to execute the order for deprivation. A dissolution of Parliament had taken place about a week before the Bishop pronounced his sentence; so that no appeal could be made to the House of Lords to enforce that authority with which they had specially invested him.

June 19. Election to the Convocation.

It happened rather whimsically, that Bishop Greene, almost at the same moment that he pronounced upon Dr. Bentley sentence of expulsion from his College, had to address to him a summons, as his Archdeacon, to attend the new Convocation. At the election of two representatives for the parochial clergy of the diocese of Ely, a sharp contest took place; the object was to exclude Dr. Colbatch, who was nominated as one of the candidates. As the Convocation had not been

[20] This transaction is thus recorded in the Conclusion-book:

May 17, 1734. "I, John Hacket, D.D. and present Vice-master, foreseeing many occasions of absence in the remainder of this year, do desire to resign my office of Vice-master, to the Master and Seniors, and desire they would chuse a successor:" JOHN HACKET.

Ditto. "The Master and Seniors accepted the resignation of the late Vice-master, and appointed RICHARD WALKER, D.D. to be Vice-master the remaining part of the year:"

RI. BENTLEY.

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suffered to transact business for the last seventeen years, and as there was little probability of its functions being renewed under the government of Sir Robert Walpole, the poll on this occasion, which drew from their homes the clergy of all parts of Cambridge, seems only to have been intended as an expression of personal or party sentiment [21].

Probable error in the statute.

Meanwhile the deprived Master continued, to the amazement of the public, in full enjoyment of his station, power, and emoluments [22]. The real origin of this strange state of affairs I suspect to have been one of those small occurrences, which are sometimes found to produce great and disproportionate results. It is highly probable that the mention of the Vice-master in this part of the statute of deprivation was nothing more than a clerical error, and that instead of '*per eundem* VICE-MAGISTRUM,' the framers of the statutes had designed to enact, '*per eundem* VISITATOREM *officio Magistri privetur:*' but that the clerk who transcribed the fair copy from the original draught, either had his eye caught by the word *Vicemagistrum* in the former paragraph, or was deceived by the similarity of the abbreviated form of the words, and thence wrote *Vicem̄.* as it stands in the authentic copy. If the reader will cast his eye over the latter part of the statute, which is given in p. 196, and observe the recurrence of the words *coram dicto Visitatore aliquando examinatus,—coram prædicto Visitatore legitime convictus,*

[21] The numbers on the poll were,

Rev. Mr. Perkins, Rector of Fulbourn	40
Rev. Mr. Hetherington	36
Rev. Dr. Colbatch, Rector of Orwell	36
Rev. Dr. Basset, Rector of Balsham	29

Perkins and Colbatch appear to have had the votes of most of the High Church party: all Bentley's friends voted for their opponents. Colbatch protested against the return of Hetherington, as having voted for himself, which he (Colbatch) had not been allowed to do; and another of his voters being a perpetual curate, while a person in a similar situation had not been admitted to poll for the other side.

[22] Mr. Baker, of St. John College, the celebrated antiquary, writes thus to his friend Hearne at Oxford:

May 26, 1734. "The execution of the sentence is by statute in the Vice-master. He that was in that post has resigned, and another chose entirely in the Master's interest, who will never proceed against him, unless compelled; and how that is to be done, is more than I know. In the meantime, *plectuntur Achivi*; which I am sorry for."

he will probably agree that we should expect the next sentence to be—*per eundem Visitatorem officio Magistri privetur*: particularly as the Vice-master is not otherwise mentioned or concerned in the latter part of this enactment, nor is it customary to give him any authority independent of the rest of the Seniors; there is not any form of deprivation prescribed, or any apparent necessity for the intervention of that officer. It may perhaps be thought incredible that a blunder of such magnitude should have been suffered to pass uncorrected. It is, however, no less certain than strange, that the fair copy of the statutes of Trinity College was not revised before it received the Royal sanction by the Great Seal: for there are actually found in all parts of them a great number of mistakes of the transcriber's pen, and those too of the grossest kind; particularly in words which are likely to have been abbreviated in the original draught. In fact this error was afterwards found out, and the word *Visitatorem* written over the other by a subsequent pen; and at the beginning of the case, when a copy of the statute was submitted to the Privy Council, the prosecutors assumed the licence which their Master had taught them in his editions of classical authors, and made an attempt to introduce this various reading into the text.

Since, however, the *littera scripta*, confirmed by the Great Seal of England, made the Vice-master the agent of deprivation, it remained a question how to enforce the performance of this office. A long pause took place, which I apprehend to have been owing to the severe illness of Dr. Colbatch. In the month of November, the opinion of Mr. Wynne, who had been counsel for the prosecution, was asked respecting the present posture of affairs, and the proper mode of proceeding. That gentleman, after much consideration, declared his belief, that until the act of removal had been executed by the Vice-master, the place was not void, and the acts of Dr. Bentley as Master continued to be legal. He was convinced, indeed, that the Bishop of Ely was General Visitor by King Edward's statutes, and thought that he might enforce his mandate by punishing those who disobeyed it: but if his Lordship did not choose to take that course, Mr. Wynne saw no other method but to send a fresh order to the new Vice-master, and, in case of his

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non-compliance, to apply to the Court of King's Bench for a mandamus to oblige him to execute his duty; though he confessed that he recollected no instance of that Court interfering in such a case. If this failed, the *dernier resort* was to be a petition to the House of Lords.

January, 1734-35.

In pursuance of this advice, Bishop Greene sent his mandate to Dr. Walker, requiring him immediately to deprive the Master, agreeably to his sentence. To this rescript no attention was paid. Colbatch, as senior Fellow, called upon the Vice-master to enquire whether he had executed, or intended to execute, his duty; to which inquiry the latter declined to give any reply. The next step should have been an application to the Court of King's Bench; but experience had given the prosecutors so great a horror of Westminster Hall, that, after some demur, they resolved to invert the course directed by counsel, and to pray at once for justice from the House of Peers. Accordingly, Dr. Colbatch, as the senior, petitioned their Lordships on behalf of himself and other members of Trinity College, that the Vice-master might be required to put in execution the sentence against Dr. Bentley. It was at first proposed to fix a day for the consideration of this petition; but a motion was immediately made for its rejection. A debate ensued, which concluded with leave being given by the House that it should be withdrawn. Never having seen any account of this debate, I can only conjecture that the petition could not be received from its informality, as praying the House to interfere with the courts below, not in the way of appeal, but in an extra-judicial manner.

Colbatch petitions the House of Lords. March 10.

Compromise between Bentley and part of the prosecutors.

The only remaining step was to re-enter the Court of King's Bench: but ere that could be done, a compromise had taken place between Bentley and some of his most active prosecutors. This measure, so important to the fortunes of our hero, was brought about by the agency of Dr. Walker, who possessed more conciliatory qualities than any of his former ministers. Though deeply engaged in all the Master's most obnoxious measures, we do not observe that he had ever brought personal enmity upon himself. By his mediation, Bentley on the one hand, and Johnson, Parne, &c. on the other, came to a pacific agreement; it was promised that they should not be obstructed in their fair claims to offices, and preferments, so long as they on their part

abstained from giving any assistance of money or other co-operation to displace the Master. There was also a general understanding that he was no longer to interfere in the elections and government of the College: a forbearance, which, so long as the administration remained in the hands of his devoted creature, was but of little moment. That the Fellows should have entered into such terms, can occasion no surprise: they had already exerted themselves for the space of seven years, with efforts beyond their means and station, to procure redress of grievances: and having, after great and painful sacrifices, obtained a trial of the questions at issue, and a sentence in their favour, they saw no method of procuring its execution. A fresh suit in Westminster Hall held out little prospect but delay and expense. They fancied that their enemy was shielded by some secret and mysterious influence; since it had happened, that even when legal opinions concurred in their favour, the practical results were always against them. Meanwhile the injury and losses brought upon the College by the prosecution had been greater than those which they had sought to remedy. Besides these motives for desisting from litigation, the ages of the Visitor, the Master, and the principal prosecutor, all of whom were septuagenarians, made it probable that time and the course of nature would end the controversy before the law had decided it. Personal interest had also its weight in bringing about this pacification: the prosecutors were not only excluded from office or preferment, but, as the Master held the absolute power, without any practicable appeal, they stood themselves in more real danger of expulsion than he did. Johnson was next in succession to the Seniority: but there was small chance of his being admitted to that or any other object, so long as he continued promoter of the suit against the Master. Parne had to endure an additional grievance, in seeing his pupils excluded from scholarships and fellowships; while the other vexations to which he was exposed, as tutor, must have been almost insupportable. There was, I apprehend, another cause which induced him, though a man of undaunted spirit, to submit to the terms of compromise: he was ambitious of rank and office in the University; which he had little chance of obtaining, so long as he continued to be opposed by part of his own College. It happened

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at the end of 1734, that John Taylor, the distinguished scholar, already mentioned, was removed from the office of Librarian, to that of Registrary of the University. Parne was then a candidate to succeed him as Librarian, and was elected by the Senate. From a statement of his own, I discover that at the same time the treaty between him and the Master was concluded by the intervention of Walker: whence I infer that this office was a motive, and his success at the election a result of that agreement.

Parne elected Librarian to the University.

Colbatch renews the suit.

Colbatch viewed the subject in a different light, and considered it a duty owing to the College to leave no legal and practicable method untried to procure the execution of the sentence. He accordingly appealed again to the laws for assistance. I cannot discover from his papers, that he had any confederate in the renewal of the suit, except his friend Smith, who was not disheartened like the rest, but resolved to contribute to what he considered the deliverance of the College, as long as his means lasted. In the Trinity term of 1735, a motion was made in the Court of King's Bench for a mandamus to compel the Vice-master to give effect to the Bishop of Ely's sentence, by immediately depriving Dr. Bentley: the Court granted a writ of mandamus, addressed to Dr. Walker, requiring him to execute the sentence, or to show cause for omitting to do so, upon a day appointed in the next Michaelmas term. This order, by securing the Master a respite from danger for the next five months, left him at liberty to pursue his edition of Homer, and allows us to revert to a few occurrences which took place in the course of this anxious suit.

June 25. Court of King's Bench grant a mandamus addressed to Dr. Walker.

Death of Dr. Davies.

At the beginning of 1732, Bentley's friend, Dr. Davies, had nearly completed the great object which had occupied him so many years, an edition of all the Philosophical Works of Cicero, having advanced as far as the middle of the third Book of Offices, when a termination was put to his labours and his life.

March 7, 1731-32.

His papers were bequeathed to that general patron of scholars, Dr. Mead; he wishing to have them published according to the editor's intentions, placed them in the hands of Dr. Thomas Bentley, who was to supply what Davies had left unfinished, and to publish an edition of the Offices, uniform with the other pieces. But while he

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was employed upon this work at lodgings in the Strand, an accident occurred, which had nearly proved fatal to himself, and put a total end to his undertaking. He is stated to have indulged himself in the dangerous practice of reading in bed, and thereby to have set fire to the house; and the conflagration was so rapid, that he had barely time to escape with his own life. All his papers were destroyed; including the whole of Davies's manuscripts entrusted to his care, and some inedited *scholia* on Homer, which he was copying for the use of his uncle's edition [23]. Not long after this catastrophe he found it expedient to part with the property at Oulton, which had descended to him from his father, James Bentley, including the house in which our Aristarchus was born.

Destruction of his Notes on Cicero's Offices by Fire.

1731. Contest for the Vice-Chancellor's office.

The stratagem by which the Tory party in the University had elected Dr. Lambert to the Vice-Chancellorship in 1729, was remembered and resented by their opponents. Dr. Mawson was chosen in 1730, and

[23] Dr. Mead in a letter prefixed to the third edition of Davies's *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, notices this circumstance: "Ego negotiis, ut nosti, distentus ipse et in re nostra medica occupatissimus, amico cuidam in scriptoribus classicis et arte critica satis exercitato, schedas Davisii omnes in manus tradideram; qui dum in iisdem digerendis atque supplendis totus esset, ecce in ædibus, ubi diversabatur, incendium, pestis in hac urbe heu! nimium frequens, erupit; atque adeo repentinum quidem atque violentum, ut homo ipse vix flammas evaserit; unde factum est, ut inter alia Davisii Notæ penitus interierint." J. Chr. Wolf mentions the same occurrence in a letter to La Croze, Oct. 2, 1733. "Cl. Dorvillius heri mihi nunciavit, Cl. *Th. Bentleii* Ædes, una cum Bibliotheca ejus, quam altera pars Inscriptionum Asiaticarum, in Homeri Iliadem *ἀνέκδοτα*, et Davisii in Ciceronis de Officiis Libros Annotationes ornarunt, ita periisse, ut ipse ægre vitam servarit." That the fire was owing to Thomas Bentley reading in bed, is related by the author of the account of Davies in the *Biographia Britannica*, who had information respecting him from some of his contemporaries. Mr. Kidd, in the preface to *Opuscula Ruhnkeniana*, p. lix. seems to attribute the fire not to Thomas, but to his uncle, (although he refers to the above letter of Wolf) and to imagine that the conflagration destroyed some of his criticisms, and particularly the greater part of his *Curæ Posteriores* on Cicero's Tusculans. His notions on this point are adopted by the writer of an article in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1807, p. 1048. (taken from the *Literary Panorama*) who attributes to our great Aristarchus the fatal habit of reading in bed. But whoever compares that statement with the authorities in this note, will perceive this is a misapprehension, caused by confounding the uncle with the nephew. I am convinced that the story of Bentley's Notes on the Tusculans being burned, is also a mistake; nor do I believe that he had prepared any more for his second series, than those found in the two books, the contents of which form the Appendix to the edition of the Tusculans, printed at the Clarendon press. This matter has been explained in p. 426.

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by way of retaliation his friends procured his re-appointment for the following year. The spirit of party long continued active in the academical community; and the election to the chief-magistracy, an office which in tranquil times is rather considered a burthen, continued

Nov. 4, 1733.

to be the occasion of warm competition. After another year, Dr. Long, Master of Pembroke, and Dr. Towers, Master of Christ's, being nominated, a contest took place, in which, judging from the list of voters, the feelings of the two parties seem to have been entirely political: the Tories succeeded in electing Long by a majority of 102 against 72. The next year they planned to choose him to a second term of office, and to exclude Towers, who had, it may be recollected, given great offence as Proctor, by his conduct at the time

Nov. 3, 1734.

of Bentley's degradation. At the nomination three names were proposed, Towers, Long, and Adams, and it happened that an equal number of Heads voted for each; whereupon the case being referred to the decision of Dr. Bentley, as Regius Professor of Divinity, he determined in favour of Towers and Adams; and in consequence the former was chosen by the Senate on the following day. After Towers had filled the chair, the election of Chief-magistrate, which had been almost always contested since Bentley's nomination in 1716, relapsed into its former routine; and remained undisturbed for more than fifty years: at least, if any contest did occur during that period, it has not obtained a record either in writing or tradition [24].

[24] There was a contest in 1785, when the late Bishop Beadon, being Master of Jesus College, was elected; and another in 1809, when Dr. Milner, late Dean of Carlisle, and President of Queen's, was successful. In both cases, the usual order was set aside.

CHAPTER XX.

Bentley's proposed edition of Homer—Account of the Digamma—Bentley's discovery of its use by Homer—Great difficulty of the undertaking—Pronunciation of the Digamma—Account of Richard Dawes—His book—His treatment of Bentley—Heyne's Homer—Pope's hostility to Bentley—Arbuthnot ridicules Bentley's critical style in Scriblerus—Attacks him severely in an imitation of Gulliver—Pope's Dunciad—Mallet's poem on Verbal Criticism—Pope's direct attacks upon Bentley—Walker's return to the mandamus of the King's Bench—Mandamus addressed to the Bishop of Ely—Quashed by the Court—A third mandamus procured to enforce the execution of the sentence—Parne rejoins the prosecutors—Chief Justice Lee—Court discharges the rule—Death of Bishop Greene—Termination of the efforts to procure Bentley's expulsion—College distressed by the expenses of the suit—Bentley brings an action against Colbatch as Archdeacon of Ely—Ecclesiastical Procurations—Decision in Bentley's favour—Colbatch's pamphlet—Discovery of a sect of Atheists—Strutt—Whitehead—Ducket—Public trial—Court adjourned to Bentley's Lodge—Ducket's expulsion—Society for the encouragement of learning—Publication of Bentley's Manilius—Bentley has a paralytic stroke—Is disabled from publishing Homer—Death of Mrs. Bentley—Bentley's intimates in old age—His domestic habits—Cumberland's account of them—Pope's fresh offence against Bentley—Fourth book of the Dunciad—Miller the botanist—Thomas Bentley's publications and death—Warburton's conduct in respect to Bentley—Singular proof of Bentley's sagacity in correcting a Greek inscription—Bentley's last illness—His death—Funeral—Disposition of his property—His library and papers—His family—Remarks on the personal character of Dr. Bentley—His literary merits—Trinity College.

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Bentley's proposed edition of Homer.

We must now speak of a matter which will ever constitute an interesting feature in the literary career of Dr. Bentley—his projected edition of Homer. The principal object which he proposed to himself was to reform the versification of the poet, the harmony of whose lines is continually impaired by open vowels, and other metrical defects. The reformation was to be effected by the aid of manuscripts, quotations, and scholiasts, but, above all, by the introduction of the *Æolic Digamma*. The history of this celebrated letter, and its disappearance from the Greek alphabet, have been the subject of so much dispute among later scholars, that its very mention suggests a series of curious questions; which, however, this is not the place to discuss. It is now, I believe, admitted on all hands, that the consonant must have been used by Homer, that its restoration is necessary for the prosody of many of his verses, and that for the first discovery of this fact we are indebted to

Account of the Digamma.

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Dr. Bentley. The digamma itself he had seen mentioned in various ancient authors and grammarians; it had been recently found in some ancient inscriptions, bearing a form similar to that produced by the perpendicular union of two gammas, from which it drew its name; and its former existence in the Æolic was proved by its being retained in the renowned descendant of that dialect, the Latin language; the words *ver*, *vicus*, *vinum*, *video*, &c. exhibiting a consonant which their Grecian kindred had discarded. The epithet 'Æolic' seems to have been one cause which had prevented a suspicion of this letter's original existence in the poems of Homer, who was generally considered an Ionian. The following appears to be the outline of its real history: the digamma was one of sixteen original letters of the Greek alphabet; but partly owing to the adoption of other consonants, and partly from dislike of its harsh sound, it fell gradually into disuse: it was abandoned first by the Ionic Greeks, before the period when writing was general; it was next dropped by the Dorian tribe; but was continued much later by the Æolians settled in Lesbos and other islands, as well as by those who retained their old station in the Peloponnesus; and its being there found, after it had been exiled from the rest of Greece, seems the only reason for its possessing the distinctive title of *Æolic*. It is a fact well established by history, that the copies of Homer's poems, which have ever since delighted the world, were written at Athens, the metropolis of the Ionic family. At this period (the age of Pisistratus) the Athenians themselves were contracting and refining their language into that chastised and elegant dialect, which is the principal depository of the literature of Greece. Without entering into the hopeless question of the country, or native dialect of Homer, we may observe that it was natural for the Athenians, when they wrote down his poems, to give them the dress of Ionic, the old poetical language of their own country; so that the digamma, which had been long banished from Attic soil, had no chance of finding a place in the copies which have descended to posterity. Hence it was left for the illustrious critic of the eighteenth century to reinstate the long-lost exile.

Bentley's discovery of its use by Homer.

The discovery itself, and the process by which it was confirmed, mark the genius of Bentley, and the logical turn of his mind. He first observed

that the offensive hiatus in verses of the Iliad and Odyssey continually recurred in the same words; and some of them, he was led to believe, from the slender accounts which we possess of the old Æolic dialect, had once been written with the digamma. By trying the experiment of inserting the consonant in all those words wherever they occurred in Homer, he found that in a great majority of instances he succeeded in improving the versification. On proceeding to make the same insertion in other words, where the metre required support, his success was too general to proceed from accident, and proved to a demonstration the truth of the discovery. At the same time this restoration of the true orthography of so many words enabled him to correct numerous faulty verses with perfect success and certainty. It must not be forgotten that Bentley made this discovery at a time when there was much less information respecting the old orthography of Greece than what we now possess. Subsequent to that time the publication of some ancient grammatical works, of which he knew nothing, has taught us that the digamma was actually used in the very words to which Bentley affixed it: and a similar confirmation of his doctrine is derived from old inscriptions upon stones dug out of ruins in those parts of Greece where this consonant held its ground the longest [1].

At what time Bentley's discovery was first made I cannot determine: but from a small hint in some notes written in the margin of a copy of Collins' Freethinking, preparatory to his Remarks upon that work, I find that he had made up his mind about the use of it in Homer, as far back as the year 1713, although it is probable that he was not at that time prepared to announce it to the world. It appears that about 1726 he meditated giving an edition of Homer, but not till after the publication of his New Testament. About three years later his friend, Dr. Clarke, published the first volume of his edition of the Iliad, but died before he had completed his notes on the second. While he was engaged in this undertaking, Bentley communicated to him, in conversation, his notions respecting the digamma, with some of his

[1] An inscription found by Sir William Gell in the territory of Elis, which contains the digamma seven times in the space of ten lines, is printed from a fac-simile in the *Museum Criticum*, vol. i. p. 536. Among other digammatized words it presents *αἴτε Fέπος, αἴτε Fάργον.*

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reasons; and in one of the last notes which Clarke lived to write, he mentioned Bentley's mode of restoring the measure by the digamma: this was in the sixteenth Book; and it was published by his son, who finished the second volume, in 1732. About the same time two quotations from Homer, in Bentley's notes upon Milton, presented to the eye the long-lost consonant in its full dimensions [2]. It was natural that all lovers of Homer should be interested by this discovery, and feel anxious to see in detail the opinions of the greatest of metrical scholars upon Homeric versification. Almost immediately after these publications, Lord Carteret engaged him to pledge himself for a new edition of Homer: and to that work he devoted all the leisure allowed him by the more imperious business of preserving his station and preferment. It would, under any circumstances, have been a bold enterprize for a person whose years exceeded threescore and ten to commence an edition of the Iliad and Odyssey; but the Doctor rendered his task immoderately severe, by undertaking to introduce the digamma in every word of the text to which it once belonged, and likewise to give every line its faultless measure. To reconcile these two objects formed the first difficulty: for though in a majority of cases, the digamma proved the means of sustaining the metre, yet it happened in not a few that this addition made it impossible to scan the verse, and reduced the critic to the alternative of either changing some words, or pronouncing the whole a spurious interpolation. Whoever reflects upon the history of these poems, and recollects that they underwent the revision and alteration of the Alexandrian grammarians, who had no suspicion of the exiled consonant which once belonged to them, will see that the complete success of such a plan was hopeless. What he did achieve was, in his circumstances, more than could have been anticipated. He corrected and noted the two poems from beginning to end; availing himself of the collations of all the manuscripts then to be procured, and

[2] Bentley's printer, having no better method of representing the Digamma than by a roman capital F, (*ὁ δ', ἐρεμνῇ νυκτὶ* Feοικὼς—*Δεινὸν παπταίνων*) gave occasion to Pope's allusion to its towering size:

"While towering o'er your alphabet, like Saul,
Stands our Digamma, and o'ertops them all."

amending the text, wherever he could, from the lexicons and grammarians. Many of the verses which were unmanageable, he rejected; though the number condemned does not come near to that which a late editor, who pursued a similar plan, found it expedient to discard. The frequent changes and erasures of his own corrections, which appear in his copy, prove the uncertainty and difficulty of the undertaking: independently of the lines affected by the digamma, many others presented obstacles to the restitution of metrical propriety; and the character of Bentley's criticism, which had become more daring as his years increased, sometimes led him to harsh attempts at alteration.

Great difficulty of the undertaking.

I consider it a matter of regret that our critic, instead of devoting his latter years to an attempt at a complete edition of the Iliad and Odyssey, did not give the public an essay upon Homeric versification: such a performance, which would not have occupied more than one of his long vacations, might have comprised the whole doctrine and application of the digamma, as well as most other points interesting to scholars, which could have been expected from the larger work. Even a *schediasma*, similar to that upon the metres of Terence, would have been highly acceptable; and the sketch of such a piece was actually in readiness: whereas the meditated edition, had his prosecutors left him at liberty to print it, must, from the very nature of the plan, have contained much that would have proved unsatisfactory, and have compromised the high reputation of the editor, which, as a Greek critic, stood unimpeached and unrivalled. In fact, there is great room for doubts as to the propriety of printing Homer's text with the insertion of the digamma, while the rest of the orthography remains as in the common copies. To maintain any thing like consistency, several other changes are requisite, to bring back the Iliad and Odyssey to their earlier dress. This feat has been attempted in our own times by Mr. Payne Knight, a gentleman whose attention was for many years almost exclusively devoted to the infant literature of Greece. Both his learning and ingenuity deserve high commendation; but I cannot consider his representation of the Homeric text successful. Although he restores the ancient orthography in several other respects besides the digamma, yet by using some characters of later introduction, he forfeits his claim to con-

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sistency: the appearance of the lines is disagreeable to the eye, and the reader is likewise offended at missing a considerable portion of the verses hitherto composing part of the poems; and after all, the antiquarian, for whom the publication seems principally designed, finds the orthography consistent with that of no period whatever; and even the semblance of antiquity is destroyed by the adoption of the common cursive character, instead of the uncial letters of the earlier ages.

Pronunciation of the Digamma.

During the time that Bentley was occupied upon Homer, he used to amuse his friends, and all who sought his conversation, by expounding his doctrine of the digamma, and reciting verses of the poet as he conceived they ought to be read. Among other topics respecting this mysterious consonant, its original pronunciation has been the subject of many sharp arguments; some maintaining that it corresponded in sound with our F, others with V, and others with W. In truth, the authorities which we possess upon this doubtful question would rather lead us to believe, that its sound varied in different parts of the Grecian territory. But without entering upon that question, I shall only remark, that Bentley always pronounced his new-found letter as W: nor do I doubt but that some will attribute his partiality for that guttural consonant to his being himself a native of the north-country [3].

Account of Richard Dawes.

The foregoing account of Bentley's Homer must have reminded scholars of the Section upon the digamma given by Richard Dawes, in his *Miscellanea Critica*; as well as his perpetual endeavours to carp at and depreciate the great critic, to whose writings he was himself singularly indebted. His violent dislike for the Doctor, and the injustice with

[3] Mr. T. Blackwell, the Professor of Greek at the Marischal College of Aberdeen, visited Cambridge at this time (1735) and was introduced to Bentley: having the good fortune to hear him speak upon this favourite topic, he gave the following account of his visit in a letter: "He received us very graciously, and entertained us with the service he had done to learning by restoring the Æolic Digamma, which he pronounced like our W. He acknowledged that Dionysius of Halicarnassus explained the Digamma by a Φ in Greek, and a V in Latin; 'but,' says the old gentleman, 'he and Aristarchus and Demetrius were all dunces, and knew nothing of the Digamma; which I have restored the use of, after it had been lost 2000 years.'" This was just after Blackwell had published his '*Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*;' of which book it is said, but I know not on what authority, that Bentley observed, 'when he had gone through half of it, he had forgotten the beginning; and when he had finished the reading of it, he had forgotten the whole.' *Kippis, Biogr. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 337.

which he treats him in all parts of his volume, are observed with surprise by every reader. One of his editors attempts to account for the phenomenon, by supposing Dawes to have resided at Cambridge during the heat of the disputes between Bentley and the University, and to have taken part against him [4]: but this notion is inconsistent with time, as his first admission in Emanuel College was in the year 1725, when those feuds had subsided. He might possibly have been acquainted with some of the Fellows of Trinity who were prosecuting Bentley, and have entered into their feelings [5]: and it may be presumed that his political opinions were of a severe character, since he takes occasion, from the emendation of a passage in Aristophanes, to express his detestation of Sir Robert Walpole, in a sentence more remarkable for its ill-nature than its humour [6]. He was nominated by the Heads as a candidate for the office of Esquire-beadle in 1734, but was beaten by his competitor, Burrowes, of Trinity: he might attribute this defeat to Bentley's influence; but that the Head of a College should exert himself on such an occasion in favour of one of his Fellows, was so natural, that it could hardly have provoked resentment. We must, therefore, look for some other cause. Dawes, who delighted in Greek poetry, had translated the first Book of Milton's Paradise Lost into Homeric verse, and designing to publish it by subscription, printed a short specimen, with two or three Latin notes; in one of which he joined the general voice in condemning Bentley's edition of Milton, with regard both to its principle and execution. It can hardly be doubted that this specimen was shown to our Aristarchus, who was regarded at Cambridge as the Grecian oracle: in that case, we may be certain that he expressed his opinion pretty roundly of the faults and inaccuracies of the version, which are in fact more numerous than the lines; and the severity of his

[4] "Dawesius videtur Cantabrigiæ commoratus esse, cum partium studia contra Bentleium maxime arderent; et ipse etiam ex iis fuisse partibus. Huc enim referre soleo, quod in Miscellaneis Criticis occasionem qualemcunque arripiat de laudibus Bentleianis detrahendi, &c."—*Burgess. Præf. ad Dawes. Misc. Crit.* p. iv.

[5] Dawes seems to have been acquainted with Mason: at least it was by the latter, in conjunction with Mr. H. Hubbard of Emanuel College, that the volume of *Miscellanea Critica* was carried through the University press.

[6] *Miscellanea Critica*, p. 77. *ed. Cantab.*

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criticism was likely to be increased by the proposer's flippant and offensive note about his Milton. Dawes, instead of publishing any more of his translation, immediately set himself to acquire that knowledge of the niceties of the Greek language, in which his specimen had proved him to be deficient. He studied all Bentley's writings with the minutest attention, and while thereby forming his notions of true criticism, he was incessantly on the watch to detect flaws and imperfections in his master. In perusing Greek writers, but particularly the Attic poets, he closely inspected their peculiarities of construction, metre, and grammar. Being endowed with uncommon penetration and discernment, he hit upon the true method of discovering the laws which they adopted, and by means of comparison and analogy, was able to draw up those rules, which threw a new light upon the language, and have contributed, in a wonderful degree, to ascertain the genuine texts of the ancient writers. The sagacity as well as industry of this man is proved by the history of his book. At the time of printing his specimen in 1736, he showed himself ignorant of the very rudiments of that science by which his name has since been distinguished; and in 1744 he sent to the press his volume of *Miscellanea Critica*. In the course of those eight years, six of which he was employed in teaching the grammar-school at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the foundations of his system were laid, and the whole fabric was completed. Though he lived more than twenty years after that time, the remainder of his life appears to have been neither useful to the world, nor very honourable to himself.

His book.

His treatment of Bentley.

This writer's spirit of injustice and detraction, whenever he mentions Bentley, is the most marked feature of his book: it shews itself in the preface, where he decries the unrivalled performance on Phalaris, and confines its author's merit to that of a detector of sophists: he cannot propound his notions upon the metre and division of tragic and comic verses, which were entirely learned from the Doctor's writings, without cavilling at his master. We learn from a letter of Dawes to Taylor, that two sections of his book, which are suppressed, consisted of strictures upon Bentley's notes on Aristophanes, and emendations of Menander: he charges him with possessing hardly any knowledge of Greek but

what he had derived from indexes and lexicons; an assertion so extravagantly false, as to consign either to ridicule or disgrace the person who could utter it. His knowledge of the digamma had been collected from what Bentley had suffered to transpire of his intended edition of Homer: but while explaining that doctrine with great diligence and accuracy, he labours to rob its discoverer of all credit, and instead of praise, gives him much censure for introducing into Ionic poetry a consonant, which he fancies peculiar to Æolic; whereas, he thinks the letter which is to be restored to Homer ought to be called *Vau*. From a consideration of all circumstances, I am convinced that Dawes's ill-usage of Bentley arose, not so much from personal or party hatred directed against a man who had been dead two or three years before the *Miscellanea Critica* appeared, as from a design to appropriate to himself the praise due to the illustrious critic; and that he hoped to veil this disingenuous scheme by testifying dislike and contempt for his master. Such conduct undoubtedly implies an illiberal and unprincipled spirit; and I am sorry to say, that all which has been recorded of his character rather tends to confirm than remove this suspicion. While at Cambridge he was addicted to low company and vulgar habits; and of his subsequent life we learn little, except that he was engaged in constant quarrels with his neighbours, and abuse of his best friends and benefactors.

It is a satisfaction to observe that Dawes's attack upon Bentley's literary claims has entirely failed, while he has himself reaped from it abundant discredit. All subsequent scholars, without exception, have assigned the merit of the restoration of the digamma in Homer to its real author. When the learned and candid Heyne was engaged upon his edition of the Iliad, the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, to whom Bentley's corrected copy of Homer had been recently bequeathed, determined, with much spirit and liberality, to send it to Gottingen for his use. One cannot help admiring Heyne's account of the transport with which he beheld the hand of the venerable scholar, and his gratitude for the signal instance of generosity which allowed him this benefit. But it is most interesting to observe, what a contrast his behaviour towards Bentley forms to that of Dawes. He not only faith-

Heyne's Homer.

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fully communicates the manuscript contents of the book, but ingenuously confesses that all his own acquaintance with Homeric prosody was derived from this source, which he regards as the greatest assistance and ornament of his publication [7].

Pope's hostility to Bentley.

Our readers may perhaps be surprised at not having yet met with any notice of the well-known hostility displayed against our critic by Mr. Pope, the greatest poetical genius among his contemporaries: particularly as it is customary to attribute the alienation of the public mind, and the abandonment of his projected edition of Homer, to the keen and witty attacks of the satirist. The fact is, that it was not till Bentley had reached old age, and was no longer to be dreaded as an adversary, that those attacks commenced; and the consequences assigned to them are altogether imaginary. Dr. Johnson, who lived with the contemporaries of both, observes, in his Lives of the Poets, that 'of Pope's vain desire to make Bentley contemptible, he had never heard any adequate reason.' It would be indeed a hard matter to discover adequate reasons for the various resentments of the bard of Twickenham, which so often originated in jealousy, spleen, the suspicion of a slight, or some casual offence. But for his dislike of Bentley, there may surely be found reasons more than sufficient to operate upon so irritable a temperament. The common story of his having told Pope, whom he met at Bishop Atterbury's table shortly after the publication of his translation of the Iliad, 'that it was a very pretty poem, but that he must not call it Homer,' is told in different forms; and its truth is very probable, from his having himself, when asked in his latter days, what had been the cause of Pope's dislike, replied, "I talked against his Homer; and the portentous cub never forgives." The opinion attributed to Bentley, respecting the English Iliad, is, in fact, no more

[7] Heyne in his preface, p. xv. says of this loan, "Hujus munificentiæ, generosis Britannorum animis dignissimæ, memoria prædicabitur, quamdiu Homerici studii erit aliquis honos; debet ei opera mea ornamenta sua, si qua in ea eminent, principe loco." His gratitude, however, is lavished more upon the persons, who were merely the vehicles of his request, than upon the Seniority of Trinity College, to whose spirit and generosity he was exclusively indebted for the accommodation which he so greatly valued. A full account of Bentley's book (Stephens's edition) and the doctrine of the Digamma, is contained in the preface to tom. iii. p. xciii—xcvi. and the Excursus on the 19th Book of the Iliad. vol. vii. p. 708.

than its greatest admirers have always admitted; amidst all its beauties, we cannot recognize a resemblance to the original. But the declaration of such a sentiment from the first Greek scholar of the age was certain to give uneasiness to the poet, particularly as he knew that his slender acquaintance with the original language was his most vulnerable point. But had there existed no such offence, yet there were numberless reasons which would make Pope regard Bentley with unfriendly eyes. He had early fallen under the lash of Swift, the leader and idol of his party; he was the successful antagonist of Atterbury, another of the poet's friends; and had given great offence to Bolingbroke, a third. His ministerial politics, and admittance to the select parties of Queen Caroline, added to his demerits: he was regarded as an object of extreme aversion in the family of Lord Oxford, where Pope was a frequent visitor: but above all, he stood at the head of the verbal critics of the age; a race against whom Pope had denounced implacable war, ever since his own failure in the character of critical editor of Shakspeare. But however inclined he might be to make our Aristarchus the object of his taunts, it was not till many years after the translation of the Iliad, that he thought fit to commence his attack; nor even then, until the war had been begun by a confederate.

Arbuthnot ridicules Bentley's critical style in Scriblerus.

The friendship which subsisted between Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, Parnell, and Gay, was such, that whoever offended any one was sure to be placed under the ban of the whole alliance. Dr. Arbuthnot possessed, in a high degree, that classical knowledge in which Swift and Pope were deficient. In the publication of these friends, entitled 'Miscellanies,' which appeared in 1727, Arbuthnot, who wrote most of the lucubrations of Martinus Scriblerus, sometimes endeavoured to ape Bentley's style; and in the section called *Virgilius Reformatus*, inserted a direct burlesque of his emendatory criticism in Scriblerus' pretended alterations of the two first books of the Æneid: the short and imperious decrees of this critical *jeu-d'esprit* being particularly designed to ridicule the Notes on Phædrus, which were lately published. These came forth about the same time as the celebrated Travels of Gulliver, the plan of which is known to have been discussed by Swift with his friends at Twickenham. It is probable that they had wished

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him to introduce Dr. Bentley among the prominent characters in his Empire of Lilliput. But whether it was from a sense of the injustice done to him in his first publications, the 'Tale of a Tub,' and 'Battle of the Books,' or from some other cause, it may be remarked that Swift never chose to indulge in a sneer at our critic in any of his subsequent writings. To supply this deficiency, Arbuthnot printed a little episode to his friend's book, called 'An Account of the State of Learning in the Empire of Lilliput, together with the History and Character of *Bullum*, the Emperor's Library-Keeper.' This piece of satire succeeded in catching the manner, and preserving the allusions and tone of Gulliver; and in the guise of that extraordinary traveller, he delivered as keen and unsparing a satire upon the manners and principles of Bentley, as any of the countless adversaries by whom we have found his character assailed [8].

Attacks him severely in an imitation of Gulliver.

[8] As this piece of Dr. Arbuthnot's is not commonly met with, a few extracts will not be unacceptable to the reader.

"Bullum is a tall raw-boned man, I believe near six inches and an half high; from his infancy he applied himself, with great industry, to the old Blefuscudian language, in which he made such a progress, that he almost forgot his native Lilliputian; and at this time he can neither write nor speak two sentences, without a mixture of old Blefuscudian. These qualifications, joined to an undaunted forward spirit, and a few good friends, prevailed with the Emperor's grandfather to make him keeper of his library, and a Mulro in the Gomflastru; though most men thought him fitter to be one of the Royal Guards. These places soon helped him to riches, and upon the strength of them he soon began to despise every body, and to be despised by every body. This engaged him in many quarrels, which he managed in a very odd manner; whenever he thought himself affronted, he immediately flung a great book at his adversary, and if he could, felled him to the earth; but if his adversary stood his ground and flung another book at him, which was sometimes done with great violence, then he complained to the Grand Justiciary, that these affronts were designed to the Emperor, and that he was singled out only as being the Emperor's servant. By this trick he got that great officer to favour him, which made his enemies cautious, and him insolent.

"Bullum attended the Court some years, but could not get into an higher post; for though he constantly wore the heels of his shoes high or low, as the fashion was, yet having a long back and a stiff neck, he never could with any dexterity creep under the stick, which the Emperor or the chief minister held. As to his dancing on a rope, I shall speak of it presently; but the greatest skill at that art will not procure a man a place at court, without some agility at the stick." *State of Learning in the Empire of Lilliput.*

Bentley's quarrel with the University is thus typified:

"Some years after, the present Emperor, in a progress through his dominions, came to the Gomflastru; and Bullum, without being asked, was resolved to divert his Majesty with his

Shortly afterwards Pope's Dunciad made its appearance, in the earlier editions of which were the following lines:

Pope's Dunciad.

> " *Bentley* his mouth with classic flatt'ry opes,
> And the puff'd orator bursts out in tropes;
> But *Welsted* most the poet's healing balm
> Strives to extract, from his soft yielding palm:
> Unlucky *Welsted!* thy unfeeling master,
> The more thou ticklest, gripes his fist the faster." B. II. 179.

But either the poet found his taste questioned, for thus associating the first scholar of the age with a herd of alleged dunces, or some circumstance occurred to induce him to sound a retreat. In the edition of 1729, the first which was published with notes, all mention of Bentley is suppressed: but as the couplet in which he had been celebrated, though palpably altered from Hudibras, was thought too valuable to be sacrificed, Pope substituted for the name of Bentley that of Welsted; and transferred the four next lines, with a slight alteration, from Welsted to Oldmixon, another of the Whig writers, who had fallen under his displeasure.

After this retractation, I am not aware of any hostilities from Twickenham, till the disastrous edition of Milton had exposed our veteran critic to the censure and derision of all readers of English poetry. His genius was now pronounced to be in its dotage, and he was no longer an object of literary terror. Pope, however, still preferred to see him denounced by other pens rather than his own. David Malloch, of the proscribed clan of Rob Roy Macgregor, being then a literary adventurer about town, attached himself to the party and

performance on the strait-rope: up he mounts, and capers bravely for some time; at last, endeavouring to shew the utmost of his skill, in the midst of an high caper, he reached out his right hand too far, which gave him a terrible fall.

" Most people imputed it to his over-reaching himself; but he laid the fault partly upon the robes he was obliged to wear before the Emperor, which, as he said, entangled his feet; and partly upon the maliciousness of a by-stander, whom he accused of pulling the rope aside, as he was in the midst of his caper. However that was, poor Bullum broke his leg, and was carried to his own house, where he continued lame above two years, not being able to shew himself in public all that time; and it was thought he would never have recovered, if the Emperor at last had not taken pity on him, and sent one of his own surgeons to him, who cured him immediately." *Ibid.*

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Mallet's poem on Verbal Criticism.

interests of the great satirist. The Celtic termination of Malloch being reduced into that of Mallet, this gentleman published a 'Poem on Verbal Criticism, addressed to Mr. Pope,' eulogizing the illustrious poet in terms of flattery, of which, notwithstanding his frequent professions to the contrary, he was unquestionably greedy, and abusing verbal critics, but particularly the two great objects of his dislike, Bentley and Theobald, in a mode precisely similar to that adopted elsewhere by Pope himself. This performance seems unequal; some of the lines are extremely good, and exactly convey the feelings of the superior bard: which circumstance, joined with Pope's anticipation of Bentley's resentment against himself, convince me, that in the most pungent parts of the attack he had lent the assistance of his pen [9]. Mallet was rewarded by the place of under-secretary to Frederick, Prince of Wales, procured him by Pope's interest: although a man of considerable genius, he seems to have been as unscrupulous and indiscriminate in his attacks

[9] Pope says in a letter to Richardson, in the latter part of 1732, "I am glad you published your Milton. Bentley will be angry at you, and at me shortly for what I could not help, a satirical poem on Verbal Criticism by Mr. Mallet, which he has inscribed to me: but the poem itself is good; *another cause of anger to any critic.*"

The following is a specimen of this satire:

"While Bentley, long to wrangling schools confin'd,
And but by books acquainted with mankind,
Dares in the fulness of the pedant's pride
Rhyme, tho' no genius; tho' no judge, decide;
Yet he, prime pattern of the captious art,
Out-tibbalding poor Tibbald, tops his part;
Holds high the scourge o'er each fam'd author's head,
Nor are their graves a refuge for the dead:
To Milton lending sense, to Horace wit,
He makes them write what never poet writ;
The Roman Muse arraigns his mangling pen,
And Paradise by him is lost again.
Such was his doom impos'd by Heav'n's decree,
With ears that hear not, eyes that shall not see,
The low to swell, to level the sublime,
To blast all beauty, and beprose all rhyme.
Great eldest-born of Dulness! blind and bold,
Tyrant! more cruel than Procrustes old,
Who to his ironbed by torture fits
Their nobler part, the souls of suff'ring wits." V. 133.

upon the characters of others, as his kinsmen, the Highland caterans, upon their neighbours' lives and properties. It is well known, that after the death of Pope, he was employed by Lord Bolingbroke to expose the moral character of his deceased patron.

Pope's direct attacks upon Bentley.

About a year afterwards Pope declared public war against Bentley on his own account: in the 'Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot,' one of the most nervous and finished of his compositions, appeared the following lines:

> "Did some more sober critic come abroad?
> If wrong, I smil'd; if right, I kiss'd the rod.
> Pains, reading, study are their just pretence,
> And all they want is spirit, taste, and sense.
> Commas and points they set exactly right,
> And 'twere a sin to rob them of their mite.
> Yet ne'er one sprig of laurel grac'd these ribalds,
> From *daring* Bentley down to piddling Tibbalds." V. 157.

In 1735 Pope printed a new edition of his poems, in folio, when he reinstated Bentley into his former place in the Dunciad, bearing, however, only his initial B——, and restored to Welsted the lines in which he was originally celebrated. Two years afterwards, in his imitation of Horace's Epistle to Augustus, he returned to the attack: 1737.

> "Milton's strong pinion now not Heav'n can bound;
> Now, serpent-like, in prose he sweeps the ground:
> In quibbles Angel and Archangel join,
> And God the Father turns a school divine.
> Not that I'd lop the beauties from his book,
> Like *slashing* Bentley with his desp'rate hook."

The epithet which he now fastened upon the critic pleased his fancy so strongly, that in a revision of the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, he substituted the same in place of the less distinguishing term '*daring* Bentley.' These details of the cautious progress of Pope's satire against the Doctor, will have reminded the reader of the elaborate passage devoted to him in the fourth book of the Dunciad; as well as the ridicule which Warburton assists in heaping upon him, in his office of commentator on the poet. But this would anticipate several years of our history; and it will be found, that the period to which

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those satirical attacks were deferred, really forms one of the most curious and remarkable circumstances in the transaction.

Walker's return to the mandamus of the King's Bench.

We left Dr. Bentley still struggling in the midst of 'troubled waters,' with the same unbroken spirit with which he had for so many years maintained the conflict. In the Michaelmas term 1735, Dr. Walker, his faithful Achates, made a return in the Court of King's Bench to the writ of mandamus, which ordered him to execute the Bishop of Ely's sentence, by depriving the Master. He alleged the same topics so often advanced by Bentley, respecting the visitatorial power over Trinity College; that Queen Elizabeth's statutes, having superseded those of King Edward, the provision of the latter, whereby the Bishop was constituted General Visitor of the College, had been cancelled. He used no argument to justify his own disobedience, except that, as Vice-master, he owed no allegiance to the Bishop of Ely, but was amenable for what he did, or neglected to do, to no power or authority except the King himself; whom, as representative of the Founder, he considered General Visitor of the College: and concluded with submitting to the Court, whether he was compellable to give any other answer to their writ. Lord Hardwicke, who now presided on the Bench, had formerly, while Attorney-general, given his decided opinion, that the Bishop of Ely was General Visitor; and his three learned brethren had severally declared themselves to be of the same mind a few years before. But the difficulties which seemed always to arise whenever the affairs of Trinity College came before this high tribunal, were as great and intricate as ever. First, the Judges declined interposing their authority in compelling Walker to do his duty, upon the ground of its being contrary to practice, and inconsistent with their dignity, to aid an inferior Court in enforcing its jurisdiction. Thereupon the form of the process was altered: and a writ was obtained for a mandamus to the Bishop to compel Dr. Walker to execute his sentence. It was now believed that the right method was at last discovered, that this mandamus must be confirmed, and that the extraordinary personage who had so long baffled and eluded his pursuers was fairly hunted down, and must submit to his fate. The Bishop was passive, and awaited the decision of the Court. Had he been backed by their

A mandamus addressed to the Bishop.

authority, he would either have compelled the Vice-master's obedience, or have suspended him on his refusal: in the latter case, Dr. Colbatch, as the oldest Fellow, would have become his statutable substitute, and have immediately and joyfully executed the sentence of deprivation. The various steps of this action occupied the year 1736: in the course of the proceedings, Bentley obtained leave for his College to be admitted, in its corporate character, as a party in the action, and to show cause against the rule. In January following, the case was matured for a hearing: Mr. Strange, a barrister rising into high reputation, who shortly became Solicitor-General, argued against the mandamus, upon the ground of there being no precedents for such a measure, and of its being virtually an attempt to force the Court to do that which they had already refused, it being below their dignity to assist the proceedings of an inferior jurisdiction. The Bishop's counsel merely alleged, that he had carried the special authority with which the House of Lords had armed him as far as he thought himself empowered; but was ready to obey the directions of the Court. Serjeants Eyre and Wynne argued for the prosecutors, and showed the hardship and injustice which must ensue, unless the Court interposed; for that Doctor Bentley had received a trial before the Bishop, upon a jurisdiction confirmed and sanctioned by the first Court in the kingdom, had been convicted of the misdemeanours with which he stood charged, and sentenced to lose his office; but kept possession of the place in defiance of all law: unless, therefore, the Court of King's Bench interfered, there would be a failure of justice, without a remedy from any quarter. They alleged precedents of mandamus' being sent to Visitors, obliging them to discharge their functions; but here, as well as in all other stages of the proceedings against Dr. Bentley, no cases could be discovered which perfectly tallied and agreed with his extraordinary predicament. The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Page appeared to lay great stress upon the precedent of a mandamus being sent to Bishop Moore, calling upon him to take cognizance of the first accusation preferred by his Fellows against Dr. Bentley: but they all felt great difficulty in making up their minds upon the present question, and after much conversation, took refuge in another postponement, for the purpose of having

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the Crown-Office searched for precedents to assist them as guides. On a subsequent day Lord Hardwicke and Judge Lee declared a view of the case, differing from that expressed by any of the counsel: they held that the writ was *felo de se;* since its object was to procure the Court's assistance in enforcing the Bishop's jurisdiction, at the same time that it considered him the Visitor; if he actually possessed that character, he might proceed to suspend and deprive the Vice-master for disobedience, and the Court itself could not do more; if he had not such an authority already, they could not give it him. They still, however, paused as to the step most proper to be taken, whether of quashing the writ, or allowing the return made by Dr. Walker; after a little further delay, they quashed the writ; declaring at the same time, that they did not intend thereby to decide the question whether the Bishop was or was not general Visitor of the College.

Mandamus quashed by the Court.

A third mandamus procured to enforce the execution of the sentence.

Counsel were still of opinion that by a slight variation in the form of process, a judicial decision might be obtained which would effect the object of Bentley's deprivation. This was by a mandamus to the Bishop of Ely, to do his duty *as General Visitor*, in compelling the Vice-master's execution of the sentence. The change seems so small, that at first sight it is not very obvious in what this process differed from that which had been just overruled: but it was thought that the mandamus in its present shape could only be resisted by contesting the fact of the Bishop's being General Visitor; a point upon which the Judges were known to have formed an opinion in the affirmative. Colbatch, therefore, entertained strong hopes of the result, and thought that one more hearing would dispose of the question in their favour: his confederate, Smith, was not so sanguine, and judged that they were 'certain of nothing but delay.' Their party had lately received an accession by the return of Mr. Parne: this gentleman thought that the conditions of his treaty with the Master, though strictly observed by himself, had been neglected by the other party: and that, while he abstained from giving any aid to the prosecution, his pupils were excluded from their fair access to scholarships and fellowships: accordingly, after a strong and menacing letter to Bentley, calculated to produce nothing but hostility, he declared open war,

Parne rejoins the prosecutors.

and assisted the prosecutors with his money and advice. The Doctor's resentment on this occasion was very great; and traditionary stories are still in existence, of the indignation with which he was heard to speak of 'that rascal Parne.' One proof of it I can discover from the Conclusion-book: Bentley, who had absented himself from all College meetings for nearly three years, now, for the last time in his life, presided at a Seniority, for the purpose of renewing and enforcing the order passed in 1729, obliging the tutors to pay in advance the dues of their pupils to the College: a measure which it is clear, from the time and circumstances, was intended as an annoyance to Mr. Parne, and was, besides, likely to pre-occupy the spare money which he might have destined for law expenses. This order was subscribed, as in extraordinary cases, by the Senior Fellows, and among the rest by Johnson, the late promoter, who had obtained the sentence of expulsion against the Master. From this circumstance, and from his being admitted about the same time to the office of pandoxator, he appears to have acquiesced in those measures, which counteracted and rendered nugatory all his long and painful exertions in the cause [10].

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Nov. 8, 1737.

In the meantime the new action pursued its course through the Court of King's Bench. Lord Hardwicke, just after he had pronounced the decision on the last case, was invested with the Great Seal, which became vacant by the death of Lord Talbot: and continued for several months to unite in his own person the two highest legal offices of Lord Chancellor and Chief Justice. At length he was succeeded in the latter by Sir William Lee, the Judge who had in 1731 expressed an opinion stronger than the rest of the Bench in favour of the validity of King Edward's statutes, and the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ely. But it seemed as if a spell attended the affairs of Trinity College, whenever they were brought into the Court of King's Bench. Although the cases were managed by some of the ablest lawyers at the bar, yet they never could be moulded and fashioned in such a shape,

Feb. 21, 1736-37.

June 1737. Chief Justice Lee.

[10] Mr. Johnson gave up to Dr. Colbatch his papers and letters relating to the prosecution which he had carried on for five or six years against Dr. Bentley: they have been preserved along with Colbatch's own papers.

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as to extract a definite and substantial judgment from the Court. The cause was not brought to a final hearing till Easter Term in 1738,

April 22.

when Bentley's counsel made two objections to the Rule: first that the Bishop was not General Visitor; secondly, that supposing him to be such, yet the sentence had been pronounced not in that character, but as Special Visitor: that it was therefore inconsistent to compel the execution as General Visitor, and that the Vice-master could not be obliged by the statutes of Edward VI. to execute a sentence founded on those of Queen Elizabeth. The latter plea went the full length of maintaining in argument, what had been for some time apparent in fact, that the 40th statute of Elizabeth was ineffectual and nugatory, since the Bishop had no means of enforcing the sentence which he might pronounce; and, consequently, that there existed no authority which could bring the Master of Trinity to punishment for collegiate misdemeanours. The counsel on the other side, of course, denied that the two jurisdictions were inconsistent; nor did the Judges give any countenance to such a position: but they refused to compel the Bishop to exercise the power of a General Visitor, because it was doubtful whether he possessed it or not. The suit, they said, should have been renewed in a different way; either by disputing the validity of Dr. Walker's return in the first cause, or 'by bringing a feigned action by consent.' The latter method was intended, I presume, to subject the question of fact, as to the Visitor of the College, to the verdict of a jury: which resource, obvious as it may seem, was now hinted at for the first time. The Court thinking this a question not fit to be decided upon motion, discharged the Rule.

Court discharges the Rule.

Thus finally terminated all attempts to procure the expulsion of Dr. Bentley from his mastership: the lawyers suggested, that as the mode of action recommended by the Bench would prove difficult and expensive, the Fellows would be wise, if they determined to push the matter no further. However, I think it probable that Dr. Colbatch, who considered it a duty due to his injured College, never to relax in the pursuit of justice, would have embarked in a new process, had not an event almost immediately followed, which rendered further proceed-

Death of Bp. Greene.

ings impracticable; this was the death of Bishop Greene, at the age of fourscore: thus in fact, the course of nature, and not the determination of law, put a period to the contest [11].

May 18.

Termination of the efforts to procure Bentley's expulsion.

The success of the struggle kept up with unexampled spirit and obstinacy for ten years, must be attributed principally to the acuteness, address, and skilful tactics of Dr. Bentley himself, seconded by the zeal of his professional friend, Mr. Greaves. Many persons would have sunk under the agitation of such proceedings, every stage of which threatened his ruin: but he was cool and collected in his operations, he never gave his enemies an advantage over him, nor ever failed to seize the right occasion for a successful manœuvre. His aim was always to distress and baffle his antagonists: while it must be allowed, that he seemed strangely regardless of the opinion which might be entertained of the rectitude of his own conduct.

In the perusal of the foregoing narrative some, perhaps, may have remarked that Dr. Bentley might have been an excellent lawyer; others may have thought his talents adapted for military command: but all must agree that such a display suited any character rather than that of a learned and dignified clergyman.

Of the contributors to this long and complicated suit, much the largest share of expense, and all the responsibility of management, fell to the lot of Dr. Colbatch [12]. We have more than once mentioned that the Master defrayed the whole of his own expenses from the College stock. The amount of those charges, as I find them separately stated in the bursar's books, was 3657*l.*: but I apprehend, that part of them being placed under other heads, the sum was really not less than 4000*l.* This extraordinary burthen, being double the amount of a year's dividend to the whole society, was beyond the means of their revenue to sustain: a great and increasing deficit appeared in the annual accounts, and the immediate prospect of starvation presented itself to the College.

College distressed by the expenses of the suit.

[11] Bishop Greene was succeeded at Ely by Dr. Robert Butts, the Bishop of Norwich, an old member of Trinity College.

[12] Whiston says that Colbatch expended nearly a thousand pounds of his own money in this cause: a statement which probably falls short of the fact. *Memoirs of his own Life*, vol. i. p. 430.

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In this emergency, the late contending parties combined to relieve the common distress. Large sums were borrowed at interest: Walker and Johnson visited in company the College estates in different parts of the kingdom, and took measures for improving the revenues: both Bentley and Colbatch refrained for several years from receiving their dividends and other dues, and only took the arrears, when they found that the great pressure was relieved. However, the College was not able, for a long course of time, to extricate itself from the debt which the Master's defence had occasioned.

Bentley brings an action against Colbatch as Archdeacon of Ely.

Bentley having attained his seventy-seventh year before he was delivered from the danger of expulsion, the reader will expect to see him pass the remnant of his days in the noiseless repose so naturally coveted by old age. He will therefore be startled at learning that, so far from this being the case, he scarcely gave himself time to enjoy the sense of his security, before he plunged into a fresh lawsuit, and became in his turn the prosecutor of his persevering and unappeasable enemy, Colbatch. The latter had refused to pay the small sums annually demanded of him as Rector of Orwell, at the visitation of the Archdeacon of Ely, maintaining that those charges, called procurations or proxies, were only due to an Archdeacon who personally visited the parishes within his jurisdiction, being intended to defray his expenses in travelling. Bentley had never once during the thirty-seven years that he had held the office, inspected the churches and parsonage-houses personally and in detail: the annual visitations, held at Cambridge by himself or his official, were calculated for no purpose, as his adversary contended, but to receive those procurations to which he had no claim by canon, civil, or statute law. It must be remarked that this neglect of parochial visitations was by no means peculiar to Bentley, but was frequent and even general at that period: the zealous attention to their important functions which distinguishes most English Archdeacons of the present day, was then very rare; and to this cause we may attribute the decayed state of some of our churches, and the neglect and ruin of many parsonage-houses, which has in numerous cases entailed upon the Establishment the evils of non-residence.

As Colbatch had systematically refused to pay his proxies for the

Ecclesiastical Procurations. July 14.

last fifteen years, it is probable that the Archdeacon had long meditated to call him to account, whenever he might have his hands at liberty. Accordingly, just before his visitation this year, his proctor, Burrowes, made the demand of proxies and arrears, giving at the same time a notice of process in case of non-compliance; and upon Colbatch replying that they were not due, he immediately instituted a suit against him in the Consistorial Court of the Bishop of Ely, before Dr. Wharton Peck, the Chancellor of the Diocese. The sum demanded of the Rector of Orwell was three shillings and sixpence. While joining issue in this new litigation, one party undoubtedly conceived himself to be acting upon public principles, such as animated Hampden when he resisted the payment of as small a sum, the quota assessed upon him for ship-money: the other believed that he was discharging a duty due to his station and preferment, in thus vindicating the rights of his successors, with the trouble and expense of a law-suit. But it is probable that bye-standers gave a different interpretation to their conduct, and could discover in their proceedings only a specimen of exasperated and implacable animosity, ill befitting persons arrived almost at the limit of human existence. It did seem, indeed, as if these gray-headed litigants were so habituated to a state of controversy, that the excitement of a law-suit had become as necessary to them as that of hazard is to the inveterate gamester.

Henry Monson, LL.D. a Fellow of Trinity Hall, the same who was afterwards made Professor of Civil Law, was commissioned, as surrogate of the Chancellor, to discharge the office of judge in this cause. The proceedings were opened with all formality in Great St. Mary's Church; but the sittings of the Court were generally held at Dr. Monson's College-rooms. Thomas Burrowes, one of the Esquire-beadles, acted as proctor for the Archdeacon; and Thomas Bennet, who was afterwards elected to the same office, for Dr. Colbatch. The adjournments, deliberations, and arguments upon points of form, were so numerous, that this little court seemed to mimic the procrastination of those high tribunals, with which our readers have been lately conversant. The ecclesiastical law affords abundant resources for delay; and although the question at issue was in a very small compass, the

CHAP. XX. 1739.

Court contrived to postpone its decision for the full space of a year and a half: and in all this time the defendant was not permitted to adduce those arguments, which he had accumulated from his legal reading, to prove that the claim for proxies could only be justified in a parochial visitation.

We need not be detained with the several stages of this petty action: I apprehend much of the time to have been really employed in consulting eminent civilians in London upon the merits of the question, involving, as it did, a point of considerable importance to most Archdeacons in the kingdom. Opinions were entirely in favour of a right, which was established by the undeviating practice of above a hundred years; but it was also proved that the ancient claim upon the Rector of Orwell was only one shilling. At length the cause was ripe for a decision; and Dr. Monson pronounced his judgment in January 1740, in favour of Dr. Bentley, condemning Dr. Colbatch in the payment of six shillings for proxies and arrears from the year 1734, and in 20*l.* for a bill of costs, reduced by taxation to that amount.

Decision in Bentley's favour.

Colbatch, believing the proceedings of the Court to have been irregular and partial, and convinced that the judgment was in opposition to the maxims of civilians and canonists, with whose writings he was peculiarly conversant, determined upon an appeal from the Bishop's Commissary to the Court of Arches: but finding that the opinions of the profession were decidedly against him, he was induced to forego that purpose, and to make his appeal to the public, in a pamphlet, comprising his grounds in law, justice, and reason, for withholding those payments which had been the subject of the action. This tract, called 'The Case of Proxies payable to Ecclesiastical Visitors,' conveys a good deal of information concerning the early discipline and practice of Christian churches, and displays an extensive acquaintance with writers upon the canon law, and ecclesiastical history: its perusal is by no means unattended by amusement; and it should be mentioned to Colbatch's credit, that he so far subdued his personal feelings, as to abstain from any thing like invective against the great adversary, whom he was compelled once more to leave in possession of the victory. Nearly half the publication is occupied by a reply to a posthu-

Colbatch's pamphlet.

mous tract of Bishop Stillingfleet, recently published with his works, which took a different view of the question, and considered the payment of proxies as intended to exonerate the clergy from the expense of entertaining the Archdeacon on his visitation. Of this great authority against him Colbatch had not been aware, till after the termination of the trial: it was an Archdeacon's charge, but not printed by the Bishop himself among his ecclesiastical tracts; nor does it bear marks of great research. In regard to the propriety of maintaining a long established practice, the general opinion must be with Stillingfleet; but if it be considered merely as a question of antiquarian curiosity, it is certain that Colbatch, whose mind had been long exerted upon this particular point, had carried his inquiries farther, and established his positions more securely than that illustrious prelate [13].

Discovery of a sect of Atheists.

The last time that I find Dr. Bentley appearing in public, was in the capacity of judge, on an extraordinary and alarming occasion. It was discovered that atheistical principles had insinuated themselves among a party of young men in the University; who having formed a society with some persons in town, were anxiously employed in propagating their tenets. It may generally be remarked that they who throw off all dependance upon revealed religion, with great inconsistency attach their faith to some one leader, as infallible, and embrace all his dogmas with the most slavish submission. The oracle of this confederacy was Mr. Samuel Strutt, of the Temple, a writer now forgotten, who had dressed up the arguments of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and other enemies of religion, in a new shape, and published them a few years before, in a book called 'A Philosophical Enquiry into the Physical Spring of Human Actions;' this his disciples were satisfied to make their code of faith, and the panacea for every doubt [14].

Strutt.

[13] The title at length is, "*The Case of Proxies payable to Ecclesiastical Visitors fully stated: and the Question discussed, whether those payments can upon any account become due from the Parochial Clergy to an Archdeacon, who doth not visit them and their Churches in person? With some Remarks on part of a posthumous Discourse of the late Bishop Stillingfleet, on the antiquity and legality of Archdeacons' Visitations. By* John Colbatch, D.D. *Rector of Orwell, in the Diocese of Ely, and Casuistical Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge*, 1741.

[14] This book was published in 1732. Strutt, who was dead at the time of which we are speaking,

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Whitehead.

Ducket.

Of the members of this fraternity, one only is known to posterity, Paul Whitehead, a poet who trod closely in the steps of Pope, and assailed the friends of Ministers with the lash of furious satire: his poem of 'Manners,' the most successful imitation of Pope's style, had just appeared: but his infidel principles, pursuing their natural course, procured him in time a different kind of notoriety, as secretary of the too notorious brotherhood of Mednam Abbey. Tinkler Ducket, a Fellow of Caius College, who had joined this society of atheists, was pursuing a system of proselytism in his College, when the existence of the sect was discovered by a letter from him addressed to one of his converts. This paper being dropped in the quadrangle, was picked up by another Fellow of the College, Mr. Burrough, then Esquire Beadle, and afterwards Master of Caius, who enjoys the reputation of architect of the Senate House. His reading a letter so found, gives us but a mean opinion of his delicacy or sense of honour: but upon discovery of its contents he felt it his duty to lay them before the authorities of the University. The letter amounted to a full confession of his having reached the *ne plus ultra* of atheism; displayed his veneration for 'the adorable Father Strutt,' the founder of the sect, and expressed his anxiety to remove all scruples and prejudices which might yet linger in the mind of his correspondent. It also revealed incidentally the names of five or six of the fraternity [15].

This discovery occasioned great uneasiness to the University; Dr. Whaley the Vice-chancellor, went to town to consult Archbishop Potter and Bishops Gibson and Sherlock upon the expediency of public proceedings. In the mean time, the existence of a school of atheism

had been a writer in the Craftsman, the opposition journal, which assailed Sir Robert Walpole's government with great ability. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. ix. p. 198, is an amusing attempt of the editor of the Craftsman to exonerate himself from the suspicion of Strutt's intimacy or friendship, which, however, is fairly proved upon him by the ministerial writer in the *Daily Gazetteer* (p. 203, of the same volume) who had gained access to Strutt's papers.

[15] Ducket's letter itself may be seen in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739, vol. ix. p. 203. It had been written Oct. 1734, four years before the discovery; from which circumstance, I cannot help suspecting that it was dropped intentionally by his correspondent, with the design of betraying the writer and his compeers. This supposition, if true, may account for its not being restored unread to the owner.

Public trial.

in the University became a matter of general conversation; and it was found necessary to bring Ducket to a public trial, upon the charge of entertaining and propagating such opinions[16]. The Vice-Chancellor's Court was held in the Law-Schools, March 9th, when the accusation was proved by the production of his own letter; and was confirmed by a remarkable specimen of the practical results of atheism. He had been endeavouring to seduce a female, who was the object of his affections; and strove to remove her conscientious and religious scruples, by persuading her that matrimony was but an institution of human authority; that it was an affront to God to imagine that he would first implant passions in his creatures, and then forbid the gratification of them; adding, as a natural consequence of this reasoning, that her compliance, instead of a sin, would be the highest act of benevolence: at the same time, he endeavoured to remove her fears of discovery, by assuring her that he possessed drops which were a sovereign preventive against pregnancy. These facts were deposed at the trial by the lady herself; who also produced a letter in his handwriting, containing arguments to the same effect. Ducket's defence was a premeditated speech, delivered, as an eye-witness records, 'with grace and intrepidity:' he justified, by quotations from Locke and other writers, freedom of thought and private judgment, and maintained that the atheist was as capable of moral and social virtue as the believer. He declared, however, that he had been for some time convinced of the fallacies of the 'Philosophical Enquiry,' and was become once more a believer in God and Christianity: and to prove the truth of his repentance, he brought the evidence of some persons who had heard him condemn the 'Philosophical Enquiry.' But as it appeared that he had used the arguments of an infidel to debauch the principles of a female, subsequently to that pretended recantation, his

[16] Dr. Waterland writing from Windsor to Dr. Zach. Grey, Jan. 31, 1738-39, says, "I am very sorry to hear the ill-news from Caius College, which is got to town, it seems, and alarms many good men there." Mr. Nichols, who prints this letter in his *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iv. p. 390, observes in a note "What this 'ill-news' was, I leave to be discovered by some future commentator." It now requires no commentator to discover the allusion.

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apology availed him nothing. The Court however adjourned, to deliberate upon their sentence.

March 23. Court adjourned to Bentley's Lodge.

Upon the next Court day, only eight Heads of Colleges appeared in the Schools; whereas a majority of the whole number was indispensably required to sanction the judgment which the Vice-chancellor was then ready to pronounce. Dr. Bentley's liability to catch cold did not suffer him to leave his house: accordingly, in compliment to the Father of the University, and the early refuter of atheistical tenets, the Court was adjourned to Trinity Lodge. Here some persons who generally condemned his words and actions, were scandalized at instances of levity, as ill-suiting the solemnity of the occasion. Tradition in the University still records a jest then uttered by Bentley: he inquired of those about him, 'which was the atheist?' and on Ducket being pointed out, who was a small and spare personage, he exclaimed, "What! is that the atheist? I expected to have seen a man as big as Burrough the beadle[17]." The alleged offence being proved in its full extent, sentence was pronounced upon Ducket, of expulsion from the University; and the Senate passed a vote for taking away his degrees. His fate excited no compassion, since he was a vicious as well as a vain man; and it was no small aggravation, that he was about the age of thirty, and had taken holy orders in the Church[18].

Ducket's expulsion.

Society for the encouragement of learning.

In the year 1736, an association was established in London for the 'Encouragement of Learning,' consisting of numerous personages distinguished for rank and genius; who subscribed to assist authors by publishing their works under the auspices and in part at the cost of the Society. It was an important object for this institution to start with

[17] I cannot determine whether the character in this jest was Mr. Burrough, or his brother-mace Mr. Burrowes, not knowing which was the larger man: the fact is that the portly appearance of the three Esquire-beadles at that day, did much credit to University cheer. They are described by Christopher Smart, in a copy of Latin verses, by the following periphrasis,

"*Pinguia tergeminorum abdomina Bedellorum.*"

[18] My account of the proceedings against Ducket is supplied partly by the University Registers, partly by Cole, and Tunstall, the Public Orator, in a letter to Lord Oxford. Both these gentlemen were present at the trial.

eclat, by printing the work of some great author; and accordingly they offered to commence with the publication of Dr. Bentley's Manilius, which was known to be ready for the press. The Doctor, to their surprise and mortification, instead of gratefully accepting the proffered honour, started certain objections to the tendency of such a Society, which had never occurred to its liberal supporters, and condemned with great freedom the whole undertaking. Piqued at this unexpected rejection of their offer, they addressed a similar proposal to Bentley's old enemy, Conyers Middleton, who was at that time engaged upon his Life of Cicero, which they solicited his permission to publish. He, however, preferred the more lucrative method of printing by subscription: and the Society were obliged to content themselves with authors of less celebrity. The experience, however, of a few years proved the justice of Bentley's exceptions: the design of the Society, liberal and spirited as it undoubtedly was, could not be executed without interfering with the interests of the booksellers, who are, in reality, the most efficient patrons of literature: it became therefore the policy of that whole fraternity to oppose the success of their general rival. In a short time, it was found necessary to take in the co-operation of some booksellers, as partners: but even then, the liberality of the Society to its authors left for the traders such small profits, that they felt no interest in the circulation of its books: and after twelve years' perseverance, it was found that the whole funds of the Society, about 2000*l.* had been expended, without any effectual advance being made towards compassing its public-spirited objects [19].

[19] A full account of the operations of this Society, a list of its original members, and of the books printed by it from 1736 to 1748, the time of its dissolution, is given by Mr. Nichols, in his interesting and valuable repository, the *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii. p. 90-97. Mr. Alexander Gordon, the Secretary of the Society, writes to Dr. Richardson, the Master of Emanuel College, begging him to communicate their offer to Dr. Middleton, and speaking with great indignation of Bentley's rejection of the honour intended for him: "You have no doubt heard in what a discouraging way Dr. Bentley has used our Society: for tho' his work of Manilius was ready to be printed, and he desired by several people to have it published by the Society, he not only raised such ill-grounded objections against the institution itself, but chose to throw it into the hands of a common bookseller, rather than into those of the Society; which has not only made several gentlemen of letters and high life exclaim against the discouraging and ungenerous act, but will be recorded in the learned world, perhaps, when he is dead and rotten. Such men de-

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Publication of Bentley's Manilius.

Dr. Bentley having resolved to give to the world his Manilius, which had been prepared for publication no less than forty-five years before, it was printed at the newly-established press of Henry Woodfall. In elegance of type and paper it is superior to any of Bentley's other books, and is as beautiful in appearance as the Society itself could have made it. It is embellished with a remarkably fine engraving, by Vertue, of his own portrait painted by Thornhill in 1710, and illustrated by a representation of the celestial sphere of the ancients, taken from a model of the globe in the Farnese Palace, lately brought from Rome by Mr. Martin Folkes, the eminent antiquarian scholar, and the well-known President of the Royal Society. The Doctor thinking his edition of Homer the utmost that he could now hope to accomplish, committed to his nephew, Richard, by whom this volume was carried through the press, the task of writing the preface; the object of which was to defend his opinion of the age and character of Manilius, and to explain the *subsidia* used in this edition. He establishes satisfactorily, as I think, by internal arguments, that the author of the *Astronomicon*, whoever he might be, wrote in the reign of Augustus: and accounts for the frequent harshness of his diction, by supposing him to have been a foreigner.

The remarks which we have had occasion to make upon our critic's editions of other Latin poets, are for the most part applicable to that of Manilius. His observations are always ingenious, acute, and well worthy of consideration: but a great many of his emendations had better have been spared; and most of the verses which he condemns as spurious, appear as much the offspring of the poet as any others in the book: upon the whole, however, the reader will find more to approve than to condemn. But to say the truth, no great accession of reputation could be obtained by an edition of Manilius; since he is a poet never likely to be generally read: with the exception of three or four digressions, both the beauties and faults of which strongly remind us of Ovid, the perusal of the poem is a work of rather severe study;

serve fleecing from booksellers; and I am mistaken if he or his editors will not meet with it: I am sure none will regret them. But it is hoped, nay expected, from the excellent character Dr. Middleton bears in the world, that our Society will meet with other treatment from him."

owing principally to the abstruse and uninviting nature of the subject; as Manilius himself declares:

Intendas animum; nec dulcia carmina quæras;
Ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri.

Nevertheless, one cannot help recollecting with what poetical charms even this subject is invested, when it falls into the hands of the author of the Georgics [20].

Bentley has a paralytic stroke.

I believe it to have been shortly after this time that Dr. Bentley was afflicted by an attack of palsy; and was, in consequence, forced to abandon all hope of executing his edition of Homer, or any other literary work. Perhaps the reader may be surprised, after so much minute detail of the life of my hero, that I should be unacquainted with the precise time when he was struck by this warning of mortality. Nothing, however, that I have ever seen, notices the period of the blow; but of the fact itself, there can be no doubt. It is a tradition in College, that in his latter days he was paralytic; and Mr. Cumberland distinctly records that when he remembered his grandfather, he was disabled by that malady from quitting his chair without the assistance of a servant. At the trial of Ducket, in the early part of 1739, an eye-witness observes that he appeared in perfect health: and Taylor, in his *Lectiones Lysiacæ*, published the same year, expresses the general and anxious expectation of Bentley's edition of Homer, upon which he was then daily employed [21].

Is disabled from publishing Homer.

After this year, I hear no more of his pursuing that work: his notes, which he was writing out in a copy-book for the press, end abruptly in the sixth book of the Iliad; so that I have little doubt but that they were broken off and the hopes of the classical world defeated by his paralytic seizure. I apprehend that the stroke was not very severe; and that he partially recovered its effects: he certainly continued able to amuse himself

[20] Some very able and interesting observations upon Manilius, as well as upon Bentley's criticisms, may be found in an article of the *Monthly Review*, vol. lxxi. p. 456, which proceeded from the pen of Dr. Parr. It is a critique of an edition of Manilius, published in 1783, by Mr. Edmund Burton, a gentleman of fortune, formerly a Fellow of Trinity College.

[21] Taylor, *Lectiones Lysiacæ*, cap. 9. (tom. vi. p. 287. ed Reiske.)

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with reading till a few days before his death: but all possibility of continuing his editorial labours was precluded.

1740. February. Death of Mrs. Bentley.

In the early part of the following year Dr. Bentley sustained a calamity of a still severer nature, by the death of his wife, in the fortieth year of their union[22]. Deprived of the comfort and support of her society and virtues, he felt for the first time the real afflictions of mortality. His daughters were both married: the eldest had first been the wife of Mr. Humphrey Ridge, a gentleman of good family in Hampshire, who, in less than a year, left her a widow. After his death she returned to her father's house, and solaced, by her attentions, the affliction of his declining years. In this duty she was joined by her sister, Mrs. Cumberland: after the death of her mother, she and her family passed much of their time in Trinity Lodge[23]. Surrounded with such friends, the Doctor experienced the joint pressure of old age and infirmity as lightly as is consistent with the lot of humanity. He continued to amuse himself with reading; and though nearly confined to his arm-chair, was able to enjoy the society of his friends, and several rising scholars, who sought the conversation of the veteran Grecian: with them he still discussed the readings of classical authors, recited Homer, and expounded the doctrine of the digamma; and, as it appears from the recollections of one of his visitors, Mr. Salter, used to communicate the earlier events of his own literary career. Walter Taylor, the Greek Professor, an *eleve* of his own, was much in his society; as well as his more distinguished namesake, John Taylor. Markland is also mentioned among those who were admitted to his conversation; and his two nephews, Thomas and Richard Bentley, both of whom were attached to him with filial regard, and had directed their studies agreeably to his taste and advice, were the frequent companions of his old age. But his constant associate, at all times, except in his hours of study, was the Vice-master, Walker, whose firmness and attachment had borne him safe through the perils of the late prosecution. His good-humour

Bentley's intimates in old age.

[22] The Register of All Saints parish mentions, on Feb. 29, 1739-40, the payment of the chancel-fee for the wife of Dr. Bentley, who died in Trinity Lodge, and was buried in Huntingdonshire. Cumberland in his Memoirs, p. 15, gives some account of her character and death.

[23] *Cumberland's Memoirs*, p. 26.

and veneration for his aged superior, contributed to make the attentions of Dr. Walker a great comfort in his latter days. Meanwhile the whole government of the College was left in the hands of the Vice-master; who seems to have managed matters with such address, that the four years of Bentley's life, subsequent to the prosecution, were, as far as I can discover, free from disturbance or uneasiness. It is a proof of no common tact and judgment, that after so violent an agitation for many years, he should have been able to calm the excited and angry feelings with which the Society had been distracted.

His domestic habits.

As the minor particulars of the lives of great men are objects of curiosity, it is recorded that Bentley enjoyed smoking tobacco with his constant companion; a practice which he did not begin before his seventieth year: he is stated also to have been an admirer of good Port wine, while he thought contemptuously of Claret, which, he said, 'would be Port if it could.' He generally wore, while sitting in his study, a hat with an enormous brim, as a shade to protect his eyes; and he affected more than ever a fashion of addressing his familiars with the singular pronouns *thou* and *thee*.

Cumberland's account of him.

Some amusing recollections of Bentley in his old age have been printed by his grandson, Mr. Cumberland, in the 'Memoirs of his own Life.' It would be injustice to that author to give them in any words but his own; since the lively and characteristic style in which the anecdotes are told, constitutes their chief value. As he was a child of ten years old at the time of his grandfather's death, it is not likely that his impressions were very vivid of any particulars, except the old man's personal kindness towards himself. He had opportunities, indeed, of learning from his mother and other relations accurate particulars respecting his distinguished ancestor, but that he did not avail himself of them, appears from the frequent mistakes which he incurs. It was his object to paint the domestic character of the great scholar in a pleasing and amiable light, and to counteract the general impression which prevailed of his stern and overbearing manners; to this purpose he devotes the best efforts of his polished and agreeable style.

"Of Doctor Richard Bentley, my maternal grandfather, I shall next take leave to speak. Of him I have perfect recollection. His person, his dignity, his language and

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his love, fixed my early attention, and stamped both his image and his words upon my memory. His literary works are known to all, his private character is still misunderstood by many; to that I shall confine myself, and, putting aside the enthusiasm of a descendant, I can assert, with the veracity of a biographer, that he was neither cynical, as some have represented him, nor overbearing and fastidious in the degree, as he has been described by many." *Cumberland's Memoirs*, p. 7.

"I had a sister[24] somewhat elder than myself. Had there been any of that sternness in my grandfather, which is so falsely imputed to him, it may well be supposed we should have been awed into silence in his presence, to which we were admitted every day. Nothing can be further from the truth; he was the unwearied patron and promoter of all our childish sports and sallies; at all times ready to detach himself from any topic of conversation to take an interest and bear his part in our amusements. The eager curiosity natural to our age, and the questions it gave birth to, so teazing to many parents, he, on the contrary, attended to and encouraged, as the claims of infant reason never to be evaded or abused; strongly recommending, that to all such inquiries answer should be given according to the strictest truth, and information dealt to us in the clearest terms, as a sacred duty never to be departed from. I have broken in upon him many a time in his hours of study, when he would put his book aside, ring his hand-bell for his servant, and be led to his shelves to take down a picture-book for my amusement. I do not say that his good-nature always gained its object, as the pictures which his books generally supplied me with were anatomical drawings of dissected bodies, very little calculated to communicate delight; but he had nothing better to produce; and surely such an effort on his part, however unsuccessful, was no feature of a cynic: a 'cynic should be made of sterner stuff.' I have had from him, at times, whilst standing at his elbow, a complete and entertaining narrative of his school-boy days, with the characters of his different masters very humourously displayed, and the punishments described, which they at times would wrongfully inflict upon him for seeming to be idle and regardless of his task, 'When the dunces,' he would say, 'could not discover that I was pondering it in my mind, and fixing it more firmly in my memory, than if I had been bawling it out amongst the rest of my school-fellows.'

"Once, and only once, I recollect his giving me a gentle rebuke for making a most outrageous noise in the room over his library and disturbing him in his studies; I had no apprehension of anger from him, and confidently answered that I could not help it, as I had been at battledore and shuttlecock with Master Gooch, the Bishop of Ely's son[25]. 'And I have been at this sport with his father,' he replied; 'but thine has been the more amusing game; so there's no harm done.'" *Ibid.* p. 7.

"His ordinary style of conversation was naturally lofty, and his frequent use of *thou* and *thee* with his familiars carried with it a kind of dictatorial tone, that savoured more

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[24] Cumberland had three sisters, and all living about the period of these anecdotes. See the will of Dr. Bentley, *Appendix*, No. IV.

[25] This is an anticipation. Dr. Gooch did not become Bishop of Ely till several years after Bentley's death. He was at that time Bishop of Norwich.

of the closet than the court; this is readily admitted, and this on first approaches might mislead a stranger; but the native candour and inherent tenderness of his heart could not long be veiled from observation, for his feelings and affections were at once too impulsive to be long repressed, and he too careless of concealment to attempt at qualifying them." *Ibid.* p. 9.

"How liable he was to deviate from the strict line of justice, by his partiality to the side of mercy, appears from the anecdote of the thief, who robbed him of his plate, and was seized and brought before him with the very articles upon him: the natural process in this man's case pointed out the road to prison; my grandfather's process was more summary, but not quite so legal. While Commissary Greaves, who was then present, and of counsel for the College *Ex officio*, was expatiating on the crime, and prescribing the measures obviously to be taken with the offender, Doctor Bentley interposed, saying, 'Why tell the man he is a thief? he knows that well enough, without thy information, Greaves.—Harkye, fellow, thou see'st the trade which thou hast taken up is an unprofitable trade, therefore get thee gone, lay aside an occupation by which thou can'st gain nothing but a halter, and follow that by which thou may'st earn an honest livelihood.' Having said this, he ordered him to be set at liberty against the remonstrances of the bye-standers, and insisting upon it that the fellow was duly penitent for his offence, bade him go his way and never steal again." *Ibid.* p. 14.

Pope's fresh offence against Bentley.

It was at this time, when Bentley was too much sunk under the load of years and infirmity to be an object of jealousy or resentment, that Pope chose to write against him a severe satire, and Warburton assisted his friend in holding him up to ridicule and contempt. The spleen of the satirist appears to have been lately increased and irritated by the interference of Thomas Bentley, who had, indiscreetly perhaps, taken up the cudgels in his uncle's cause, and addressed an angry letter to Pope in some of the journals. As none of the commentators have given a clue to find this epistle, I can only conjecture from circumstances, that it was written in 1740, and that it was intended to resent some ridicule cast upon our Aristarchus. That point, however, is of no importance; few people, except Pope, would have suffered themselves to be disturbed by such effusions, and a writer who passed his life in satirizing others, ought not to have complained of occasional attempts at retaliation. It appears from his correspondence with Warburton, that the latter had suggested to the poet some ludicrous comparison, as applicable to the uncle and nephew: Pope's reply betrays much asperity and anger: Oct. 27, 1740. "Your simile," says he, "of B— and his nephew, would make an excellent epigram. But all satire is become so ineffectual, when the

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last step that virtue can stand upon, *shame*, is taken away, that epigram must expect to do nothing even in its own little province, and upon its own little subjects [26]." Not long afterwards, the scheme of the fourth Book of the Dunciad, was suggested to the satirist by Warburton; here it was arranged that the Aristarchus of Cambridge should perform a conspicuous character. Even the greatest admirers of Pope must acknowledge that this piece, relating as it does, to subjects which have no connection with those ridiculed in the three former books, is an incongruous appendage to his poem; nor was it very decent to introduce his sarcasms upon such characters as Bentley, Clarke, and Mead, the ornaments of the age in which they lived, as the sequel of a satire, designed to ridicule the dulness and poverty of the scribblers who wrote for bread in the purlieus of Smithfield and Grub-Street. The long oration assigned to Bentley, who appears as the representative of the two Universities, consists in reflections upon the whole system of academical studies, whether classical, philosophical, or metaphysical. Though some of the verses are excellent, the satire is too general to be felt, the irony is not happily sustained, and the fiction of the speaker is inappropriate. The opening lines only are personally applicable, and are meant to describe his appearance and manner.

Fourth book of the Dunciad.

> "As many quit the streams that murm'ring fall
> To lull the sons of Marg'ret and Clare Hall,
> Where Bentley late tempestuous wont to sport
> In troubled waters, but now sleeps in Port.
> Before them march'd that awful Aristarch;
> Plow'd was his front with many a deep remark:

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[26] *Pope's Works*, vol. ix. p. 379. There is an epigram upon Bentley, given by Mr. Bowles, as Pope's, he having found it in his hand-writing: but even the evidence of his hand-writing is hardly sufficient to make us believe that the great poet was the father of so paltry a production:—

> "Did Milton's prose, O Charles, thy death defend?
> A furious foe unconscious proves a friend.
> On Milton's verse did Bentley comment? Know
> A weak, officious friend becomes a foe:
> While he but sought his author's fame to further,
> The murd'rous critic has aveng'd thy murder." Vol. iv. p. 32.

His hat, which never vail'd to human pride,
Walker with rev'rence took, and laid aside.
Low bow'd the rest: he, kingly, did but nod;
So upright Quakers please both man and God.
'Mistress! dismiss that rabble from your throne:
Avaunt—Is Aristarchus yet unknown?
Thy mighty scholiast, whose unwearied pains
Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's strains.
Turn what they will to verse, their toil is vain:
Critics like me shall make it prose again.
Roman and Greek grammarians! know your better,
Author of something yet more great than letter;
While tow'ring o'er your alphabet, like Saul,
Stands our digamma, and o'ertops them all.'"

The conclusion of the scene again exhibits the individual character:

"'Walker, our hat!'—nor more he deign'd to say,
But stern as Ajax' spectre, strode away."

Cumberland is seriously displeased with this allusion, and very gravely maintains the improbability of his grandfather's ever commanding the Vice-master to reach his hat: but it does happen that for this scene the poet had some authority in the following anecdote which had been related to him. Philip Miller, the celebrated botanist, and author of the 'Gardener's Dictionary,' went on an embassy to Cambridge to consult the Aristarchus upon some classical subject, for the advantage of a foreign scholar. He was hospitably received at Trinity Lodge, and, after dinner, propounded his question; when Bentley, perhaps not approving this style of consultation, recommended him to 'drink his wine.' Miller, however, took three opportunities of recurring to the object of his mission, when Bentley, offended, called to his faithful companion, "Walker! my hat—" and quitted the room in a manner not unlike that described by the poet [27]. The Vice-master himself was so far from being mortified at the manner in which his name was connected with Bentley's, that after the Doctor's death he preserved the identical hat, hung upon a peg in his College rooms, and used to point it out to

Miller the botanist.

[27] This anecdote is told by Mr. George Ashby, in some manuscripts in the possession of Sir Thomas Cullum, Bart., communicated to me by his kindness.

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persons who visited him, as a relique and memorial of his revered friend.

This satire first appeared in 1742, and, I believe, just before the decease of the aged critic. Thomas Bentley was not forgotten; but ere the opportunity occurred for discharging the bile which was nourished against him, he was no longer living to be sensible of its effects. In

Thomas Bentley's publication.

1741 he published his handsome and well-known edition of the Hymns of Callimachus; which seems principally intended for the use of schools. His preface consists of a remonstrance against a method, then prevalent, of reading Greek with attention only to the accent, and a neglect of quantity; or, to speak more correctly, of changing the quantities of Greek words, in order to make them correspond with the accents [28]: but of the exact nature of accent and quantity themselves, it exhibits no very distinct knowledge. The next year appeared his edition of Cæsar, in which the notes of his friend, Dr. Jurin, are given along with his own. In both these publications, the devoted attachment of Thomas to his venerable uncle is conspicuously shown. The termination of the nephew's career was now at hand: being in a bad state of health, he was sent by medical advice to Clifton: here he was making an excursion on the water; when, being very ill, he begged

His death. May 27, 1742.

to be put ashore: but before the boat reached the bank he expired [29]. About a year after his death, Pope published his Dunciad complete, with its large commentary; and although the object of his resentment was sheltered from him by the grave, exhibited his anger by a severe reflection. It may be recollected that Thomas had printed, thirty years before, a small edition of Horace, with his uncle's text, de-

[28] The only point worthy of notice in this piece is the fact that it was an ordinary practice at that day to pronounce the following words, with the quantities, as here marked: *rĭθῆμι*, *κινδῦνος*, *ἀκρῐ́βης*, *Δημοσθĕνης*.

[29] Communicated by Mr. Bentley Warren. He is buried in the church of Clifton, with the following inscription:

Hic jacet Corpus
Thomæ Bentley, LL.D.
Qui obiit xxviii Maii,
Anno 1742,
Ætat. 50.

dicated to Lord Harley. It was therefore determined to fasten upon him the couplet in the second book of the Dunciad, which had hitherto been understood, as it was undoubtedly designed, to apply to the great Aristarchus, and his well-known dedication of Horace to the Earl of Oxford. *Bentley his mouth with classic flattery opes*, &c. The sting, however, was comprised in the following commentary:

"Not spoken of the famous Dr. Richard Bentley, but of one Thomas Bentley, a small critic, who aped his uncle in a *little Horace*. The great one was intended to be dedicated to the Lord Halifax, but (on a change of the ministry) was given to the Earl of Oxford; for which reason the little one was dedicated to his son, the Lord Harley."—

This note, to which Warburton's name is subscribed, goes on to give an extract from the dedication, verbally translated, and concludes with mentioning his offensive letter to Mr. Pope.

In this edition of the Dunciad appeared the numerous notes, with the signature of Bentley, written either by Pope or his friend, in imitation of our critic's style: the idea of making an adversary the commentator upon his work being probably borrowed from the example of Swift in his 'Tale of a Tub.' At the same time a dissertation, burlesquing the style of Bentley, under the title of 'Richardus Aristarchus upon the Hero of the Poem,' was prefixed by Warburton. This great writer has attained such reputation for commanding genius and unbounded learning, that it would be but a small addition to his glory to say that he was an able mimic. But in truth, this performance seems a very ordinary one of its kind; while the publication of such buffoonery against an illustrious scholar, lately dead, for whom, in his sincere judgment, he entertained the highest admiration, is a proof neither of good taste nor good feeling. Indeed the whole conduct of Warburton in relation to Bentley is remarkable. He had not any cause of offence against him; nor did he, like his friend, regard the race of critics with aversion: on the contrary, no one more fully appreciated the value of criticism, or better estimated the learning, and genius of Bentley [30]. His literary ambition, however, which took aim at the highest objects, had led him to exert uncom-

Warburton's conduct in respect to Bentley.

[30] Warburton, writing advice to Mr. W. Greene, in 1738, on a course of studies, directs him to the study of the best critics, such as Jos. Scaliger, Casaubon, Lipsius, Turnebus, &c.; "but, above all, Dr. Bentley and Bishop Hare, *who are the greatest men in this way that ever were.*"

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mon pains in his 'Divine Legation of Moses,' to controvert Bentley's positions respecting the laws attributed to Zaleucus and Charondas, maintained in his dissertation on Phalaris. Of all the antagonists of our critic, Warburton was most worthy to be matched in such a combat: both his reading and his logical powers admitted a comparison with those of Bentley; and had they been more nearly of an age, it is probable that the world would have seen the powers of both called out in a controversy. But Warburton's classical education not having been regular, his learning was neither so sound, nor so secure as that seen in the dissertation on Phalaris; and there is much justice in the well-known remark attributed to Bentley, on reading the 'Divine Legation,' that 'the author had a voracious appetite for knowledge, but he doubted whether he had a good digestion.' Although he treats the veteran scholar with the respect due to his merits and character, yet it is easy to discover from this and other parts of his great work, that he was
1741. jealous of his fame, and proposed himself as his rival. In the second part of the 'Divine Legation,' his reply to Collins' book 'On the Grounds of the Christian Religion,' plainly emulates the celebrated answer of Phileleutherus to his 'Discourse of Freethinking [31]. In some places there may, I think, be discovered a spirit of detraction, and a desire to degrade Bentley in estimation [32]. Whether it is to be attributed to this cause, or a wish to gratify the spleen of his friend Pope, that he condescended to turn his style into ridicule, in neither case is the fact creditable to his own character. It is more satisfactory to remark that Warburton shows an anxiety to make some amends by the introduction of a note on another part of Pope's works, in his edition published after the poet's death, in which he expresses a wish 'to do that justice to Bentley, which he never met with while alive [33].' In the same spirit,

[31] *Divine Legation*, B. VI. Section 6.

[32] Particularly in the long note on the *Divine Legation*, B. II. Section 3, in which he labours to convict Bentley of want of veracity relative to his alleged plagiarism from Vizzanius in his *Dissert. on Phal.* p. 54. But he does not make out his case in a way which can satisfy any liberal mind in admitting such a charge. The subject has been already mentioned in p. 81.

[33] Pope's imitation of Horace's *Epist. to August.* V. 104. In another part of his Commentary on Pope's works, Warburton applies to Bentley the following quotation from Cicero: "Habuit a natura genus quoddam acuminis, quod etiam arte limaverat, quod erat in reprehen-

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in a letter to his friend Hurd, he declares himself 'charmed with the latter's generous concern for the character of a truly great and much injured man, Dr. Bentley [33].'"

Singular proof of Bentley's sagacity in correcting a Greek inscription.

Shortly before Bentley's death, justice was publicly done to a very remarkable instance of his critical sagacity, and intimate acquaintance with the Greek language. Chishull had inserted in his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ* an inscription taken from an ancient marble, which had belonged to the temple of Jupiter Urius in the Bosphorus, at the entrance of the Euxine sea. This had been separately copied long before by the two travellers, Wheeler and Spon; Chishull printed the eight elegiac lines of which it consisted, in a somewhat corrected form; hereupon 1729. Bentley had written a criticism, restoring them according to his own judgment, as he imagined they must have been intended by the author, and supposing the errors to have proceeded from the two travellers by whom they were copied. These remarks being sent in a letter, probably addressed to his friend Dr. Mead, were communicated, without the author's name, to Chishull; who replied in two letters, partly approving and partly rejecting, as inadmissible, the corrections of the anonymous critic. It must be allowed to have been no common instance of boldness, to dispute the testimony, separately given, of two learned eye-witnesses. But not long afterwards the marble itself was brought to 1731. England; and, improbable as such a thing might appear, every word of the inscription, when examined, turned out to be literally and exactly as Bentley had conjectured that it ought to be read. John Taylor was at this time publishing his Latin Thesis which he had delivered in the Law-Schools, when keeping his Act: by way of an appendix to his essay, he transcribed and printed a *fac-simile* of the inscription itself, along with Bentley's Letter and Chishull's reply, copies of which had been given him by the veteran critic, whose sagacity he had the satisfaction of displaying by such a signal example [34]. In the same pub-

dendis verbis versutum et solers; sed sæpe stomachosum, nonnunquam frigidum, interdum etiam facetum."

[33] *Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends*, 8vo. p. 9.

[34] *Commentarius ad Legem Decemviralem de inope Debitore in partes dissecando: quem in Scholis Juridicis Cantabrigiæ*, Junii xxii. 1741, *recitavit* JOANNES TAYLOR, LL.D.

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lication Taylor inserted another letter of Bentley's, written in 1735, and containing a specimen of his accuracy in a different way: it was the explanation of the date of a Persic manuscript just given to the Public Library, shewing that the term *Yonane* 1504, implied that year of the æra of the Seleucidæ, corresponding with A.D. 1193; *Yonane* or *Iounan* being the name by which the Eastern nations called the people of the Greek Empire under the successors of Alexander.

My narrative has now reached its last stage; and no more remains but to relate the termination of Bentley's mortal career. He used in his old age to compare himself with 'an old trunk, which, if you let it alone, will last a long time; but if you jumble it by moving, will soon fall to pieces[35].' Tradition in Cambridge has recorded that he said, he thought himself likely to live to fourscore, an age long enough to read every thing which was worth reading; adding in his peculiar manner,

Et tunc magna mei sub terris ibit imago.

June 10.

In January 1742 he completed his eightieth year. In June, I find that his health and spirits enabled him to officiate as examiner and elector to Lord Craven's two University Scholarships[36]: about a month afterwards he was seized with a complaint which is said to have been a pleuritic fever. He himself suggested that his case required bleeding; but Dr. Heberden, who was then a young physician practising at Cambridge, would not venture upon that remedy. The illness appearing serious, his family sent to Stamford for Dr. Wallis, who lost no time in going to Cambridge to visit his venerable friend: but before his arrival, Dr. Bentley was no more. He expired on the 14th of July. Dr. Wallis is stated to have expressed much regret that the patient's own suggestion had not been complied with.

Bentley's last illness. July.

His death.

His remains were interred on the north side of the communion-rails of

[35] Markland's Letter to Bowyer. *Nichols' Lit. Anec.* vol. iv. p. 351.

[36] The scholars elected were John Hardy Craven, and Christopher Smart. From a memorandum in the Registrary's Office, it appears that the former was chosen solely on account of his name, in compliance with a clause in the founder's will. A strong protest was entered by Taylor, the Greek Professor, against his election, upon the ground of his insufficiency in learning.

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Funeral.

the College chapel; after the ceremony, a funeral oration in Latin was spoken in commendation of the deceased, by Mr. Philip Yonge, at that time one of the College tutors, who became shortly afterwards Public Orator, and in process of time Bishop of Norwich [37]. A small square stone in the pavement comprises the only memorial of Dr. Bentley; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that the inscription on this stone withholds from him his title of Master of the College. This omission obviously proceeded from that part of the Fellows, who contended that after the Visitor's sentence of deprivation, he had ceased to be their legitimate Head; and I infer from it, that Colbatch's party happened at that moment to be sufficiently strong to make the suppression of his title a condition of the interment taking place in the chapel with the usual honours [38]. The feelings resulting from the late feuds will account for no monument being erected to the memory of this illustrious character.

Disposition of his property.

The particulars of his will do not enable us to ascertain the extent of his property. He bequeathed 500*l.* to each of his daughters, and 500*l.* to each of Mrs. Cumberland's four children; his property in Bank-stock to his son Richard Bentley, and the residue of his effects to be divided equally between his son and two daughters: but the amount of the Bank-stock, is not specified. By what I have gathered from connections of his family, I apprehend that Dr. Bentley, though

[37] It happened that on the day of Bentley's funeral, the celebrated physician, Sir George Baker, first went from Eton to be admitted a scholar of King's College. The reputation for scholarship which he brought with him was so high, that a prognostication of his future fame was expressed by this quotation:

uno avulso, non deficit alter
Aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.

The prediction may be said to have been verified, though not in the instance of Baker himself, yet in that of an *eleve* of his, whom his liberality enabled to go to the University of Cambridge—*Richard Porson*, the person who, of all scholars subsequent to Bentley, can best be compared with his great model.

[38] The following is the inscription on the stone:

H. S. E.
Richardus Bentley, S. T. P. R.
Obiit xiv Jul. 1742.
Ætatis 80.

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accused by his enemies of amassing money almost all his life, was really able to leave but a very moderate provision for his family. Although he had several pieces of preferment, yet the amount of the whole, did not, I think, exceed 1300*l.* or 1400*l.* a year, at the utmost. His son, who was brought up to no profession, had occasioned him considerable expense. Upon the whole, I doubt whether the savings of his long life were more than five thousand pounds.

His library and papers.

The most valuable bequest of Bentley, was that of his library and papers; the whole of these (except some old Greek Manuscripts brought from Mount Athos, which he left to the College) he made the property of his nephew, Richard, the sole executor of his will; probably expecting that he would give to the world his edition of the New Testament, and others of his unpublished lucubrations. But this gentleman never edited any posthumous works of his uncle; and returned the money of the subscribers to the Testament. Part of the books were sold immediately, the possessor not having a house large enough to contain the whole; the remainder continued in his parsonage at Nailstone, in Leicestershire, till his death in 1786 [39], when they also were sold by auction: but with one important exception. The whole of Bentley's manuscripts and critical apparatus for his edition of the New Testament, his corrected copy of Homer, and copy-book of manuscript notes, his Hesychius, and Hephæstion, were bequeathed by Doctor Richard to Trinity College, of which he continued a Fellow till his death. He had many years before given a valuable portion of his uncle's classical books, bearing his marginal notes, along with his literary correspondence, to Mr. Cumberland, the well-known dramatist and poet, by whom the papers were transferred to Trinity College, and the volumes sold to Lackington the bookseller; but by the public spirit and right feeling of the latter, his entire purchase became the property of the British Museum, and, as I have understood, without any advance of price.

His family.

After Dr. Bentley's death, his eldest daughter, Mrs. Ridge, married

[39] The account of Dr. Richard Bentley, given in the obituary of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1786, p. 268, confounds him with his cousin, Dr. Thomas Bentley, who had been dead forty-four years.

the Rev. James Favell, a Fellow of Trinity College, of high character, and an admired preacher in the University pulpit. Mr. Cumberland, his other son-in-law, became, in process of time, the Bishop of Kilmore. His son, Richard Bentley, is well known to fame, both by his writings, and his intimacy with Bubb Dodington, Horace Walpole, and Gray. All his contemporaries agree in acknowledging the extent of his genius, and in lamenting that his pursuits were so desultory and various, as to preclude him from obtaining in any line that eminence which his talents qualified him to reach.

Remarks on the personal character of Dr. Bentley.

It may be expected of a biographer that he should at the end of his work give a careful and well-balanced summary of his hero's character. But this is a task which I must confess my disinclination to undertake. Having spared no pains in collecting every particular which I could discover respecting the conduct and opinions of Dr. Bentley, and in comparing and weighing different representations of them; and having carefully and impartially communicated the results to my readers, I have enabled them to form as just an estimate as I can myself do, of the character of that extraordinary personage. Were I now to sum up my own opinions of his mind, his principles, disposition, and talents, it would be presumptuous to expect that they should coincide in all respects with those of a reader who has accompanied me throughout my narrative. But I have another reason for my unwillingness to descant further upon the particulars of Bentley's character: it appears to me that his passions were not always under the controul, nor his actions under the guidance, of Christian principles; that, in consequence, pride and ambition, the faults to which his nature was most exposed, were suffered to riot without restraint; and that hence proceeded the display of arrogance, selfishness, obstinacy, and oppression, by which it must be confessed that his career was disfigured. That nature, however, had not denied to him certain amiable qualities of the heart, and that he possessed in a considerable degree many of the social and endearing virtues, is proved beyond a doubt by the warm and steady affection with which he was regarded by his family and his intimate friends.

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His literary merits.

Upon Bentley's literary character I have already made frequent observations, which it would be superfluous to repeat. It is now sufficient to remark, that his merits have been universally acknowledged by subsequent scholars, both in this country and on the continent: the disposition to censure the faults of his writings, which we have so frequently observed, appeared to cease with his life; and the learned of all countries have joined in assigning to him the title of Prince of Scholars. Not that they have been blind to the errors of his criticism, particularly his unnecessary and tasteless alterations in Latin poetry; but they have discovered and acknowledged the signal benefit of his productions, in the information which they convey, and the exercise which they supply to the judgment.

The reader of the foregoing Memoirs will have observed, how greatly the literary career of Dr. Bentley was affected and influenced by the extraordinary complexion of his personal history: no one can fail to regret that so large a portion of his time should have been worse than wasted in unseemly contests; or to remark that, however great and durable the reputation which he has actually achieved, his literary performances might have been still more honourable to himself, and more beneficial to the public, had he not been engaged in an incessant struggle to retain his rank and preferment. But, putting this consideration aside, I am disposed to think that he did not correctly understand the nature of his own qualifications, and that his powers were not always exerted in the field where they were most capable of benefitting the world. At the time of composing the most learned of his works, the enlarged Dissertation on Phalaris, Bentley was in his thirty-eighth year; and although he continued his literary labours to more than double that age, yet he never produced any thing equal or similar to this admirable piece. His Remarks on Freethinking, though a hasty composition, serve as a specimen of the powerful effect which he could produce when he brought the energies of his mind, and stores of his erudition, to serve in the maintenance of truth and refutation of sophistry. In such a line he would, I conceive, have exercised his learning, acuteness, and powers of application, with far more benefit to mankind, than in that conjectural criticism, which should have

been rather the sport and amusement, than the serious and staple occupation of a genius like Bentley's. In this favourite pursuit he displayed his ingenuity and quickness, often at the expense of sound judgment and correct taste; and his learning was too much employed in defending his fanciful alterations of the text of a Latin poet, when it ought to have been devoted to maintain and illustrate truth. Notwithstanding this frequent abuse of his erudition, such is the power of genius, and so great the preponderance of his solid and unshaken merits, that Bentley has established a school of criticism, of which the greatest scholars since his time have been proud to consider themselves members; and, in spite of the envy and opposition of his contemporaries, has attained a more exalted reputation than has hitherto been the lot of any one in the department of ancient literature.

It is not improbable that some readers, who have felt an interest in the particulars about Trinity College unavoidably connected with my narrative, may wish for a little information respecting the subsequent history of that Society, and the steps by which it rose to its present eminence. Having given in the seventh Chapter a brief account of the College previous to the mastership of Dr. Bentley, I will here annex an outline of such later occurrences as are most worthy of record.

Dr. Robert Smith, the relative and successor of Cotes, became Master upon Bentley's death: he had been a partizan of his predecessor in the recent feuds; nevertheless, he seems by his equitable and judicious conduct to have healed all wounds, and conciliated all parties. The peace of the College was, however, sometimes disturbed by the violent temper and eccentric conduct of Dr. Parne. This gentleman officiated as deputy to Dr. Whaley, (who succeeded Bentley as Regius Professor of Divinity) and is said to have acquitted himself in the Schools with much ability and a graceful manner. But in the meantime he became embarrassed with debts, probably resulting from his tutorship; and the agitation of such circumstances operating on a mind which seems always to have been in a high degree of excitement, produced unequivocal symptoms of insanity; whereupon he was exiled from the College with an allowance for his support. Just at that time the death
1749. of Dr. Colbatch occasioned the revival of those proceedings, to which he had devoted so large a portion of his life, and a fresh attempt was made to ascertain the Visitor of Trinity College. The rectory of Orwell was taken by Dr. Vernon, who already possessed the living of St. George's Bloomsbury: the statutes ordain, that no one shall hold two livings along with his fellowship; but as St. George's was one of the churches recently built, and therefore not in the King's books, Vernon contended that it ought not to be regarded as a benefice contemplated by the statutes. The Master and Seniors holding a different
1750. opinion declared his fellowship vacant, and he immediately appealed

against their decision to the Bishop of Ely as Visitor. Dr. Gooch, the Master of Caius College, who had performed so conspicuous a part in Bentley's history, then occupied the see of Ely; but he warned by the example of his predecessors, was not forward to interpose in the affairs of Trinity College; and the Court of King's Bench was moved to compel him by a mandamus to discharge the office of Visitor. The Master and a majority of the Seniors, having been of Bentley's party in the former disputes, adopted his view of the question, and resolved to maintain that the King alone possessed that authority. The action which ensued bears a close resemblance to the last that we detailed, in 1738: on this occasion however the Court directed that the Attorney-General, Sir Dudley Ryder, should be heard on behalf of the rights of the Crown. This action concluded, like the last, with determining nothing: Chief Justice Lee pronounced that the question, in whom the Visitatorial power existed, was not to be settled by the Court, but ought to be decided by a jury. Parne, who being incensed against his brethren had joined with Vernon in this action, died shortly after its termination. Thus ended the litigations which had agitated the College with little intermission for above forty years: at the close of that long term the question was left in exactly the same state of uncertainty as at the beginning. I am not aware of any subsequent attempts made to litigate the point: the Society, seemingly in despair of ever obtaining a decision from the law, settled it among themselves; and all personal feelings having subsided, the members have ever since acquiesced in what happened to be the sense of the majority when it was last under discussion, and have regarded the Crown as Visitor of the College. In the few and trifling cases of appeal which have since occurred, justice has been administered promptly and without difficulty, by the Lord Chancellor on behalf of the Sovereign.

From that time the College was enabled to pursue undisturbed the main objects of its institution, the education of youth, and the cultivation of philosophy, literature, and religion. Its advance in reputation corresponded with the spirit of industry and study which, when not interrupted by domestic jars, became again the pervading principle of

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the society. In the meantime its revenues, under the judicious management of Mr. Stephen Whisson, who continued bursar for about thirty years, not only recovered from the embarrassment occasioned by the defence of Dr. Bentley, but improved the incomes of the Fellows, rebuilt part of the fabric, and, what was an object of at least equal importance, enabled the Society to give considerable sums towards the augmentation of their small vicarages. It has been mentioned in our memoirs of Dr. Bentley, how much the state of the College preferment was to be regretted, and what a judicious plan he had meditated for bettering its condition. This was effected, in part, about forty years ago, by a Royal Letter, enjoining that the College livings (except five or six in the neighbourhood of Cambridge) should in future be offered to the Fellows, not to hold, as before, with College-preacherships, but upon condition of vacating their fellowships. Of the prospective benefit of this regulation to the College there could be no doubt; but it was equally certain that the immediate views of many of the existing Society, who were in the expectancy of livings, must thereby be prejudiced; it deserves therefore to be recorded as an instance of the triumph of public spirit over private interest, that the resolution to solicit this order was carried, not by a majority only, but by the express consent and approbation, individually given, of every one of the sixty Fellows.

The custom which had been introduced by Dr. Bentley of private examinations for fellowships and scholarships, was attended with much inconvenience. The various examiners formed their opinions of the candidates' merits upon different *data*; too much latitude was given to the private taste of individuals in the choice of subjects for examination; in some hands the inquiry might be slight and superficial, in others, altogether neglected: a door was thus opened to abuse, and confidence was diminished in the justice of the decisions. Some
1786. instances having occurred of Seniors taking a part in the elections, who had never examined the candidates, a strong memorial was presented to the Seniority by ten of the junior Fellows, remonstrating against a practice which was in opposition to the statutes, and tended

to destroy the objects of the foundation [40]. The matter of this remonstrance was unexceptionable; but the governing part of the Society, offended at what could not be denied to be a censure of themselves, and regarding it as an act of insubordination on the part of their juniors, after an ineffectual attempt to induce some of the memorialists to withdraw their names, pronounced an admonition, cautioning them to behave with more deference to their superiors. The object of the memorial was however immediately effected: the Master, Dr. Hinchliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, insisted on each of the electors becoming *bona fide* an examiner: and upon his resignation about two years afterwards, Dr. Postlethwaite, who succeeded, instituted the present 1789.
system of public examination, in which the merits of the candidates are fully and fairly tried in the different branches of academical study. Under the auspices of the same Master the annual examinations of the 1790.
students of the College were established [41]. The wonderful effects of these institutions in exciting industry and emulation among the young men, and exalting the character of the College, are such as must have even surpassed the hopes of their promoters. It was not till this system came into full operation, that Trinity College could be said to have resumed the station which it originally held among the establishments of this kingdom. Since that period its history is comprised in the record of academical rewards adjudged to its students, and of the distinctions which they have subsequently obtained in the different professions, in the paths of learning and science, and in the 1823.
great theatre of public life. The only particular incident to be noticed in the later annals of the College, is the addition of a new and handsome quadrangle, erected principally through the exertions of Dr. Wordsworth the present Master, which accommodates more than an hundred students. But the benefits, like those of other public spirited

[40] The effects which have flowed from this Memorial have been so singularly beneficial to the College and the public, that the names of the ten memorialists deserve to be placed upon record: they were, *George Waddington*, *John Baynes*, *Thomas Cautley*, *Miles Popple*, *Thomas Jones*, *Henry Porter*, *Kingsman Baskett*, *John Hailstone*, *Matthew Murfitt*, and *Matthew Wilson*.

[41] The examinations then instituted were for Undergraduates of the first two years. A plan for a similar examination of the third year was adopted by the Master and Seniors in 1818, at the instance of the writer of this book, who at that time filled the office of Head Lecturer.

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measures, have extended much beyond their immediate object. The example was hereby set to other Colleges, and has been promptly followed, of enlarging their buildings for the reception of an increased number of students, and thereby extending the advantages of an education in an English University to a larger proportion of the liberal classes of society.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I. *Papers relating to the Prosecution of Dr. Bentley by the Fellows of Trinity College, in* 1710.

I. *To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.*

The humble Petition of Richard Bentley, D.D. and Master of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in the Town and University of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's Foundation.

Most humbly sheweth,

That the said College was founded by your Majesty's Royal progenitor, King Henry the Eighth; and a body of statutes was first given to it by King Edward the Sixth, in which there was a certain statute ordaining and appointing the Lord Bishop of Ely, for the time being, to be the sole and general Visitor of the said College. APPEND. No. I.

That in the reign of Philip and Mary, the said statutes of King Edward were abrogated and annulled, and a new body of statutes given by the Crown, wherein the former statute, appointing the Bishop of Ely Visitor, was rejected and left out.

That Queen Elizabeth, of glorious memory, gave another body of statutes, which alone are now in force, and have continued so for 150 years, and in these likewise the above-named statute, which made the Bishop of Ely Visitor, is wholly omitted.

That ever since the abrogation of the statutes of Edward, the said College has been esteemed and reputed a Royal foundation, of the patronage and under the immediate protection of the Kings and Queens of this realm, subject to the jurisdiction of the Crown, exclusive and exempt of and for all other authority whatsoever.

That all matters of difference and complaint, of discipline and provision, for the better government of the said College, have (as occasion has required) been made to, enacted and enjoined by, the Kings and Queens of England, as may appear by their letters-patent, and other Royal decrees, given in their respective reigns, and which stand recorded on the registers of the said College.

That no Lord Bishop of Ely, from the time of Philip and Mary down to this day, in any one instance assumed or pretended to any authority over the said College, or the Masters thereof, or to any act as Visitor, in any matters whatsoever.

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That the premisses notwithstanding, the Right Reverend Father in God John, now Lord Bishop of Ely, calling himself Visitor of your Majesty's said College, hath admitted divers articles of complaint, in the form of interrogatories, against your said Petitioner, and hath, by virtue of his visitatorial power, (as his Lordship styles it, though unduly, as is most humbly conceived) required your said Petitioner to give his answer thereto by a day certain and near expiring.

That the interrogatories contain divers matters not enquirable upon any statute of the College, but belonging to courts of judicature only, and others that flatly contradict the decrees of your Majesty's Royal ancestors under the Broad Seal, and others concerning pretended contumacies and contempts of your said Petitioner to the orders of the Visitor (meaning his Lordship) all tending and with design to subject your Petitioner to such sentences, and executions of such sentences, as the said Lord Bishop shall judge fit, and to put all your Petitioner's successors under the power and will of the Bishop of that See, without any appeal or redress to be had or attempted under pain of the loss of the Mastership for ever.

That the Master of the said College being, by express statute, to be always nominated by the Crown by letters-patent under the Great Seal, your Petitioner humbly conceives himself obliged, in duty and trust, not to subject himself and successors to any usurpation of your Majesty's right, jurisdiction, and prerogative, to and over the Masters and College aforesaid of Royal appointment and foundation.

Wherefore your Petitioner most humbly prayeth, that your Majesty will most graciously please to take your said Petitioner and College under your Royal protection against any such pretensions of the said Lord Bishop of Ely; and farther to assist and maintain your Majesty's sole power and jurisdiction over your Majesty's said Royal foundation, and the Masters thereof, in such manner as your Majesty's great wisdom shall think fit.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

RICHARD BENTLEY.

II. *Mr. Secretary St. John to the Attorney and Solicitor General.*

GENTLEMEN,

The inclosed Petition of Dr. Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge, having been laid before the Queen, her Majesty commands me to transmit it to you, that you may examine into the allegations thereof, and consider fully of the matter, and report your opinion thereupon, with all convenient speed, to the Queen.

Her Majesty is likewise pleased to direct that you, Mr. Attorney General, do immediately give notice to the Lord Bishop of Ely, that her Majesty has taken this affair into her cognizance, and that his Lordship is therefore to stay any further proceedings till her Majesty's pleasure therein shall be known.

I am, Gentlemen, your most humble servant,

H. ST. JOHN.

Whitehall, Dec. 11, 1710.

III. *Bishop Moore to Sir Edward Northey.*

SIR,

Last night I received your letter, with a copy of one inclosed from Mr. Secretary St. John to you and Mr. Solicitor General, signifying that Dr. Bentley had petitioned the Queen, that the Queen had ordered you and him to examine and give your opinion of the allegations in the Doctor's petition, and that I should stop proceedings at present.

I am most willing to submit to her Majesty's pleasure to stay farther proceedings; whose goodness and wisdom are so great, that she never will deprive me of any right belonging to me as Bishop of Ely. It is with much satisfaction to me that the petition is referred to yourself and Mr. Solicitor General, whom I know to be such able and equal judges in this affair, and whom I shall readily attend whenever it may be convenient.

I am, Sir, with true respect,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

December 13, 1710. J. ELY.

IV. *The Report of the Attorney and Solicitor General on Dr. Bentley's Petition.*

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

In humble obedience to your Majesty's commands, signified to us by Mr. Secretary St. John, we have considered of the annexed Petition of Dr. Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College, in the University of Cambridge, complaining thereby that the Lord Bishop of Ely, calling himself Visitor of the said College, (which is of Royal foundation), hath admitted divers articles of complaint, in the form of interrogatories, against him, and required him to give his answers thereto; alleging, that the Master of the College being by express statute to be always nominated by the Crown by letters-patent under the Great Seal, he conceives himself obliged in duty and trust not to subject himself and his successors to any usurpation of your Majesty's right, jurisdiction, and prerogative, in, to, and over the Master and College aforesaid. Praying that your Majesty will be pleased to take the Petitioner and College under your Royal protection against such the Bishop of Ely's pretensions, and to assert and maintain your Majesty's sole power and jurisdiction over your Majesty's said Royal foundation and the Masters thereof, which has been from the time of King Philip and Queen Mary under the immediate protection of the Kings and Queens of England, subject to the jurisdiction of the Crown, exclusive and exempt from all other authority whatsoever. And we have heard the Bishop of Ely, and that part of the Fellows of the College that prosecute the articles, and the said Dr. Bentley, by their counsel. And we

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do most humbly certify your Majesty, that King Henry the Eighth, by his letters-patent under the Great Seal of England, bearing date at Westminster, the 19th day of December, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, founded Trinity College, within the town and University of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation, and appointed it to consist of a Master and sixty Fellows and Scholars, and incorporated them, and by his letters-patents declared his pleasure to be that, as well the then Master, Fellows, and Scholars, as others for the future to be elected to complete the number, in all things should behave themselves, and the vacancy of Fellows and Scholars should be filled according to the orders, rules, and statutes, in that behalf, by the said King, hereafter to be made and reduced into writing, and declared.

That it does not appear to us that King Henry the Eighth did make any statutes for the government of the said College in his life, nor is it probable he did, he dying in a little more than a month after the letters-patent were past, viz. January 28, 1547. That King Edward the Sixth, the 8th of November, in the sixth year of his reign, A.D. 1552, under the Great Seal of England, appointed a body of statutes for the government of the said College; and by the second of these statutes the election and naming of a Master is reserved to the King and his successors, which is continued in all subsequent bodies of statutes given to that College.

And, by the 40th chapter, the offences of the Master therein mentioned are by the Vice-master, the Senior Censor, and Fellows, to be laid before the Bishop of Ely, (who was one of the persons that compiled that body of statutes), or, that see being void, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, for which the Master was made liable to be punished by deprivation or otherwise.

And, by the 46th chapter, the Bishop of Ely is appointed General Visitor of the College, and might visit once only in three years, and was to finish his visitation in two or three days at most.

The original book of these statutes, to which King Edward the Sixth subscribed his name, and which were therein mentioned to be under the Great Seal of England, was produced, but the Great Seal is not now affixed to the book.

There was likewise produced to us an ancient manuscript, supposed to be a body of statutes, given to this College by King Philip and Queen Mary, at the beginning of which there is an entry of letters-patent, granted under the Great Seal of England, bearing date the 12th of November, in the first and second year of their reign, empowering Commissioners therein named (of which the then Bishop of Ely was one) to peruse and examine, and, according to their pleasure, alter, correct, reject, or approve, laws and statutes, by the then Master and eight Seniors of the College, partly out of the best statutes of other Colleges, and partly out of the said ordinances of the said College, transcribed and collected into one volume, and to add new statutes; which statutes so approved and by Commissioners subscribed, were thereby to be in full force till by the Great Seal, or by authority of Parliament, they should be for ever ratified and confirmed, under pain of expulsion to any member of the College, who, after the ides of December, which was the 13th day of December next following the date of these letters-patent, should reject or contemn the authority of the said statutes, or seek to procure any new statutes.

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In which supposed body of statutes there is a statute entitled *De Magistri, si res exigat, amotione*, wherein it is provided, that if the Master does not reform himself of the crimes therein mentioned upon the admonition of the Vice-master and the seven Seniors, they are to lay the whole matter before the Visitor, who is to determine thereon, to which sentence the Master is obliged to submit, without appeal, under penalty of losing his place.

But in that statute, or in any other part of the body of those statutes of King Philip and Queen Mary, no particular person is mentioned to be Visitor. And the statute of King Edward the Sixth, which appointed the Bishop of Ely Visitor, is entirely omitted. These statutes do not appear to have been perfected, or signed by the Commissioners, as the commission required; and therefore we apprehend they will not concern the present question, other than that the Crown was advised, the statutes made by King Edward the Sixth were alterable by the Founder's authority.

That Queen Elizabeth, by letters-patent under the Great Seal, dated the fourth of the calends of April, which was the 29th of March, in the second year of her reign, reciting that the College was founded by King Henry the Eighth, and that statutes were given to them by King Edward the Sixth, the Queen taking notice, that as well that College, as the University, had been corrupted, and therefore had appointed commissioners (whereof two were of those that compiled the statutes of King Edward the Sixth, viz. Dr. William May, Dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. Thomas Wendy, the Queen's physician), and that they had prepared several institutions for this College. Her said Majesty declared, to the end that the peculiar laws of this her Royal College should have the greater authority, that she had caused them all to be collected into that book, which she recommended to the College as a complete rule for their manners and studies; and that the said book might be inviolate and sacred, she had affixed her Great Seal to it.

The titles of these statutes follow the titles of those prepared in the time of King Philip and Queen Mary, and not the statutes made by King Edward the Sixth.

The 40th of these statutes is *De Magistri, si res exigat, amotione*, wherein it is appointed, that if the Master be negligent in his office, and dissolute, or suspected of dishonesty or incontinency, after the Vice-master and seven Seniors have twice admonished him, if he do not reform, they shall lay the whole matter before the Visitor, the Bishop of Ely for the time being, whose sentence he is to obey without any appeal, under penalty of losing his place.

And if the Master, being examined before the Visitor, be convicted before him either of heresy, treason, simony, usury, perjury, theft, murder, incest, adultery, fornication, dilapidation of the goods of the College, or breach of the statutes of the College, or any other the like notable crimes, he is to be deprived without delay of the office of Master by the Vice-master.

But in this body of statutes there is no statute that does expressly make the Bishop of Ely the Visitor, the statute for appointing a Visitor being entirely omitted.

That it was admitted by both sides, that these statutes of Queen Elizabeth were always received as the statutes of the College; and it was proved that every new

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Master and Fellow, when chosen, and sworn to observe and keep the statutes, these statutes were produced, and not those of King Edward the Sixth.

That several instances were given, where your Majesty's Royal predecessors have from time to time exercised a jurisdiction over this College, by enjoining of the performance of the statutes in being, or by altering them, where they have been found inconvenient.

That Queen Elizabeth, by letters-patent, dated the 18th of November, in the 38th year of her reign, reciting, that in the book of the statutes of the College, made before in her reign, by the 35th statute, entitled *De possessionibus Collegii non alienandis, et de locationibus earundem*, it was directed, that no rectory belonging to the College should be let to farm for above ten years by the Master and Senior Fellows, under pain of perjury, and losing their places for ever, the Queen, by her said letters-patent, by her supreme Royal authority, annuls and vacates that clause, and for the future empowers them to demise for twenty years, which has been practised by the College ever since; upon the validity of which letters-patent, several leases, to a great annual value now in being, depend.

That whereas, by the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 8. *de Concionatorum officio*, there were twelve preachers appointed, with power of holding a living with their fellowships, King James the First, by his letters-patent, dated the 18th of November, in the fifth year of his reign, reciting that statute, gives power to the Master and Seniors to appoint four more preachers, who were to have all the same privileges as the twelve, by the statutes of Queen Elizabeth.

That King James, by his letters-patent, dated the 7th of November, in the twenty-first year of his reign, directed to the Master and Senior Fellows of the said College, reciting that a mischievous practice had obtained of pre-election of Fellows before there were vacancies, commands them to elect for the future according to the statutes of the College.

By the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 41. *De officio trium Lectorum publicorum qui in Scholis Academiæ prælegant, quorum unus Theologiam, alter linguam Hebraicam, tertius Græcam doceat*, if a Fellow of Trinity College is chosen into one of these professorships, he is to lose the profits of his fellowship while in that office, and is to read lectures four times a week: and if a Fellow of any other College in that University is so chosen, he is to reside in Trinity College. King Charles the Second, by his letters-patent, dated April the 8th, in the thirteenth year of his reign, reciting that statute at large, annuls and vacates the same as to part, and allows the Fellows so chosen Professors of the Hebrew or Greek tongues, to keep the profits of their fellowships, and to read but twice a week in term-times, and dispenses with their coming to reside at Trinity College: and the present and several preceding Masters, being married men, could not have been qualified to have been Masters but by a dispensation (which was contained in the Royal patents constituting them such) of the 39th statute, prohibiting the Master to marry. And it was agreed by the counsel for the Bishop, that the Crown, the Founder, and the College, might make a new body of statutes as to the College, the Crown giving, the College accepting. But it was insisted

that they could not divest the Bishop without his consent of his visitatorial power, he being a stranger; but the first part being admitted, it is doubtful to us whether the statutes relating to a visitation will not be alterable by the same reason, all being statutes of regulation, or bye-laws, not grants of any interest.

That it was not pretended that the Bishops of Ely ever heard of their having power over this College, or that the statutes of the College were in the registry of that diocese, or that any Bishop of Ely from the time of the foundation of this College, or the making of the statutes of Edward the Sixth, which is above 150 years, till the present Bishop of Ely in this case, claimed or used any authority over this College, or the Master thereof, or acted as Visitor in any matter whatsoever; except the late Dr. Patrick, Bishop of Ely, giving his private opinion to Dr. Bentley, in the year 1703, upon the statute of election, being then told by the petitioner he was Visitor of the College, did write a letter to him on that account, but declared therein that till the matter came before him as Visitor, he could not give any full or definitive sentence.

That in February 1709, the Vice-Master, some of the Senior Fellows, and some of the other Fellows of that College, exhibited to the Bishop of Ely (styled therein Visitor of the said College of the Holy Trinity in the University of Cambridge, upon the 40th chap. of the College statutes, entitled *De magistri, si res exigat, amotione*, a general complaint against the Master, and afterwards exhibited against him fifty-four articles, (being only questions, to which they desired the Master's answer), entitled "Articles exhibited to the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Ely, Visitor of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, in the Town and University of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's Foundation, against Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, now Master of the said College, on the 40th Chap. of the said College Statutes, more particularly on the last branch of the said College Statutes, many of which Articles relate to the Master's breach of the Statutes of the College, and misapplication of the revenue, and wasting the College goods, and several others of them are for offences of that statute, that he is now obliged to answer unto."

That it being signified to the Bishop of Ely that your Majesty had been pleased to refer the consideration of Dr. Bentley's Petition to us, the said Lord Bishop hath, by letter, declared he was most willing to submit to your Majesty's pleasure to stay all proceedings at present, your Majesty's wisdom and goodness being so great, that your Majesty will never deprive him of any right belonging to him as Bishop of Ely.

The counsel for the Bishop, and those Fellows that preferred the articles, debated on several matters relating to the validity of the alterations made of the statutes of King Edward the Sixth. And whether the leaving out of the statute *De Visitatore* in the body of the statutes, ratified by Queen Elizabeth, was a repeal of that statute. But although, by such leaving out, that statute should be absolutely repealed, yet as to the present question, in regard power was given to the Bishop of Ely to hear complaints against the Master, as well by the 40th chap. of the statutes of Queen Elizabeth as by the 40th chap. of the statutes of King Edward the Sixth, unless both these statutes are void, as we are of opinion both are not, the Bishop's power over the Master yet remains.

And we are therefore humbly of opinion, that the Bishop of Ely had power to receive

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complaints of the Fellows of Trinity College against the Master thereof. And as to the matters mentioned in the articles, which are not within the power given to the Bishop, the Master may lawfully refuse to answer them: and if the Master shall (as he is advised by his counsel) insist that the statutes of King Edward the Sixth were absolutely annulled by the statutes of Queen Elizabeth; and that the 40th statute was absolutely void in the making, being made, (as his counsel urged) on a mistake, as if the Bishop had been Visitor when he was not; or that your Majesty shall be pleased to direct that this question have a legal determination; if the Lord Bishop of Ely shall think fit to proceed on the said articles against the petitioner, a prohibition may be moved for in any of her Majesty's courts in Westminster Hall, to prohibit the Bishop from farther proceeding against the Master of this College, which is of Royal foundation; and thereon the matter will have a legal determination.

All which is submitted to your Majesty's great wisdom.

EDWARD NORTHEY.

May 29, 1711. ROBERT RAYMOND.

V. *Some Questions arising upon Dr. Bentley's Petition, and Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General's Report thereon, proper to be considered by her Majesty's learned Counsel.*

1. Whether the statutes given by King Edward the Sixth to Trinity College, are of perpetual obligation, and unalterable, or subject to such alterations as the Crown from time to time thinks fit?

Ans. We are of opinion that the statutes of King Edward the Sixth were not of perpetual obligation, or unalterable, but were altered by the statutes made by Queen Elizabeth, they being accepted and acted under by the College.

2. If the statutes given by Queen Elizabeth are valid, her Majesty having declared that these statutes should be a complete rule for their manners and study; and the 46th chap. of the statutes of King Edward the Sixth, *De Visitatore*, being omitted in the body of the statutes given by Queen Elizabeth, is the general right of visitation of the College in the Crown, or in the Bishop of Ely?

Ans. We are of opinion that the statutes of Queen Elizabeth are valid, and were intended as a complete body of statutes for that College; and the original body of statutes made by King Edward the Sixth, expressed to have been under the Great Seal, being now without the said Seal, (from which they may be presumed to have been cancelled:) and the Bishops of Ely, from the making of the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, having never exercised or claimed the power of a Visitor, we humbly apprehend the 46th chap. of the statutes of King Edward the Sixth, *De Visitatore*, was omitted in the body of the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, to resume the general visitatorial power, and that the same was thereby revested in the Crown.

3. If the right of visitation in general of this Royal foundation remains doubtful, not-

withstanding the omission of the 46th cap. of the statutes of Edward the Sixth in the body of the statutes given by Queen Elizabeth; is it not in her Majesty's power to put that matter out of question by a declaratory order under the Great Seal, in like manner as many other statutes have from time to time been repealed, altered, or explained, by her Majesty's Royal predecessors as often as they thought fit?

Ans. We are humbly of opinion her Majesty with the acceptance of the College, if the statute *De Visitatore* be in force, may repeal the same: but her Majesty's declaration, without such acceptance, will not be effectual.

4. Whether the Bishop of Ely, at the time of exhibiting the present articles against the Master, had a visitatorial power over the Master; and if he had, did that power subsist by the 40th chap. of the statutes of King Edward the Sixth, or by virtue of the 40th cap. of the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, the method of proceeding against the Master by those statutes being different, and the present articles against the Master being founded only on the 40th chap. of the statutes of Queen Elizabeth?

Ans. We are of opinion the Bishop of Ely, at the time of exhibiting the present articles, had the visitatorial power over the Master, mentioned in the 40th statute of Queen Elizabeth, by virtue of this statute only.

5. If the right of visitation, *quoad* the Master, remains in the Bishop of Ely, is it not in her Majesty's power to repeal the several statutes under which the Bishop of Ely claims that power, and resume the right of visiting the Master in particular, as well as the College in general, to herself and to her Royal successors, or place it elsewhere, as her Majesty shall think fit? And if her Majesty hath such power, whether either the concurrence of the Bishop of Ely, or the consent of the Master and Fellows to any new statutes for such purpose be necessary?

Ans. We are of opinion her Majesty hath such power, with the acceptance of the College; and that the concurrence of the Bishop of Ely is not necessary.

6. If the Bishop insists upon his right of visiting the College or the Master, and her Majesty shall not think it fit that the College or the Master submit to the Bishop's visitation, what method do you conceive most proper to be taken?

Ans. We are of opinion they will properly be brought into judgment by a prohibition to be moved for in any of her Majesty's courts in Westminster Hall.

THO. POWYS. JO. CONYERS.
EDW. NORTHEY. THO. LUTWYCHE.
ROB. RAYMOND. JO. WARD.
THO. HOOPER.

Jan. 9, 1711-12.

VI. *Answer of Sir Joseph Jekyll to the foregoing Questions.*

I agree to all, except in the matter of the general visitatorial power; and therein, with great distrust of my own opinion, I crave leave to differ. I conceive the 46th chap.

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of King Edward's statutes, *De Visitatore*, with the acceptance of the Bishop of Ely, vested an interest (viz. the visitatorial office, or right of jurisdiction over this foundation) in the Bishop and his successors. This, I apprehend, is not a revocable authority, but may be extinguished by the dissolution of the Corporation, (as a partnership would determine by a disparting); or if it may be extinguished and altered by a new statute, with the consent or acceptance of any Bishop for the time being; for it not being an interest which can be transferred, is not within any of the restraining Acts of Parliament. It does not appear to me that Queen Elizabeth did intend to repeal the statute of Edward the Sixth *De Visitatore;* on the contrary, the 40th chap. of her statutes supposes the Bishop of Ely to be General Visitor; nor could the statute, I humbly conceive, be repealed but by express words, or a contradictory or inconsistent provision in the latter statutes with the former statute; neither of which appears to be in this case. But if the statutes of Queen Elizabeth were a repeal, it does not appear that ever any Bishop of Ely consented thereto; nor is there, I humbly apprehend, sufficient ground to presume such consent: for the Bishops might think their rights saved by the 40th chap. of Queen Elizabeth's statutes; and the not exercising the visitatorial power till lately, seems not to create a presumption of consent, because there hath been no complaint before this time from the College, nor any other visitatorial jurisdiction exercised; and therefore, I humbly conceive, the right of the see of Ely remains.

J. JEKYLL.

VII. *Mr. Secretary St. John to the Bishop of Ely.*

MY LORD,

The matter of the Petition of Dr. Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, together with the report of Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor Generals being now before the Queen, and ordered to be taken into consideration by my Lord Keeper, assisted by her Majesty's counsel, learned in the law; her Majesty thinks it to be a business of such weight and consequence, that she has commanded me to signify her pleasure to your Lordship, that you should stop all further proceedings according to her Majesty's direction. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

Whitehall, June 18, 1711. H. ST. JOHN.

VIII. *Maudamus of the Court of Queen's Bench to the Bishop of Ely.*

Die Sabbati proxime post crastinum Ascensionis Domini, anno 12mo. Annæ Reginæ: Primus dies proximi termini datus est Joanni Episcopo Eliensi ad ostendendam causam quare non fiat breve de mandamus eidem direct. ad procedendum ad judicium super quibusdam interrogator. per Socios Collegii Sanctæ Trin. infra Universitatem Cantab. versus Richardum Bentley Sacræ Theologiæ Professorem, Magistrum Collegii prædict. præfato Episcopo Visitatori Collegii recens exhibit. super notitionem eidem Episcopo et præfato Richardo Bentley interim dand.

Ex motione Magistri Page per Curiam.

IX. *Articles against Dr. Bentley, exhibited to the Right Reverend Father in God,* JOHN, *Lord Bishop of Ely, by many of the Fellows of Trinity College in Cambridge.*

I. WHY did you demand and take of the said College officers, or some or one of them, and waste or apply to your own use, several sums of the said College money, which were payable before you were sworn Master; and therefore could not be due to you, since by the College statutes, (*cap.* 2.) which you are sworn to observe, you are not entitled to any profits of the mastership, but from such time only as you have taken the oath appointed by the said statutes?

II. WHY did you demand of the said College, or some or one of their officers, 20*l.* for the Pandoxator's dividend, 150*l.* for the other dividend, which as well by the usage of the said College, as by all right and reason, were due to the former Master? And when he, to compromise the matter, with your consent gave it to the said College, why did you afterwards take, waste, and embezzle the said money, and never laid it out for the uses for which it was given?

III. WHEN your lodgings in the College were very good, and served two noblemen, your predecessors, why did you, upon false suggestions, prevail with the Senior Fellows of the said College, to consent with you to the wasting and expending any College money, in vainly beautifying and adorning the same? Why did you do the same to the damage and detriment of the said College, and wasting their goods and revenues, since the College statutes do not oblige the College to be at any charge in doing thereof?

IV. AFTER you had proposed to the Senior Fellows of the said College, and assured them, that the beautifying and adorning the said lodgings would cost but 300*l.* whereof you would contribute 100*l.* *de proprio,* upon which considerations only they consented; why did you fraudulently and deceitfully draw up the order or conclusion concerning the same in general terms, expressing that you would contribute 100*l.* *de proprio,* or to that effect, without mentioning that the said College should expend but 200*l.* and then procured them to set their hands to the said order in an unusual manner; and afterwards by colour of the same demanded, and by violent and unworthy methods exacted of the said College, and afterwards took and wasted 1500*l.* or some other great sum or sums of the said College money thereupon? And when they often refused to pay the same, why did you audaciously threaten them not only with resentment from the Crown and Court, but that the workmen should bring actions at law against them for the money so expended?

V. WHEN even by the said order or conclusion, only convenient improvements ought

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to be made in your said lodge, why did you, according to your own extravagant fancy, cause between thirty or forty, or some other great number of sash-windows to be made in the same, which was not only an excessive charge to the said College, and a wasting of their money and goods, but besides broke the uniformity of the rest of the quadrangle, contrary to a former order or conclusion?

VI. WHY did you according to your own will and pleasure cause so many and so large rooms to be wainscotted in your said lodge, which could be only designed to entertain boarders therein for your private gain; and make many other costly and needless alterations and additions, and that without the advice, consent, or direction of the Senior Fellows, or the Bursars, or either of them, as the said College statutes require?

VII. WHY did you take divers and great sums of the said College money into your hands, on pretence of paying the workmen in the said lodge, or other pretences, and did not duly pay them the same, or never gave an account thereof to the said College, or their proper officer or officers, or to the Senior Fellows; but misapplied, wasted, or embezzled the said money, or great part thereof?

VIII. WHY did you not lay out 270*l.* upon furniture of your said lodge, and enter an inventory of that with the old furniture in the Junior Bursar's books, according to an order or conclusion made about five or six years since by yourself, and the then Senior Fellows; but, on the contrary, waste and embezzle, or convert the same to your own use, and claim it as your own?

IX. AFTER you were sworn and admitted Master, why did you marry, and bring your wife into the College, there to reside and inhabit; when, by the said College statutes, which you are sworn to observe, if the Master marries, immediately after it is certainly known, *Collegium penitus amittat;* and by the University charters and statutes, confirmed by Act of Parliament, you are forbid to bring your wife, or any woman into College, upon pain of forfeiting your mastership?

X. WHY have you, for many years last past, wasted the College bread, ale, beer, coals, wood, turf, sedge, charcoal, linen, pewter, corn, flour, brawn, and bran, viz. 40,000 penny loaves, 60,000 halfpenny loaves, 14,000 gallons of ale, 20,000 gallons of beer, 600 chaldron of coals, 60,000 billets of wood, 1000 hundreds of turf, 100 load of sedge, 500 bushel of charcoal, 100 ells of Holland, 400 ells of diaper, and other linen, 5000 ounces of pewter, 200 bushels of corn, 400 bushels of flour, 300 bushels of bran, and other goods, to the value of 3000*l.* or some other great sum; in expending the same, not only upon yourself, but upon your wife, children, and boarders; and that in a very extravagant manner, by causing your servants to make whole meals upon the said College bread and beer only, (you not allowing them either flesh, cheese, or butter with the same) and by many other ways?

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XI. WHY did you, without any authority, take into the said lodge, or appropriate to your own use, a great deal of room never before used with it, particularly one room, which was formerly used for acting of comedies; which the lecturers of the College are, by the statutes, obliged to make against Christmas, besides other rooms?

XII. WHEN by false and base practices, as by threatening to bring letters from court, visitations, and the like; and at other times by boasting of your great interest and acquaintance, and that you were the genius of the age, and what great things you would do for the College in general, and every member of it in particular, and promising that you would for the future live peaceably with them, and never make any farther demands, you had prevailed with the Senior Fellows to allow you several hundred pounds for your lodge, more than they first intended or agreed for, to the great dissatisfaction of the College, and the wonder of the whole University, and all that heard of it—why did you the very next year, about that time, merely for your own vanity, require them to build you a new staircase in your lodge? And when they (considering how much you had extorted from them before, which you had never accounted for) did for good reason deny to do it; why did you of your own head pull down a good staircase in your lodge, and give orders and directions for building a new one, and that too fine for common use? And whereas the work in the beginning was so much against the consent of the Seniors, that the proper officer, the Bursar, forbad the workmen to go on with it; why did you, in plain contempt of the said Seniors, and in direct violation of the said College statutes, and wasting their goods, cause the same by your own sole authority to be continued, and the said staircase to be finished, at the expense of 300*l.* or thereabouts; which sum you soon after demanded, and took of the said College, or some or one of their officers?

XIII. WHEN the said Seniors judged the aforesaid demand of 300*l.* on the College so unreasonable, that they several times refused to comply with it; why did you use base and unworthy methods to extort their consent to the payment of it? particularly when Mr. Hanbury, the late Dr. Cressar, Mr. Drury, and Dr. Hutchinson, or some or one of them, had performed all the statutable exercises required for their election and admission into the place of College Preacher, and did frequently solicit you for your consent to their election and admission; why did you, without any colourable or statutable objection against them, refuse for many months to elect and admit them, or either of them; threatening in plain terms 'you would never part with your club' (meaning your power of electing and admitting) unless they would use their interest with the Seniors to gain their consent to the payment of the money for the said staircase, and unless such of them as might be accidentally of the Seniority would promise to vote accordingly; which refusal was a violation of the College statutes, in refusing to put them in execution, but according to your own interest?

XIV. WHY did you for some years last past, and do still continue, to violate the said College statutes, by distributing College chambers, not according to their direction? And why have you taken, and do yet continue to take, money or rent for several Col-

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lege chambers, to your own use, while several of the Fellows at the same time have no chambers at all belonging to their fellowships? And why did you displace or turn several out of their chambers by your own authority, without their consent? And claim a right to take away any Fellow's chamber, if he went out of town?

XV. WHY do you also violate the said College statutes, in not observing their directions in the choice of lecturers and officers, and by colour of false interpretations made by yourself, with the forced consent of the Senior Fellows, wholly exclude those above the standing of Bachelors of Divinity, from being either Junior Bursar, or Steward? And why have you not made the elections of the said College lecturers and officers freely, *per aperta scrutinia*, according to the said statutes, and a particular oath which ought to be taken by you to that purpose, but have dictated or nominated to the said lectureships or offices yourself, chiefly disposing of them among Fellows of your own choosing, and took upon you by your sole authority, to appoint or allow deputies or not, and such as you alone thought fit?

XVI. WHY did you, by your sole authority, cause Mr. Eden, Fellow of the said College, to be put out of commons, and also set a fine of ten shillings upon his head, and otherwise abuse him by scurrilous words, contrary to the College statutes; when there appeared no other cause for it, but his refusing to pay a bill for your lodge, which, if he had done, it would have been a breach of statute, and contrary to the duty of his office?

XVII. WHEN the sole power of punishing any, though the lowest member of the College, is not by statute lodged in you, without the consent of others; why did you, without such consent, punish Mr. Brabourn, Fellow of the said College, by putting him out of commons, rusticating him, and otherwise injuring and abusing him?

XVIII. WHY did you, without the same consent, put Mr. Stubbe, another Fellow of the said College, out of commons, rusticate, or otherwise punish him?

XIX. WHY did you also, without any authority, disgrace and punish Mr. Barwell, another Fellow of the College, by causing his name on the buttery tables to be covered?

XX. WHY were the several punishments, disgraces, and injuries, imposed on these and several other Fellows, and many scholars, during your mastership, without any hearing, statutable conviction, or authority; and that in an insolent manner, by saying, *Hic est ludus jocusque*, 'you were not warm yet,' or to that effect?

XXI. WHY did you, in farther violation of the said College statutes, expel Mr. Breval and Mr. Wyvill, late Fellows of the said College, contrary to the said statutes and common justice, without summons, hearing, or proof of any crime against them; and without the consent of the Senior Fellows, or any of them; and afterwards falsely, and

in their absence, with your own hand, enter an order or conclusion in the College book, or books, importing their consent; which order or conclusion was never, till very lately, seen or read by them?

XXII. WHY did you, in violation also of the said College statutes, expel (as much as in you lay) Mr. Miller, another Fellow of the said College, contrary to the consent of the said Senior Fellows, on pretence that he ought to be Doctor of Physic? And when he appealed, according to the said statutes, to the Vice-Master, and the rest of the Seniors, and they duly summoned you to appear before them, why did you refuse to do it? and also to obey their order, which they made for replacing his name on the buttery board, which you had unstatutably caused to be cut off? And why did you cause his name several times to be cut off from the said board, as well before as after you knew there was a petition and complaint lodged against you before the Bishop of Ely, in relation to that and other violations of the said College statutes?

XXIII. WHY did you cause the College or Founder's prayers, which were constantly used in the times of the former Masters, to be for some years last past omitted, contrary to the College statutes? (*cap.* 16.) And why did you, by your own authority, alter the form or usual manner of reading or chaunting the Common Prayers or Liturgy in the said College chapel on surplice days?

XXIV. WHY did you waste fourscore pounds, or some other great sum or sums of College money, and other College goods, in causing a laboratory to be made in the said College, and that without the consent of the Senior Fellows, which is required by the said College statutes?

XXV. WHY did you, in farther violation of the said College statutes, expel Mr. Tompson, one of the scholars of the said College, or cause his name to be cut out of the butteries, no crime being alleged against him, and without the consent of the Senior Fellows, and refuse to restore him again when required?

XXVI. WHY did you, in violation of the said College statutes, by your own authority, expel Mr. Hanson, the subsizar, or scholar, without summons, hearing, or proof, and without consent of the Senior Fellows, and for a crime which does not, without previous admonitions, require expulsion by the statutes?

XXVII. WHY did you for several years last past, cause many of the scholars to be expelled, or cut out of the butteries, not allowing them the profits of their scholarships, so long as usual or statutable, and that without the consent, and contrary to the advice of the Senior Fellows?

XXVIII. WHY did you waste great sums of the said College money in buying a new organ, and making great and unnecessary alterations in the College chapel, without the consent, and contrary to the advice of the Senior Fellows, and at an unseason

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able time, when the price of corn was low, and the College poor? And to involve them into greater necessities, why did you cause them to borrow money at interest to carry on the said work, and lend them 1000*l.* yourself, and that contrary to the College statutes concerning usury?

XXIX. WHY did you violate the said College statutes, by putting them in execution (and at other times threatening to do so) in a partial manner, according to your own will and pleasure, or interest, in many instances, and particularly relating to the subscriptions to the chapel; as to which you threatened, or caused several to be threatened with expulsion, if they refused to subscribe, though you did it not to others in the same case? And why did you insolently call some of the statutes 'your rusty sword, which you would draw only upon occasion?' And others 'your club, which you would use as you thought fit,' or to that effect?

XXX. WHY did you waste great quantities, viz. ten thousand quarters of College malt, and five hundred chaldrons of coals, and other goods and utensils of the said College, by causing the said malt, goods, and utensils, to be taken away from the College brewer or brewers, and delivered to one of your own appointing, without the consent of the Senior Fellows; when the College had used their own brewers for the space of one hundred years before, or some other great number of years? And why did you arbitrarily turn the College brewer or brewers out of his or their offices?

XXXI. WHY did you waste ten thousand quarters of College wheat, by causing them to be taken away from the College bakers, and delivered to another baker of your own appointing, without the consent of the Seniors; when the College had kept bakers for their own use for a hundred years, or some other great number of years before? And why did you arbitrarily turn the said College bakers out of their offices?

XXXII. WHY did you use scurrilous words and language to several of the Fellows, particularly by calling Mr. Eden *an ass*, and Mr. Rashleigh the *college dog*, by telling Mr. Cock *he would die in his shoes*, and calling many others *fools* and *sots*, and other scurrilous names; and also use several other expressions contrary to the 20th chapter of the said College statutes, as 'Farewell peace to Trinity College,' and many others of the like nature?

XXXIII. WHY did you profanely and blasphemously use and apply several expressions in Scripture? As "he that honours me, I will honour." "I set life or death before you; choose you whether," or to that effect?

XXXIV. WHY did you impose an unstatutable and unequal tax or sum of money upon all or most of the members of the College, under pretence of contributing to an organist, or some other unjustifiable pretence?

XXXV. WHY did you violate the College statutes, by ordering declamations to be

immediately after evening prayer, and to be heard by the audience indecently in their surplices, when the said statutes expressly appoint another time? And why did you order suppers and flesh in the hall on Friday nights, contrary to the statutes? And also order lectures to be at other times than the statutes appoint?

XXXVI. WHY did you, by your own authority, declare the fellowship chambers of Mr. Hawkins, late one of the Senior Fellows, void, and then promise his fellowship to the late Dr. Cressar, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Cooper, or to some or one of them, in order to gain their compliance to your projects then on foot?

XXXVII. WHY did you, contrary to the consent of the Senior Fellows, dispose of part of the College ground or soil, to wit, a garden-plot, adjoining or belonging to the Bishop's Hostel, and before used by the College cook? And why did you claim a right to the same by saying 'you were lord of the soil?'

XXXVIII. WHY did you choose and admit some to be Fellows and Scholars, contrary to the direction of the statutes?

XXXIX. WHY did you not leave with, or deliver to the Vice-master the conclusion book, and other College books, and the keys of the treasury, as the College statutes require, when you went out of College several times?

XL. WHY did you not cause the Benefactors to be commemorated, as the College statutes appoint?

XLI. WHY did you deceitfully prevail with the Seniority to consent to take away the just, usual, and known perquisites from several College offices, on pretence that you would buy livings or advowsons for the College with the money; but afterwards told them they were the worst benefactions that could be given to the College, or to that effect?

XLII. WHY did you command or order many of the bachelors and scholars of the said College, not to stay and hear grace in the hall after dinner and supper? And when many of them went out of the hall without hearing grace, why would you not permit, or suffer the statutable punishment to be inflicted on them for so doing?

XLIII. WHY did you by violent, unworthy, and unstatutable methods, take away the Pandoxator's Dividend? and also endeavour to invade the properties of many of the Fellows of the said College, by attempting (and that in a partial manner) to alter the proportions of their dividends or dues, whereby they are maintained, which have continued for the space of fifty or some other great number of years, and in all probability were settled and established by a visitatorial power, or some other lawful authority, and that with a view of profit to yourself, contrary to the statute and your duty as Master?

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XLIV. WHY did you also by violent, unworthy, and unstatutable methods, endeavour to waste and gain great part of the said College revenues to yourself and your own use, to the value of one thousand pounds a year, or some other great value, and that under the name of a composition; wherein was contained very excessive, unusual, and unstatutable demands of several things to which you were not entitled by statute, or otherwise?

XLV. WHY did you contumaciously and contemptuously refuse to obey the order or orders of your Visitor, by not delivering up the said College books, particularly those relating to the offices of the Bursars, Pandoxator, and Steward of the said College? and also other books as you were ordered and required?

XLVI. WHEN by the College statutes all the Conducts or *Sacellani* ought to be *presbyteri* or priests; why did you presume to tell Mr. Burrell, that was chose Conduct or *Sacellanus*, and did not design to take holy orders, that it was no matter, for that you would dispense with him for several years, or to that effect?

XLVII. WHY did you endeavour to take away from the College, and apply to your own use the College bowling-green and summer-house, and other convenient houses in or near the said bowling-green?

XLVIII. WHY did you endeavour to deprive the College of the combination-room, which was made or beautified for their use at the charge of our great benefactor Sir Thomas Slater, by the consent of the College?

XLIX. WHY did you, to cause dissention and divisions in the College, endeavour to procure many of the Junior Fellows to petition you against the Seniors in breach of the 20th chapter of the said College statutes?

L. WHY did you refuse to admit Mr. Cooper Senior Fellow, when he was duly chosen by the Seniority according to the statutes?

LI. WHY did you break your oath which you took as Master? and also the statute *De Officio Magistri* in several of the articles above mentioned? and also in many other instances, in the violation, false interpretation, and partial application of the statutes since you were Master?

LII. WHY did you not, since you were made Master, duly read the Common Prayer, and subscribe the articles, as you are required by act of parliament?

LIII. WHY did you apply money, which ought to be applied only for the use of the Library, towards buying utensils or instruments for an Observatory, which you caused to be built in the said College by your own authority? And to do the same, why did you take away one of the Fellow's chambers, without and against his consent?

LIV. WHY did you by your own authority punish and endeavour to un-tutor or take away the pupils of Mr. Paris, one of the Fellows of the said College, particularly by sending to his pupil Mr. Rose, Fellow-commoner, and ordering him to take another tutor, or leave the College?

WE whose names are here underwritten, do desire that Dr. Bentley, our now Master, may be examined and otherwise proceeded against, upon these Articles, according to our College statutes; in order to be acquitted or convicted of the same, or so many thereof, as to the wisdom and justice of the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Ely, shall seem meet.

The Names of those that subscribed these Articles, or the Petition.

WOLFRAN STUBBE, D.D. *Vice-Master.*
P. COCK, *Sen. Fellow.*
GEO. MODD, *Sen. Fellow.*
EDW. BATHURST, *Sen. Fellow.*
NAT. RASHLEIGH, *Sen. Fellow.*
THOS. SMITH, D.D. *Sen. Fellow.*
JOHN COOPER, B.D.
NAT. HANBURY, B.D.
JOHN LAUGHTON, A.M.
STEPHEN CRESSAR, D.D.
ABRA. JORDAN, M.A.
WILLIAM DRURY, M.A.
MAT. BARWELL, M.A.
WILLIAM AYLOFFE, LL.D.
JOHN COLBATCH, D.D.
EDMUND MILLER, M.A.
JAMES BRABOURN, B.D.
LAWR. BRODRICK, D.D.
RALPH WELSTEAD, M.A.
RICHARD STOKES, M.A.
WILLIAM WADE, M.A.
GRIFFITH WILLIAMS, B.D.
SAMUEL WHITE, M.A.
WILL. CHAMBERLAIN, M.A.
THOS. BLOMER, M.A.
J. CRAISTER, M.A.
JOHN FELTON, M.A.
CONYERS MIDDLETON, M.A.
THOMAS PILGRIM, M.A.
EDM. STUBBE, M.A.
THOMAS HILL, M.A.
JOHN WILLIAMS, M.A.
DAVID FLEMING, M.A.
ROB. JOHNSON, M.A.
WILL. SMITH, M.A.
ALEX. BURRELL, M.A.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Affidavits in the Court of King's Bench, relative to Dr. Bentley's Professorship, in 1720.

Die Sabbati pp^{t}. Octav. Sanctæ Trinitatis Anno Sexto Georgii Regis.

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Rule of Court.

Cantab: Ordinatum est quod dies Lunæ pp^{t}. tres Septiman. Sanctæ Trinit. proxim. datus sit Reverendo Richardo Bentley Magistro Collegii Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinit. in Academia Cantabrigiensi ad ostendendam causam quare non foret Breve de Mandamus direct. Vicecancellario Academiæ Cantabrigiensis, Magistro Collegii Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinit. Duobus maxime senioribus Sociis ejusdem Collegii, necnon Præposito Collegii Regalis. Magistro Collegii Divi Johannis, et Magistro Collegii Christi, ad procedend. ad Electionem talis person. qualis dignissima videbitur fore Lector Theologiæ in Scholis Academiæ prædictæ (eodem loco existent. modo vacante.)

Ex Motione Attorn. D^{ni} Regis nun-cup. Generalis.

Per Curiam.

Affidavit in support of Application.

Affidavit of Mr. Simpson.

Robert Simpson, Master of Arts, Fellow of Gonvile and Caius College, in the University of Cambridge, and one of the beadles of the same University, maketh oath, That he has searched the book called the Great Black Book, which is an ancient book kept amongst the papers and records of the said University, containing entries of the statutes and other public matters relating to the said University, wherein are entered several statutes relating to several of the Officers, Readers, Lecturers, and Professors within the said University of Cambridge, and particularly the statute relating to the three Readers of Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, within the said University, and which book is constantly kept by the Vice-Chancellor of the said University, with several other books and records of the same University; and in the same book this deponent finds the entry of the said statute concerning the said three Readers entered at large, and which is entituled as follows: *De Officio trium Lectorum Publicorum, qui in Scholis Academiæ prælegunt; quorum unus Theologiam, alter Linguam Hebraicam, tertius Græcam docet*—to which this deponent refers. And this deponent saith, That he hath carefully perused several entries of the elections of several Readers in Divinity,

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Affidavit of Mr. Simpson.

which have been elected in the said University, pursuant to the directions of the said statute, which are entered in the same book, called the Great Black Book, and finds by such entries, that the election of Dr. James, the late Reader in Divinity of the said University, and all other precedent elections of such Readers which are there entered, have been (as this deponent believes,) agreeable to the said statute, and in the same manner with the election of Dr. James hereinafter set forth. Each election being subscribed or signed by and under the hand of each elector, who consented to, or voted for the same. And this deponent hath annexed hereunto a copy of the election of Dr. James into the said office of Reader in Divinity, who continued in the same office from the time of such his election, until on or about the fifteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, when he the said Dr. James departed this life, whereby the said office became vacant. And this deponent further maketh oath, That after the said office of Reader in Divinity became vacant by the death of the said Dr. James, the Reverend Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College, having prevailed with Dr. Grigg, then Vice-Chancellor of the said University, to appoint him Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the said University, in his the said Dr. Grigg's absence, he the said Richard Bentley, under colour of the said offices of Vice-Chancellor and Master of Trinity College, did cause a diploma to be put up at the Schools. And this deponent saith, That on or about the second day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, he, this deponent, attended as beadle of the said University, at a meeting in the Public Schools in the said University, when the said Richard Bentley did by collusion with, and in the presence of George Modd and Edward Bathurst, two of the Fellows of Trinity College, and of John Davies, Doctor of Laws and Master of Queen's College, declare himself to be elected Reader in Divinity of the said University, upon the foundation of King Henry the Eighth. And did thereupon cause an entry to be made in the said book, called the Great Black Book, of his the said Richard Bentley's own pretended election into the said office of Reader in Divinity in the said University, and signed the same himself; and also procured the said John Davies, George Modd, and Edward Bathurst, to sign the same in testimony of such election; a copy of which entry is also hereunto annexed. And this deponent further maketh oath, That he has carefully examined several of the entries of Trinity College, where the names of the several Fellows of the same College are entered according to their seniority. And has also searched the records of the said University, and does thereby find that on the said second day of May, in the said year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, Wolfran Stubbe, Dr. in Divinity was the first and most senior Fellow of Trinity College aforesaid, and Patrick Cock, Master of Arts, was the second or next senior Fellow of Trinity College aforesaid, which said Wolfran Stubbe was, as this deponent believes, at that time absent from the said University. But this deponent is well satisfied, as well by the entries in the books of Trinity College aforesaid, as by the best information of those that then resided and attended daily in the said College, that the said Patrick Cock was on the said second day of May, in the said year, one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, and for many months both before and after, constantly resident in Trinity College aforesaid. And saith, that he is well satisfied that the said George Modd and Edward

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Bathurst were not, at the time of the said pretended election, according to the express words of the said statute, the two most senior Fellows of Trinity College aforesaid. Although the said Richard Bentley pretends himself elected by their votes as such. And this deponent further maketh oath, That he verily believes the said Richard Bentley never was duly elected into the said office of Regius Professor, but that the same remains yet vacant by the death of the said Dr. James as aforesaid.

ROBERT SIMPSON.

Jurat. decimo sexto die Junii, 1720, *apud Serjeants' Inn, Fleet-Street, Lond. Coram me,* J. FORTESCUE.

Secundo die Mensis Februarii Anno Dni, 1699.

Copy of first entry.

Memorand. quod die et anno supdcis Henricus James in S. T. Dr. et Collegii Reginalis in Universitate Cant. Magister electus erat in Novo Sacello, Unanimi consensu Omnium Electorum, ad officium Regii Professoris in S. Theologia ex fundatione Henrici Octavi in Universit pd. juxta Statutum in ea parte editum.

Ita Testamur.

THOS. GREENE, Procan.
HUMF. GOWER, Coll. Divi Joh. Mag.
JOHANNES COVELL, Coll. Christ. P.
RICH. BENTLEY, Magister Sanctæ, et Individuæ Trinitat. Colleg.
JO. HAWKINS, ejusdem Stæ. et Individuæ Trinitat. Soc. Senior.
GUIL. CORKER, Coll. Trin. Soc. Sen.
HEN. BOWLES, Coll. Reg. Vice prop. Dep.

Secundo die Mensis Maii Anno Dni, 1717.

Copy of second entry.

Memorand. quod die et anno superdcis Richardus Bentley, in S. T. P. et Collegii Sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis in Universitat. Cantab. Magister, electus erat in Novo Sacello ex consensu majoris partis Electorum ad officium Regii Professoris in S. Theologia ex fundatione Henrici Octavi in Universit. pd. juxta Statutum in ea parte editum.

Ita Testamur.

RI. BENTLEY, Coll. Trin. Mag. et Procancellarius Deputatus.
JOAN. DAVIES, LL.D. et Coll. Regin. Magister.
GEO. MODD, Vice-mr. Trin. Coll.
EDW. BATHURST, Trin. Coll. Sen. Soc.

Affidavits in Answer.

In Banco Regis.

Affidavit of Dr. Bentley.

Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, Master of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, maketh oath, that in or about April one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, Mr. Grigg, now Dr. Grigg, Master of Clare Hall, and then Vice Chancellor of the said University, having an occasion to go into the country, did under his hand and seal of office constitute this deponent his lawful Deputy or Pro-Vice-chancellor; and during that time the place of Regius Pro-

fessor of Divinity being vacant by the death of Dr. James, he this deponent, as Pro-Vice-chancellor did, according to the royal statute in that behalf, summon all the other electors into the Publick Schools; and the majority of them being met there, they, to wit this deponent and Dr. John Davies, Master of Queen's College; Mr. George Modd, Vice Master of Trinity College, and Mr. Edward Bathurst, Senior Fellow of the same, did according to statute order the University Registrar to make a writing or instrument commonly called a programma, and to affix one copy thereof on the door of the Publick Schools, and another on the door of the University Church, where they continued seven days, as the said statute appoints. And this deponent maketh oath, that all the four electors in conjunction, and not this deponent alone (as Robert Simpson, one of the University beadles, in his affidavit falsely swears) did appoint the said writing, which writing was not a diploma, (as the said beadle falsely and ignorantly swears it to be) but a programma of a known and customary form, notifying the vacancy of the said professorship, and appointing a day for the examination of all candidates or competitors for the same. Which day appointed being come, and the said majority of electors being again met in the Public Schools, he this deponent offered himself to examination as candidate for the said place; and no other competitor appearing besides him, the said electors (as the statute directs) appointed a portion of Scripture to be explained in Latin by him this deponent for the space of one hour in the Public Schools. And accordingly on the day appointed, this deponent did explain the said portion of Scripture in Latin for above the space of an hour in the Public Schools to a numerous audience of almost all the members of the said University. Which explanation, or (as commonly called) prelection, being approved by the said electors, who were there present to hear it, they the said electors with this deponent did meet the next day (as the statute appoints) in the Public Schools, and there unanimously did elect this deponent into the said professorship, there being no other competitor against him. And whereas the said Robert Simpson, beadle, does in his said affidavit maliciously swear that this deponent did, by collusion with the said electors, John Davies, George Modd, and Edward Bathurst, declare himself to be elected, and procure the said electors to sign the said election, of which pretended collusion and procuring the said beadle could not possibly know any thing, he attending only at a distance, as University servant, and having no hand in the election, nor conversation with the electors; on the contrary, this deponent maketh oath that he this deponent had no collusion at all with the said John Davies, George Modd, or Edward Bathurst, nor gave any reward, or hope, or promise of any reward to any of them, to cause and procure the said election. And he further maketh oath that the said John Davies, George Modd, and Edward Bathurst, just before they proceeded to election, did each of them in the Public Schools, in this deponent's presence, take the oath appointed by statute, that they would choose nobody out of favour or affection, or for a reward, or the hope of any reward, but him whom in conscience they thought the fittest person for the place, as they would answer it at the Day of Judgment. And this deponent further saith, that the said Robert Simpson, beadle, doth in his said affidavit falsely insinuate that, according to the express words of the statute, the two electors of Trinity College are to be *Maxime Seniores*, the two first and eldest Seniors of the house,

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and he falsely swears that Richard Bentley, this deponent, pretends himself elected by the votes of George Modd, and Edward Bathurst, as such *Maxime Seniores;* on the contrary, this deponent never did pretend, nor does now pretend, that the said George Modd and Edward Bathurst were at the time of the said election the two *Maxime Seniores*, but he both pretends, and certainly knows, that in the absence of the two *Maxime Seniores* from the place of election, the two next *Maxime Seniores*, who were then the said George Modd and Edward Bathurst, had by express words of the said statute the full right and power of electing. The words of the statute, speaking of all the seven electors are these: "Quod si quispiam eorum penes quos eligendi potestas sit forte abfuerit, ejus locum suppleat illius vicarius, eandem authoritatem inter eligendum habeat." At that time the two *Maxime Seniores* of the said College of Trinity were Dr. Wolfran Stubbe and Mr. Patrick Cock, of which two the said Dr. Stubbe was then absent at London, and continued so for many years before and after; and the latter, Mr. Cock, though present within the walls of the College, had been for a long time an infirm decrepit man, had had his commons for several years not in the College Hall, but privately in his chamber; had long absented and excused himself from all public business, was so paralytic in both his hands that he was fed by his bedmaker, could not legibly write his own name, and consequently knew himself wholly unable to perform his part at the election of a Professor. In the absence therefore of Dr. Stubbe, and under the inability of Mr. Cock, the two next *Maxime Seniores*, the said George Modd and Edward Bathurst, were by express statute, as well as custom immemorial, the lawful electors. And this deponent further maketh oath, that on or about the twenty-fourth of August, one thousand seven hundred and twelve, he this deponent, with the other electors, did meet to choose a Hebrew and a Greek Professor, those two places being then vacant, and they chose into the said places Dr. Bouquet and Mr. Pilgrim, both of Trinity College, by the same statute and in the same manner as the Regius Professor of Divinity is chosen. And this deponent saith that even then, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twelve, near five years before this deponent's election, in one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, neither the said Dr. Stubbe nor Mr. Cock assisted at those two elections, though they were the *Maxime Seniores*, the one being absent, and the other even then an infirm and decrepit man, but the two electors of Trinity College were the said George Modd and one Dr. Smith, then Senior Fellow of the said College, and now deceased, as appears by the University Record, to which this deponent refers; and yet this deponent never heard that the said two elections of Dr. Bouquet and Mr. Pilgrim were called in question, but have stood and now stand lawful and valid for eight years and more, though the said Dr. Stubbe and Mr. Cock did not then vote, but their juniors and vicars, Mr. Modd and Dr. Smith; and though Sir John Ellis, Knight, and Master of Caius College, did preside in those elections, not as Vice-Chancellor, but as Deputy or Pro-Vice-chancellor, and though four electors only subscribed, the said two elections, just as it happened afterwards in the election of this deponent, as plainly appears in the said record, to which this deponent refers. And he further maketh oath, that in the election of Dr. James to the professorship of Divinity, at which this deponent was present, on or about the second day of February, one thousand six hun-

dred and ninety-nine, which said election is set forth by the said Robert Simpson in his affidavit, and which he swears he believes to be agreeable to statute, the two Seniors of Trinity College that then subscribed were John Hawkins and William Corker, as appears by the said Black Book, and yet, as this deponent well remembers, and as appears by Trinity College Register Book, which this deponent has consulted, the said John Hawkins was not at that time *Maxime Senior* of the whole College, but George Chamberlayne, Doctor in Divinity, then absent*; and the said William Corker was not the next *Maxime Senior* to John Hawkins, but Robert Moyle, then absent; so that each of them were *vicarii* in that election, which the said Simpson believes to be statutable. And this deponent further saith, that in the said election of Dr. James, as appears by the Black Book, and as set forth by the said Simpson, one subscription is thus, *Henricus Bowles, Collegii Regalis Vice-Præpositus deputatus:* so that the statute first giving the power of election to the *Præpositus* himself, and in his absence to his *Vicarius*, or *Vice-Præpositus*, it appears that the said Henry Bowles did then elect and subscribe as Vicarius to another Vicarius. And this deponent further maketh oath, that at the said election of Dr. James, at which he was present, neither the said John Hawkins nor William Corker, of Trinity, nor Henry Bowles, of King's, did exhibit, or were asked to exhibit, any writing under the hands of those they represented, to impower them to elect, it being the known custom immemorial, as well in the public University as private Colleges, in all cases of this and the like nature, that in the absence of the proper person the *Vicarius* appears and acts for him without any particular commission from his principal. And this deponent further maketh oath, that till now, upon the affidavit of the said Robert Simpson, he remembers not to have ever heard for three whole years time, that any objection was made to his election from the invalidity of the votes of the said Mr. Modd and Mr. Bathurst, nor did he ever hear that the said Dr. Stubbe or Mr. Cock, who were the *Maxime Seniores*, ever complained that their right of election was invaded by their juniors during eight years, while three elections were made without them, nor did this deponent ever solicit or desire, either by writing or word, the said Dr. Stubbe or Mr. Cock to absent themselves from any of those elections. And he further saith, that after his said election he made his inauguration speech in a full assembly of the whole University, and from time to time presided as Professor at disputations in the Public Schools, as Professor created several Doctors in Divinity at the Commencement Act, as Professor made the sole speech to his Majesty King George in the Public Schools, when he made a visit to the University from Newmarket, and in his presence, as Professor, created three Heads of Colleges Doctors in Divinity. And he further saith, that he was called, styled, and acknowledged Professor by the whole University on all public occasions, and on private ones, by every one that he conversed with; and that on all disputations in the Schools, when he presided as Professor, there was as great a concourse of the members of the University to hear him as ever had been known before in the memory of man, and so it continued until

* Dr. Chamberlayne was a remarkable instance of longevity: he was a member of Trinity College nearly eighty years; except during the reign of the Puritans, by whom he was expelled. He was Vice-master from 1666 to 1689, and was the Senior of the Society no less than thirty-six years.

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Affidavit of Dr. Bentley.

(upon what grounds or motives this deponent says not,) Dr. Gooch, Master of Caius College, and then Vice-Chancellor, did arbitrarily, unstatutably and illegally, presume to suspend this deponent, unheard and untried, from his academical degrees, and forcibly hinder him from doing his office as Professor both in the University Church and Schools, and to order other persons, without authority, to act in his place, and to take his fees and perquisites. And this deponent is credibly informed, that since his said pretended suspension and inhibition from presiding in the Schools there has not been one public disputation performed with decency or profit to the audience, not one determination made to decide the points in question, not one opponency to any Doctors' in Divinity Acts; but the said Doctors' Acts are sold for money, without any exercise, contrary to statute and ancient custom; though his present Grace of Canterbury, (as this deponent is well informed,) has signified to the said Dr. Gooch that he will not reckon those degrees so sold for money, without exercise, to be valid, nor grant any dispensation to hold two livings on the account of such degrees. And this deponent, lastly, saith, that not one of the present electors ever wrote, spoke, or sent message to this deponent, that he thought the Professor's place vacant, or desired his concurrence to a new election. And this deponent has asked and consulted Mr. George Modd and Mr. Abraham Jordan, the two present *Maxime Seniores* of Trinity College, and he finds by them that neither of them have been spoken to by any other electors about proceeding to a new election in the pretended vacancy of the Regius Professorship of Divinity, and that neither of them have any part, share, or knowledge, in soliciting for a rule of court, or mandate, to fill up such pretended vacancy.

RICHARD BENTLEY.

Jurat. apud Cantabr. in Com. Cantabr. 8 *die mensis Octobris* 1720, *coram me,*
Ricardo Penson, Commissionar. secundum formam Statuti.

In Banco Regis.

Richard Bentley, D.D. Master of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, maketh oath, that in or about the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twelve he was one of the electors of Dr. Bouquet and Mr. Pilgrim, into the then vacant places of the Hebrew and Greek Professorships, in which elections Sir John Ellis, Knight, Master of Caius College, now deceased, presided as Vice-Chancellor in deputation, or *Vicarius* to the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Gabriel Quadring, Master of Magdalene College, now deceased, and that the said Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Quadring, was not absent then from the University, but was resident then in Magdalene College, only infirm and indisposed. And this deponent further maketh oath, that Dr. Adams, Provost of King's College, Dr. Jenkins, Master of St. John's, and Dr. Covel, Master of Christ's, who were then present at the said two elections, although each of them voted against the said Dr. Bouquet, and refused to sign the election, did not make any exception against the said Sir John Ellis's right of voting, although the Vice-Chancellor (as above said) was then resident in the University, and ever since that time, for the space of about eight years, the said

Dr. Bouquet and Mr. Pilgrim have held, and now hold the said Professorships of Hebrew and Greek, without disturbance. And he, this deponent, lastly maketh oath, that as no clause in the statute about the Royal Professorships does forbid any elector to vote for himself, if he pleases to be a candidate; for the constant practice in like cases both in Trinity College and the University for near twenty years, that this deponent hath been Master there, and, as he believes, for time immemorial, doth warrant the said voting for one's self. It being notoriously known that the eight Seniors of the said College, who, with the Master, are electors into all the College offices, do yearly some of them vote for themselves for the offices of Vice-master, of Senior Dean, and of Senior Bursar. And in the said University, whenever an University living, or a place of member of Parliament, or yearly the University lectureships of rhetoric, &c. do fall vacant, the candidates for any of the said places are allowed to have a right, and, as occasion requires, are accustomed to vote for themselves.

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Affidavit of Dr. Bentley.

RICHARD BENTLEY.

Jurat. 27 *die Octobris, anno Dni* 1720, *coram me apud Serjeants' Inn, in Fleet-street. Littleton Powys.*

In Banco Regis.

George Modd, Master of Arts, Vice-master, and Senior Fellow of Trinity College, in the University of Cambridge, maketh oath that he this deponent, with Mr. Edward Bathurst, now deceased, then Senior Fellow of the said College, did, about the month of April, 1717, attend at the Public Schools in order to choose a new Professor of Divinity, in the place of Dr. James, deceased, and there did elect the Reverend Doctor Richard Bentley, Master of the said College of Trinity. And this deponent further saith, that in the absence of Dr. Wolfran Stubbe, and Mr. Patrick Cock, both now deceased, but then the two *Maxime Seniores* of the said College, he this deponent did then, and doth now believe, that he and the said Edward Bathurst, as the next *Maxime Seniores*, were the lawful electors on that occasion, both according to the express words of the statute, and the constant custom of the said College, and other Colleges of the said University. And this deponent further saith, that he did not, by either letter or conversation, desire, deter, or any way hinder the said Dr. Stubbe, or Mr. Cock, from going in their own persons to the said election, it being notorious that the said Dr. Stubbe was at that time, and long before and since, absent from the University, at London; and that the said Mr. Cock had long been, and afterwards continued, so infirm, as to avoid all public business. And this deponent further saith, that some time in the year 1712, five years before the said election of Dr. Bentley, he this deponent, with Dr. Thomas Smith, then Senior Fellow of the said College, but now deceased, did assist at the election of two other Professors of the Hebrew and Greek languages, though the said Dr. Stubbe and Mr. Cock were both then alive, but the former absent at London, and the latter, though present in College, even then so decrepit as to be unfit for public business. And this deponent doth further make oath, that he never heard that either the said Dr. Stubbe or Mr. Cock from that time to their deaths did ever complain that their right of election had been invaded, or that this

Affidavit of Mr. Modd.

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Affidavit of Mr. Modd.

deponent and the deceased Dr. Smith and Mr. Bathurst had acted unstatutably. And this deponent further saith, that he did not act by collusion with Dr. John Davies, Master of Queen's College, or the said Dr. Bentley, or Mr. Bathurst, as Robert Simpson, an University Beadle, has falsely made oath; but that he, this deponent, without any bribe, or promise of bribe, did conscientiously, and under solemn oath, elect the said Dr. Bentley as the fittest and best qualified person for the said Professorship, which sufficiently appeared in that no other candidate or competitor opposed him. And this deponent lastly saith, that since the death of the said Dr. Stubbe, and Mr. Cock, and Mr. Bathurst, he, this deponent, and Mr. Abraham Jordan, are the two *Maxime Seniores* of Trinity College, and consequently are two electors into any vacancy that may fall in the said three Royal Professorships; and that he, this deponent, having asked and consulted the said Mr. Jordan, doth find that neither of them have been spoken to by any other electors about a supposed vacancy in the Professorship of Divinity, and that neither of them had any hand or part in promoting a Rule of Court to or against the said Dr. Bentley.

GEORGE MODD.

Jurat. apud Cantabr. in Com. Cantabr. 8 *Oct.* 1720, *coram me,*
Ricardo Penson, Commissionar. secundum formam statuti.

In Banco Regis.

Affidavit of Dr. Davies.

John Davies, Doctor in Laws and Divinity, Master of Queen's College in Cambridge, maketh oath, that some time in April, one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, he was summoned to meet at the Public Schools, in order to proceed to an election of another Regius Professor, in the room of Dr. Henry James, then lately deceased; and having met there accordingly, with the Rev. Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity College, then Deputy Vice-chancellor, and Mr. George Modd, Senior Fellow and Vice-master of Trinity College, and Mr. Edward Bathurst, now deceased, but then Senior Fellow of the said College; they, the said four Electors, being the majority of the whole number seven, did cause a programma to be published, to notify the vacancy of the Regius Professorship, and to appoint the day for all candidates to appear, on which day being arrived, and no other candidate appearing beside the said Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity, they the said electors did, as the statute directs, appoint the said Richard Bentley to explain a portion of Scripture in Latin in the Public Schools, which Latin prelection being made in a full assembly of the University, and highly approved by this deponent, and, as he believes, by the generality of the audience, the electors met again in the Schools the day following; and there, after a solemn oath taken by them, did unanimously elect the said Richard Bentley to be Regius Professor, and each subscribed the said election with their own hands. And this deponent further maketh oath, that there was no collusion between this deponent and the said Richard Bentley, as Robert Simpson, one of the University Beadles, falsely sweareth in a certain affidavit seen by this deponent, but that he the said deponent sincerely and conscientiously, and under a due sense of the solemn oath then taken by him to choose in his conscience the most fit person as he would answer it

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to our Saviour at the Day of Judgment, did give his vote and suffrage for the said Richard Bentley; and he then did, and still does, believe that the said Richard Bentley was as duly and as deservedly elected as any one of his predecessors. And he further maketh oath, that neither at the time of election nor since, he ever heard any objection made to the lawfulness of the votes of the said Mr. Modd and Mr. Bathurst, till he heard of the late affidavit made by the said Robert Simpson. And he further saith, that not only in this case, where the statute expressly appoints it so, but generally in most other matters of the University, the *Vicarii* or Deputies from any College do of course, and without shewing any credentials, give their votes in the absence of their Masters or principals. And this deponent further saith, that for a long time after the said election, the said Richard Bentley was universally acknowledged as lawful Professor, presided in the chair as such, received the salaries and fees as such, created Doctors in Divinity as such, and, among others, created this deponent himself in his Majesty's own presence, and in all his public performances was attended with as numerous auditories as ever were known before. And this deponent verily believes, that the said Richard Bentley had never been molested or questioned about the said Professorship, if an incidental quarrel about some small fees had not been begun against him by Dr. Gooch, Master of Caius College, and then Vice-chancellor of the University; since which time the said Dr. Gooch (by what law this deponent knoweth not) has presumed to suspend the said Richard Bentley from the exercise of his Professorship, from his academical degrees, and finally to degrade him from the same, to exclude him from all voice or suffrage in the University, and to banish him from the Public Schools, whereby a total failure has since happened in the wonted disputations for doctors' degrees, to the great damage, as this deponent conceives, and the great infamy of the University.

Affidavit of Dr. Davies.

JOHN DAVIES.

Jurat. apud Cantabr. in Com. Cantabr. 8 *Oct.* 1720, *coram me,*
Ricardo Penson, Commissionar. secundum formam statuti.

In Banco Regis.

Denys L'Isle, of Cambridge, Bachelor of Laws, and one of the proctors of the Vice-chancellor's Court, in the University of Cambridge, maketh oath, That he has often seen the Rev. Dr. Bentley act as Regius Professor of Divinity in the Public Schools of the said University, and the Rev. Dr. Gooch attend there as Vice-chancellor. That the said Dr. Gooch in conversation with this deponent, did always speak of the said Dr. Bentley as Regius Professor, till a law-suit was commenced by the Rev. Dr. Middleton, against the said Dr. Bentley, before the said Dr. Gooch, upon pretence of certain fees received of the said Dr. Middleton, by the said Dr. Bentley. That the said Dr. Gooch had frequently told this deponent, before the commencement of this suit, that the Professor, (meaning Dr. Bentley,) must, and should return Dr. Middleton his fees; and that if he would not, he should be arrested, and compelled to return them, or to that effect. And this deponent further maketh oath, That the said Dr. Bentley refusing to return the said fees was arrested, and gave bail for his appear-

Affidavit of Mr. L'Isle.

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Affidavit of Mr. L'Isle.

ance at the next Court, as this deponent was informed by the beadle who arrested him, and by Dr. Baker, one of his bail. At which Court this deponent (being retained by the said Dr. Bentley,) did offer to appear for him. But the said Dr. Gooch absolutely refused to suffer this deponent's appearance to be entered by the Registrar, and threatened this deponent in open Court with suspension, for no other reason (as this deponent believes,) but because he offered to appear for the said Dr. Bentley. And this deponent insisting upon his appearance for the said Dr. Bentley as his proctor in the cause above mentioned, the said Dr. Gooch did in open Court declare, that he postponed that cause, (meaning the cause between the said Dr. Middleton and the said Dr. Bentley,) nor was the return of any decree taken out against the said Dr. Bentley in the said cause ever called for, though the contrary is asserted by the said Dr. Gooch in his account of his proceedings against Dr. Bentley, given in by the said Dr. Gooch to his Majesty in Council. And this deponent further maketh oath, That the said Dr. Gooch having declared that he had postponed the cause above mentioned, immediately asked for Mr. Clarke, one of the beadles of the University, upon which Mr. Grove the Registrar stood up and produced a paper which he called Mr. Clarke's deposition, and which he afterwards owned to this deponent, was sworn before him the said Mr. Grove, at the said Clarke's chambers, according to the deponent's best remembrance, without any other authority than a verbal order from the Vice-chancellor. That upon reading this paper, the deponent did offer in open Court to make oath, That what the said Clarke had pretended to swear in relation to this deponent was utterly false. But no notice being taken of what was said by this deponent, the said Dr. Gooch did immediately proceed to suspend the said Dr. Bentley from all his academical degrees, unsummoned, unheard, or so much as called; and applying himself to this deponent in a threatening and angry manner, said, "Go tell your friend," (meaning Dr. Bentley,) "that if he does not come and submit, and acknowledge his faults, I will declare his Professorship void." And this deponent further maketh oath, That he went directly from the Vice-chancellor's Court, and acquainted Dr. Bentley with what had passed there; and after a little consultation, the said Dr. Bentley did enter an appeal from Dr. Gooch's proceedings against him before this deponent, being a public notary, according to statute and the known custom of the University. That the next day this deponent did notify the appeal to Mr. Simpson, then one of the Proctors of the University, paid him the money appointed by statute to be paid on that occasion, and required him in the name of the University, to inhibit the Vice-chancellor from any further proceeding against the said Dr. Bentley, pending the said appeal, as the statute directs. And this deponent further maketh oath, That he happened to be with the said Dr. Gooch when the said Mr. Simpson attended by the Registrar of the University, came to inhibit him. And the said Dr. Gooch understanding what they came for, (this deponent calling upon the Proctor to do his duty) in an angry manner told the Proctor that he had nothing to do to inhibit him, and declared that he was of opinion that no appeal lay from the Vice-chancellor in the correction of offenders. That Mr. Simpson the Proctor (frightened as this deponent believes by what was said by the Vice-chancellor,) refused to inhibit the said Dr. Gooch, and the Registrar, (as this deponent believes for the same reason,) refused to make any account of what had passed at that time, though this deponent, as proctor to Dr. Bentley, required the said Registrar as a

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public notary, so to do. And this deponent further maketh oath, That sometime of the same day, (according to this deponent's best remembrance,) this deponent was sent by the said Dr. Bentley with a letter to the said Dr. Gooch, and orders to inquire of him what was the meaning and consequences of his suspension, and what it was expected the said Dr. Bentley should do, or to that purpose. In answer to which the said Dr. Gooch told this deponent, that by suspension he meant an absolute degradation *pro tempore*. That there was no difference between a suspension and degradation, but that the former was reversible, the other not. And that now Bentley had no degree in this University. That the consequence of this suspension was, that if Bentley did not come to the Court and ask pardon for his faults sworn against him, and acknowledge he was rightfully suspended for the same, and submit to the Court, he would declare his professorship void, and that he would not admit of any defence; or that effect. And this deponent further maketh oath, That notwithstanding the said Dr. Gooch did hinder the said Dr. Bentley from prosecuting his appeal to the University in a regular and statutable way, and thereby entirely prevented him from making any defence or any inquiry into the legality of the said Dr. Gooch's proceedings against him, yet the said Dr. Gooch himself brought the matter before the said University, (as this deponent conceives,) in a most unstatutable and irregular way, viz. by a grace in a Congregation, which hath no original jurisdiction in any cause whatsoever, by any statute that this deponent could ever find, or ever hear of. That in the preamble of the said grace it is suggested, that the said Dr. Bentley had been duly summoned to appear and answer in a cause before the Vice-chancellor, and had refused to obey the summons, which this deponent believes in his conscience to be utterly false, because Beadle Clarke in his pretended deposition said, he had the Vice-chancellor's order to arrest the said Dr. Bentley, (not to summon him,) and as the very words of the decree show which are these, 'Arrest the body of the Rev. Richard Bentley, D.D. and Regius Professor in Divinity,' and signed 'T. Gooch, Vice-chancellor;' and because the constant and known practice in the Vice-chancellor's Court is to arrest the defendant in any civil action, and not to summon him. And this deponent further maketh oath, That upon these and other suggestions, (as this deponent has reason to believe) as false as the former, the said Dr. Bentley was by a vote or grace of the University, degraded and excluded from all his titles and right in the University, Dr. Gooch having (as this deponent is informed,) in a most unusual manner, made a Latin speech to the University upon that occasion. And this deponent further maketh oath, That he constantly attended the Vice-chancellor's Court during all the process against the said Dr. Bentley, and was often with the said Dr. Gooch, then Vice-chancellor, out of Court, on Dr. Bentley's account. And this deponent doth verily believe from what he hath predeposed, and from the violence and fury with which the said Dr. Bentley was prosecuted at Cambridge, that both his pretended suspension and the proceedings against him in this Court were, and are principally occasioned by the said Dr. Gooch and some few other persons, with a design to disgrace, injure, and oppress the said Dr. Bentley.

DENYS L'ISLE.

Jurat. apud Cantabr. in Com. Cantabr. 8^vo *die mensis Octob.* 1720. *Coram me, Ricardo Penson, Commissionar. secundum formam Statuti.*

APPENDIX, No. III.

Documents relating to the Prosecution of Dr. Bentley before Bishop Greene.

Copy of the Articles exhibited against Dr. Bentley.

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In Dei Nomine Amen: Nos Thomas permissione divina Eliensis Episcopus, ac Visitator specialiter assignatus et sufficienter authorizatus vigore statutorum per Elizabetham beatæ memoriæ quondam hujus incliti regni Reginam, sub sigillo suo magno, Magistro Sociis et Scholaribus Collegii Sacrosanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis infra Universitatem Cantabrigiensem representatorum et commendatorum, ad examinandum Magistrum Collegii prædicti de et super criminibus et excessibus in secundo membro Capitis quadragesimi dictorum statutorum expressis et mentionatis, et ad pronunciandum et decernendum de et super convictione ejusdem Magistri post examinationem ipsius habitam, Tibi Richardo Bentley, Sacræ Theologiæ Professori, Magistro hodierno Collegii prædicti, Articulos, Capitula sive interrogatoria infra scripta, malam administrationem officii tui quà Magistri dicti Collegii, criminaque et excessus in prædicto secundo membro dicti Capitis quadragesimi statutorum prædictorum expressa et mentionata, et præsertim dilapidationem bonorum et status et redituum sive proventionum dicti Collegii et violationem statutorum ejusdem per te commissa et perpetrata, tangentia et concernentia, ex officio nostro quà Visitatore prædicto, ad promotionem Reverendi Viri Roberti Johnson, Clerici, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaurei, et unius e dicti Collegii Sociis, damus objicimus et articulamur prout sequitur; viz.

Article confirmed by the House of Lords.

Imprimis, We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you the said Dr. Richard Bentley do know, believe, and have heard, that Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, formerly Queen of this realm, did by Letters Patent, bearing date the 4th of the Calends of April, in the second year of her reign, make, constitute, appoint, and ordain certain rules, constitutions, or statutes, for the good government, order, and discipline, and for the better preservation of the estates, and administration of the revenues of the Royal College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in the University of Cambridge, of the foundation of King Henry the Eighth, her father: and the said statutes were

by her confirmed under the broad Seal, and received and accepted by the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the said College. *Et hoc fuit et est verum, et objicimus et articulamur conjunctim et divisim et de quolibet.*

II. *Item*, We article and object to you the said Dr. Bentley, that in and by the fortieth chapter of the said statutes, the Bishop of Ely, for the time being, is appointed, authorized, and empowered, at any time, to examine the Master of the said College, upon and concerning sundry great and enormous crimes in the latter member of such statutes particularly enumerated and expressed, as in and by the said statutes now remaining among the archives of the College, to which the party proponent referreth himself, doth and may appear. *Et hoc fuit et est verum, et objicimus et articulamur ut supra.* Confirmed.

III. *Item*, We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you the said Dr. Richard Bentley was, in and about the year 1699, by a grant or letters patent from his late Majesty King William the Third, constituted and appointed Master of the aforesaid College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in Cambridge, and was afterwards duly admitted Master thereof, and have ever since possessed and enjoyed, and do now possess and enjoy the said Mastership. *Et hoc fuit et est verum, et objicimus et articulamur ut supra.* Confirmed.

IV. *Item*, We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you the said Dr. Richard Bentley did, at the time of your admission into the Mastership of the said College, take the oath, enjoined and prescribed by the second of the said statutes of Queen Elizabeth, to be taken by every Master at and before his admission into such Mastership, and that you then swore *(inter alia)* in the words following, viz. *Ego*, Richardus Bentley, *a Regia Majestate Magister hujus Collegii Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitati dedicati designatus, juro et Deo teste promitto ac spondeo, Primo me veram Christi religionem omni animo amplexurum, &c. Deinde, me omnia dicti Collegii sacerdotia, fundos, prædia, possessiones, dominia, reditus, proventus, jura, libertates, privilegia, omnia denique bona sine imminutione aut vastatione (quantum in me situm erit) conservaturum, statuta Collegii in omnibus servaturum, et eadem vere sincere et omnino secundum sensum grammaticalem interpretaturum, omnes et singulos socios et discipulos, pensionarios, sisatores et subsisatores et cetera Collegii membra ex iisdem statutis ac legibus sine ullius generis aut conditionis aut personarum respectu, gratia odiove recturum et defensurum, atque ut omnes, officiarii socii ac discipuli, ceteraque Collegii membra diligenter suum faciant officium, curaturum; postremò, si munere Magistri vel sponte abiero, vel jure ac legitime abdicatus fuero, me omnia Collegii bona quæ in mea potestate custodiave sunt, aut esse debent, Vice-Magistro Decanis et Thesaurariis Collegii, vel statim, si id commode fieri poterit, vel intra quindecim dies, sine controversia tergiversatione aut aliqua eorundem diminutione redditurum; et si quam pecuniæ summam id temporis Collegio debuero, obsides sufficientes daturum Vice-Magistro et ceteris Collegii sociis et scholaribus de eadem pecunia penitus ante finem trium mensium proxime sequentium dissol-* Confirmed

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venda; nullam litem, actionemve Collegio aut his qui me legitime abdicaverunt eâ de causa unquam in posterum intentaturum. Hæc omnia in me recipio, Deoque teste me pro virili facturum polliceor: sicut me Deus adjuvet et hæc sacrosancta Dei Evangelia. Et hoc fuit et est verum, &c. et objicimus et articulamur ut supra.

Prohibited by the House of Lords.

V. *Item*, We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you have, ever since such your admission to the Mastership, lived and acted in open violation of many of the said rules and constitutions, or statutes, so made and provided for the good government of the said College, and in breach of the oath so as aforesaid by you taken. *Et objicimus et articulamur ut supra.*

Confirmed, except the words within brackets.

VI. *Item*, We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the second chapter of the said statutes it is *(inter alia)* ordained and provided, that the Master of the said College for the time being, shall be a person no less eminent above other members of the said College for his piety and integrity of life, than he is superior to them by the dignity of his place: notwithstanding which you, the said Dr. Bentley, have, for more than twenty years past, in violation of the said statute, and in breach of your said oath, lived a very irreligious life, and notoriously neglected the public worship of God; and more particularly by constantly and habitually absenting yourself from divine service in the chapel of the said College at the usual hours of morning and evening prayers, [and suffered or permitted the officers of the said College in the like manner to neglect the same.] *Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio temporis spatio, &c. et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

VII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you have for several years successively elected, and by arbitrary methods procured several persons to be elected Vice-masters of the said College, notwithstanding that such Vice-masters did not at any time in the first year of their being Vice-master, nor in any of the following years, attend the public worship of God in the chapel of the said College at the usual hours of prayers in the morning, as by the statute they ought to have done; and that you, the said Dr. Bentley have, from time to time, and at all times, suffered such open neglect of duty in the said Vice-Masters to pass without censure, and unpunished, in violation of the said statutes of the said College, and of the oath so as aforesaid by you taken. *Et hoc fuit et est verum, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

VIII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the first of the said statutes it is provided, that there shall be four persons in orders of priesthood, to serve as chaplains daily in the chapel of the said College, as by the said statute, reference being thereunto had, will more fully appear. *Et objicimus et articulamur ut supra.*

Prohibited.

IX. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that ever since you have been Master of the said College, the persons appointed to be chaplains

thereof have been allowed by you to be non-resident and absent from the said College, and to enjoy and reside upon livings and other benefices in places very distant and remote from the said College; and that not any of the said chaplains have at any time been called upon by you, the said Dr. Bentley, to reside there, or censured by you for such their non-residence. *Et hoc fuit et est verum, &c. Et ut supra.*

X. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the 11th of the said statutes, it is ordained and provided, that there shall be a lecture read on some part of the Catechism, on every Sunday and Holiday, in the chapel of the said College, after the public sermon in the afternoon; and by such statutes five or six of the Fellows ought to be appointed to perform that religious and important duty; and from the time of making the said statutes, the names of the several Fellows appointed to read such lectures have been entered in the book called the Conclusion Book, or some other book belonging to the College: and that out of the number of those who had been so appointed, and gone through a course of such lectures, the College preachers ought to be chosen by the Master and eight Senior Fellows, when and so often as any vacancy shall happen among them; as by the said statutes, reference being thereunto had, will more fully appear. *Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

XI. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that for twenty years past and upwards, you have not only neglected, but absolutely refused, though often called upon and required so to do, to appoint or fill up the prescribed number of Fellows to read the said lectures; so that the same have been frequently interrupted, neglected, and discontinued for many months, and sometimes for whole years together. *Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio temporis spatio, &c. Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

XII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that more particularly on or about the 22d day of April, 1719, there being then several vacancies in the prescribed number of Fellows to read the said lectures, it was at a public meeting of members of the said College, that day held, proposed to you the said Dr. Bentley, by one of the senior Fellows then present, and the rest of the senior Fellows of the said College, did then earnestly desire of you, that such vacancies might be supplied and filled up; and a list of several learned and worthy Fellows of the said College, well fit and qualified to read those lectures, particularly Mr. Malled, Mr. Craister, and others, were then offered to you, the said Dr. Bentley, for that purpose; but that you, the said Dr. Bentley, absolutely refused to name or allow of, nor did you name or allow of any other person to perform that laudable and necessary exercise; but with great contempt and disdain told them, 'it was nonsense to talk of putting up five persons to catechise at the same time,' or to that effect. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

XIII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that soon after the premisses in the next precedent article mentioned, the aforesaid Mr. Malled and Mr. Craister several times waited upon you, and earnestly desired and entreated Confirmed.

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you, that they might have leave to read the lectures upon the Catechism, according to and in pursuance of the said statutes, in order to their being statutably capable of being elected College preachers; but you absolutely refused them, and turned them away from you with great rudeness and ill manners. And the said Mr. Craister waiting upon you at another time with the like request, you, the said Dr. Bentley, refused him, and took him by the shoulders, and thrust him out of the doors. *Hocque, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

XIV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that when any vacancy hath happened among the College preachers, you, the said Dr. Bentley, have refused, though often called upon and required so to do, to call the eight Senior Fellows together, within the time prescribed by the said 11th statute of Queen Elizabeth; so that there have been very frequently several vacancies of College preachers at one time; and some years there were seven, and in other years there were nine places of College preachers vacant together; to the great prejudice and discouragement of such of the Fellows of the said College as were capable of being, and ought to have been elected into such vacancies. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quibuslibet aliis annis, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

XV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the 30th of the said statute, it is ordained and provided, that when any livings, in the gift and presentation of the College, shall become vacant, the same shall, within one month after notice of such vacancy, without further delay, be conferred upon such Fellow of the College as shall be the then senior by degree, as by the statute, to which the party proponent refers, will appear. *Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

XVI. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you, the said Dr. Bentley, in violation of the said statute, and in breach of your said oath, have frequently, when livings, in the gift of the College, have become vacant, for private purposes of your own, and in order to carry on your evil practices, mentioned in these articles, unstatutably delayed and denied to join in presenting such senior as hath been then statutably qualified to take and hold such living, or any other person whatever, thereto, till more than five months have passed from the notice of such vacancy. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio temporis spatio, &c. Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn.

XVII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the said 11th statute of Queen Elizabeth, it is further appointed, that every Fellow of the said College, before he can be chosen a College preacher, shall preach a sermon before the Master for the time being, and the Fellows and Scholars of the said College; and such sermon ought to be approved by the Master and four Senior Fellows of the said College. *Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn.

XVIII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you

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have not, for twenty years last past, been present to hear any one of the said probation sermons, save and except on the 23d day of August, 1719, being on a Sunday, when Mr. Barnwell preached; and on that day you did not come into the chapel till the Communion Service was begun; but you, the said Dr. Bentley, have frequently, and with great scorn, declared, that you approved and disapproved of such sermons as you were not present at, by report only; and that you did so by Mr. Whitfield's and Mr. Bouquet's sermons in particular. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio numero annorum, &c. et de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.*

XIX. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the 18th chapter of the said statutes, it is ordered and provided, that in every week of each term appointed by the statutes of the University, there shall be three disputations in the College chapel, viz. one on Monday in philosophy, at which the head lecturer is to preside; another on Wednesday in philosophy or divinity, at which the junior Dean is to preside; and another on Friday in divinity only, at which the senior Dean is to preside and moderate; and that each of such disputations is to continue for the space of two hours, between one respondent and three opponents, on which every Fellow and Scholar is to perform his part in turn in person, as appointed, unless excused on some weighty cause, to be allowed of by the Master and Dean of the said College; and in such case the person so excused may appoint a substitute to dispute in his stead, but is obliged in person to perform the like duty, as soon as the cause on which he was excused is removed or ceases. *Et ut supra.* Prohibited.

XX. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you have for these twenty years past totally eluded the force and effect of, and have violated the said statute as is hereafter mentioned, viz. first, by directing and appointing that the term in the College shall begin much later and end sooner than the term in the public University begins and ends; and by such your appointment, the term in the College has very frequently not lasted more than half the public term. Secondly, by suffering the disputations on Mondays and Wednesdays to be totally discontinued, and on those days the respondent reads a thesis only, and no opponents ever appear to dispute; and this through your wilful neglect. Thirdly, by allowing the disputations in divinity on Fridays to be performed by a respondent and one opponent only; and this exercise is seldom or never performed more than once in each term, and sometimes not at all; and this through your wilful neglect. Fourthly, by allowing the Fellows and Scholars of the said College, without any weighty cause, or good and sufficient reason, to appoint substitutes to perform their exercises, and not requiring them, when such pretended cause is removed or ceases, to perform the same in person; and by reason of this last-mentioned neglect in you, there are not now, nor for many years have been, above five of the Fellows of the said College at one time, who have regularly and statutably borne any part in the public disputations, either as respondents or opponents. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio temporis spatio, &c. Et ut supra.* Prohibited.

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Withdrawn. XXI. *Item*, We further article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the last mentioned statute it is further appointed and provided, that on every Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, there shall be disputations held in the hall of the said College, in rhetoric and logic, by the senior sophists and others; and that the head-lecturer and the other lecturers shall preside thereat in their turns. And by the ninth statute of the said Queen, it is likewise ordained and provided, that the head-lecturer shall take care that the sub-lecturers under him perform their respective duties diligently and faithfully; and by the same statute it is further appointed, that the said lecturer shall go, at least once in every week to each class, and examine each of the scholars of the said College, to know what proficiency they have respectively made from time to time, as by the said several statutes, to which the party proponent refers, will appear. *Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn. XXII. *Item*, We article and object to you the said Dr. Bentley, that at the time appointed for the election of lecturers and other officers of the said College, in the year 1727, you the said Dr. Bentley, proposed one of the Fellows to be head-lecturer, and one other of the Fellows to be Latin lecturer for the succeeding year: and although one of the Senior Fellows of the said College then objected thereto, on account that both the said Fellows so proposed by you, had totally neglected the duty of their respective offices in the preceding year, you replied as you had frequently done, that 'such objection concerned the time past only:' and then you asked if they, meaning the aforesaid Fellows so proposed by you to those offices, were not to take the oath, meaning the oath required by the statutes for the due discharge of their respective offices; and thereupon you, the said Dr. Bentley, immediately with your own hand, wrote down the names of the said two Fellows, whom you had so proposed, as appointed to such offices. And that neither of the said Fellows, so as aforesaid appointed to those offices, did during that whole year perform any part of the duty incumbent upon them, nor have they at any time been censured or punished by you for such their neglect. *Hocque*, &c. *Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore*, &c. *Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn, XXIII. *Item*, We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the 31st of the said statutes, it is ordered and appointed, that the several gates of the College shall be opened and shut by the porter, at certain hours therein mentioned; and that at night, when all the gates are shut, the keys shall be carried to the Master, and in his absence to the Vice-master, and deposited with him; and the porter is obliged personally to perform that duty, as by the said statute to which the party proponent refers will appear. *Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn. XXIV. *Item*, We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that in violation of the said statute, and contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, the keys of the College have not, at any time during these twenty years past, been brought by the porter, and deposited with you the Master, as by the said statute they ought to be, by which means all manner of persons, as well members of the said College as

others, are at liberty to, and frequently do go in and out of the College gates at all hours of the night: and the college porter doth not officiate in that duty himself, but is with your privity and consent allowed to act by a deputy, who hath no salary, or other consideration for doing that duty, but only the money given by such persons as make a practice of going in and out of the College gates, at such unstatutable and unseasonable hours; of all which you have been informed, and have had notice, *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio numero annorum, &c. Et ut supra.*

XXV. *Item,* We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the third of the statutes, it is ordained and provided, that when any one of the eight Senior Fellows goes out of the said College, he shall substitute the Fellow who is next in seniority to the eight, and not before deputed by another, to act for him in his absence; and shall enter such deputed Fellows' names in the registry of the said College. *Et ut supra.* Prohibited.

XXVI. *Item,* We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you the said Dr. Bentley, in breach of your said oath, and in violation of the said last mentioned statute, have all along suffered such of the eight Seniors as had occasion to be absent from the said College, to depart from thence without appointing any substitute, or entering the name of any substitute upon the Register Book; and you have very often called Junior Fellows of the said College, who to your knowledge were not deputed by any of the Seniors, and who by their standing and distance from the Seniority, to your knowledge were not capable of being deputed, or of transacting any of the affairs of the said College, to make conclusions, and to do other business, which by the said statute ought to be transacted by the Master and eight Senior Fellows, or by their statutable deputies only, and by no other Fellow whatsoever; and such their conclusions, acts, and doings, have been constantly entered by you or by your order, in a book kept for that purpose, as the acts of the Master and eight Senior Fellows of the said College. *Et hoc fuit et est verum, &c. Et ut supra.* Prohibited.

XXVII. *Item,* We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the 34th of Queen Elizabeth's said statutes, it is ordered and provided, that the public seal of the said College shall not at any time be affixed to any instrument or writing whatsoever, but in the Chapel, and in the presence of the Senior Fellows of the said College, and of the eight other Fellows, next immediately in seniority to them; and that unless eight of that number should agree with the Master, to the affixing the said seal to any writing or instrument, it shall not be affixed thereto, as by the said statutes to which the party proponent refers will appear. *Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

XXVIII. *Item,* We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you the said Dr. Bentley, in breach of your said oath and in violation of the said statute, have frequently caused the public seal of the said College to be affixed to writings and instruments of great moment and concern, when there have not been sixteen Confirmed.

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Fellows met together for that purpose; more particularly as in the following articles is mentioned. *Et ut supra.*

Confirmed.

XXIX. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that some time in the year 1726, you the said Dr. Bentley, caused or suffered the said College seal to be affixed or put to a certain writing or instrument, enabling one John Kent, or some other person, in behalf of the said College, to make seizure of a certain quantity of hay in the parish of Over, in the county of Cambridge, in order to commence a law-suit with the said parish, when no more than thirteen of the Fellows of the said College had been assembled together in the Chapel, and part of that number, viz. Dr. Ayloffe, Mr. Parne, and others, withdrew from the Chapel, before the seal was so affixed, and put to such writing or instrument, and refused to give their consent thereto; *hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.*

Confirmed.

XXX. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that on the tenth day of August last past, you the said Dr. Bentley, in further breach of your said oath, and violation of the said statute, did cause and procure the public seal of the said College to be affixed and put to a writing, purporting to be a petition of the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the said College to the King's most excellent Majesty, at the sealing whereof five of the eight Senior Fellows were absent from the said College, and had not deputed any other of the Fellows to act in their stead; and two only of the three Seniors who were then present, were consenting thereto, and most of the rest of the Fellows then present were Junior Fellows, not deputed, nor by their seniority capable of being deputed, to transact any of the affairs of the said College, but were purposely sent for by you to be present thereat, although there were several Fellows at that time in the College, who were of much longer standing than many of those present; and the whole number of Fellows present were fifteen only. *Et hoc fuit et est verum, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn.

XXXI. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the 13th of the said statutes, it is appointed that no student whatsoever, who is in possession of, or heir-apparent to, any land after the death of his father, exceeding the sum or rent of ten pounds a year, shall be allowed to appear as a candidate at the usual time of election of scholars into vacant scholarships of the said College, for any such vacant scholarship; as by the said statute, to which the party proponent refers, will appear. *Et objicimus et articulamur ut supra.*

Withdrawn.

XXXII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that in the year 1721, there being many scholarships of the said College then vacant, you, the said Dr. Bentley, at the usual time of election of scholars into such vacant scholarships in the said year, in breach of your said oath, and violation of the said statute, did permit and suffer one Andrew Hacket, who was then heir-apparent to an estate in

lands of more than the yearly rent of 600*l.* sterling, to appear as a candidate at the said election, for one of the said vacant scholarships; and although it was then objected to you, that the said Mr. Hacket was, by reason of his being heir apparent to such an estate, incapacitated from being a candidate, yet you did not only over-rule such objection, but did give your vote, and procure him, the said Andrew Hacket, to be chosen a scholar into one of the said vacant scholarships, and did afterwards admit, or procure, or suffer him to be admitted into such vacant scholarship, by virtue of such election. *Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.*

XXXIII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the twelfth chapter of the said statutes, it is ordered and provided, that all such Scholars of the said College as have completed the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and such only, shall have a right to become candidates at every election of Fellows of the said College; notwithstanding which you, the said Dr. Bentley, in breach of your said oath, and violation of the said statute, did, at the election of Fellows of the College, in the year 1723, allow your own son, Richard Bentley, although he had not, to your knowledge at that time, completed his degree of Bachelor in Arts, to stand a candidate for a vacant fellowship of the said College; and the said Richard Bentley was then elected into one of the fellowships of the said College then vacant: *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.* Withdrawn.

XXXIV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that both before and ever since the said year 1723, you, the said Dr. Bentley, in further violation of the statutes, have not suffered, nor would suffer, any person whatsoever to stand as candidate for vacant fellowships of the said College, save Bachelors of Arts of the third year only, whereby great numbers of other Bachelors, who had completed their degrees, were every year hindered or prevented, from standing or offering themselves to stand as candidates for such fellowships: *Hocque, &c. Et ut supra.* Withdrawn.

XXXV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the oath taken by you, at your admission to be Master of the said College, you are obliged to preserve the whole estate of the said College, and every part thereof, from all waste and diminution, and for the better preservation of the estate and possessions of the said College, it is by the 28th chapter of the said statutes, specially ordained and provided, that the Master and Vice-master, the Senior Bursar, and one other of the Fellows, who is a preacher for the time being, shall every year diligently visit and survey the College estates, in such manner, that all the several estates may be visited and surveyed once in three years; but no such progress as required by the said statutes hath at any time been made, either by you, the said Dr. Bentley yourself, or by the Vice-master, Senior Bursar, and one of the Fellows of the said College for the time being, since you, the said Dr. Bentley, have been admitted into the Mastership thereof; neither have you at any time, since your being Master of the said College, called upon, or required the Vice-master, Senior Bursar, or any of the Fellows for the Prohibited.

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time being, to proceed on such progress or circuit; but you have been wilfully negligent in the premisses: *Hocque, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

XXXVI. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that for want of such progresses as are required by the last mentioned statute, the improved values of the estates belonging to the said College are not certainly known: and several leases have been let by your evil contrivances, for much lesser fines than might have been reasonably demanded for the same: and more particularly in the year 1717, a lease of a large house, called Massam-house, in the city of York, together with several tenements thereto belonging, being all part of the estate of the said College, and in very good condition and repair, and of the yearly value of more than 50*l.* sterling, was by your fraud and contrivance, made and granted to your brother, James Bentley, for twenty years then to come, for the fine or sum of 40*l.* only, and no more: and he the said James Bentley, was by a covenant in the said lease allowed to receive and take to his own use the arrears of the improved rent of the said house and tenements, which had accrued to the said College, from the expiration of the former lease; and which then amounted to the sum of 30*l.* and upwards: *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, et de quibuslibet aliis valore vel summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

XXXVII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that in the year 1727, upon the surrender of the said lease, so as aforesaid granted to the said James Bentley, a new lease of the same house and tenements was, by your privity and contrivance made and granted to Priscilla Bentley, for the like term of twenty years, for a fine of twenty pounds; although the said house and tenements had been actually surveyed by the said James Bentley, and the real value thereof certainly known to you the said Dr. Bentley, before and at the granting each of the said leases: *Hocque, &c. objicimus et articulamur de quibuslibet aliis tempore et summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

Confirmed.

XXXVIII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that notwithstanding the statutes of the said College severely do forbid the alienation of any part of the estates of the said College, yet you, the said Dr. Bentley, in violation thereof, and in breach of your said oath, did, in the year 1712, by your own sole authority, and without the consent of the eight Senior Fellows of the said College, bargain, and agree to alienate a piece of inclosed ground belonging to the said College, situate in the parish of Kirby-Kendall, in the county of Westmoreland, and an indenture bearing date the 23d of December, 1712, was by your privity, procurement, and direction, sometime in the month of June, 1715, prepared and brought into the chapel of the said College, ready to be sealed, whereby the said piece of inclosed ground was absolutely sold and granted to one Josiah Lambert, and to his heirs for ever, reserving only four shillings *per annum* rent to the use of the said College: *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.*

XXXIX. *Item.* We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that upon reading of such indenture in the chapel of the said College, the time aforementioned, in the presence of the sixteen Senior Fellows of the said College, they all unanimously refused to affix the seal of the said College thereto, as being contrary to the 35th of the statutes of the said College, so made and provided by the said Queen Elizabeth: *Hocque, &c. Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

XL. *Item,* We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that some time after the premisses in the next precedent article mentioned, you, the said Dr. Bentley, caused the before mentioned indenture, with several erazures, interlineations, and obliterations, made therein, to be again brought into the chapel, in order to have the public seal affixed thereto, but the same was again unanimously rejected by all the sixteen Senior Fellows, who were then assembled together, and at such time, you the said Dr. Bentley, sent a threatening message to the said sixteen Seniors so assembled, that in case they persisted in refusing to affix the College seal to such indenture, you would not suffer several leases of other estates belonging to the said College, and for which the fines had been actually paid, or agreed to be paid, to be sealed; but notwithstanding such your threats, the said sixteen Seniors did again refuse to comply with such your illegal and unjust desire: *Hocque, &c. Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

XLI. *Item,* We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that, notwithstanding the premisses, you did on or about the 28th day of November, 1713, in breach of your said oath, and in violation of the said statutes, procure the public seal of the said College to be affixed and put to the afore mentioned indenture of bargain and sale, and alienation of the said piece of ground; and the said estate is thereby wholly alienated from the said College for ever. *Et hoc fuit et est verum et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

XLII. *Item,* We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you have at several times, since your being Master of the said College, made, and caused several leases to be made, of tithes, arable lands, meadow and pasture, belonging to the said College, without reserving one entire third part, or any part of the rent, to be paid in corn or in money, according to the market price of corn; and more particularly, in the year 1715, a lease of the parsonage of Swines-head, together with the rectory, or free chapel of Barthop, in the county of Lincoln, part of the estate of the said College, was, by your means and procurement, made and granted to one William Whiting, for and at the certain yearly rent of 100*l.* without any reserve of rent to be paid in wheat, or malt, or money, according to the market price thereof, and the sum of 100*l.* was then taken as a fine for the granting thereof. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, valore, vel summa, &c. Et ut supra.* Prohibited.

XLIII. *Item,* We article and object to you the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you have frequently, since your being Msster of the said College, made, and caused several leases of estates belonging to the said College to be made and granted to several

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persons, wherein the price of corn hath been fixed at one certain set rent, for and during the whole term of such lease granted, and a covenant made with such persons, that they should pay their corn rent at one and the same rate and price during the whole term of such leases, as hereafter is mentioned, whereby the whole rent payable for such estates hath been reduced to one certain annual sum of money, notwithstanding that it was at all such times objected to by several of the Fellows then present, that such covenants, and reservations of abatements, were contrary to the true intent and meaning of the statute, and a great diminution of the proper income of the College. *Hocque, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

XLIV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you did, on or about the 28th day of October, 1701, make and grant a lease of a tenement, close, pasture, and right of common in Shallow, in the county of Lincoln, part of the estate of the said College, for the term of twenty years, to Charles Firebrass, Esq. in which lease a third part of the rent payable for the same is reserved to be paid in wheat; and did cause or procure a clause or covenant to be inserted in such lease, whereby it was agreed, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Charles Firebrass to defalk and abate, during the whole term of such lease, so much out of the proportion of rent to be paid in money, according to the market price of wheat, as the price of wheat should on the market days next before such rent should become due and payable, exceed 4*s.* 8½*d.* per bushel; and that several leases of the same estate, with the same clauses and covenants therein inserted, have since the surrender or expiration of the said former lease, been made and granted by your means and procurement to the said Charles Firebrass, Esq. and others. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore vel summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

XLV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you did, on or about the 15th day of November, 1715, cause or procure a lease of the tithes of corn, belonging to the rectory of Kirby Kendall, in Westmoreland, part of the estate of the said College, but bearing date at or about Christmas 1711, to be made and granted to Josiah Lambert, for a term of twenty years, in which lease a third part of the rent payable for the said tithes is reserved to be paid in corn, viz. in fifteen quarters of wheat, and 107 quarters of malt; and that you, the said Dr. Bentley, did cause or procure a covenant to be inserted in such lease, whereby it was and is agreed that the said Josiah Lambert shall and may, during the whole term of such lease, defalk and abate out of the proportion of rent, to be paid in money according to the market price of corn on the market days next before such rent shall become due and payable, so much money as the price of wheat should exceed 1*l.* 13*s.* and half a farthing per quarter, and so much out of the price of malt as should exceed 12*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, whereby you reduced and set the price of wheat to 2*s.* 10½*d.* per bushel, and the price of malt to 1*s.* 6½*d.* per bushel, and not more. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quibuslibet aliis tempore, valore, et summa. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

XLVI. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you

did, some time in the year 1724, cause, procure, or suffer the said last mentioned lease to be renewed and granted to the said Josiah Lambert, with the same covenants and conditions, and with the same powers of defalcation and abatement, as were granted by the said former lease, and a fine of 250*l.* was then had and taken as a consideration for the renewal thereof. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore vel summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

XLVII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that on or about the second day of November, 1714, you did for and in consideration of a fine of 380*l.* likewise cause or procure a lease to be made and granted to the said Josiah Lambert, and others, of the Rectory of Aisgarth, in the county of York, also part of the estate of the said College, for the term of twenty years, and the third part of the rent payable by such lease for the same, is therein reserved to be paid in corn, viz. one quarter of wheat, and 212 quarters of malt; notwithstanding which, you, the said Dr. Bentley, did cause or procure a clause or covenant to be inserted in such lease, whereby it was and is agreed, that the said lessees shall and may, during the whole term of such lease, defalcate and abate out of the proportion of rent to be paid in money, according to the market price of corn on the market days next before such rent should become due and payable, so much money as the price of wheat should exceed 13*s.* 4*d.* the quarter, which is after the rate of 20*d.* per bushel, and not more, and as the price of malt should exceed ten shillings per quarter, which is after the rate of fifteen pence the bushel, and not more. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quibuslibet aliis tempore, pretio, valore vel summa, &c. Et ut supra.* Prohibited.

XLVIII. *Item*, We further article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by settling and ascertaining the price of corn at certain and fixed rates in manner as in the preceding articles is mentioned, you have greatly wasted, impaired, and diminished the yearly revenues of the said College, and alienated so much of those revenues as the common and ordinary market price of corn shall exceed the rates by you so set as aforesaid, and particularly by fixing the price of the corn rent for the leases of Kirby Kendall and Aisgarth, at the rates in the two next precedent articles mentioned, you have thereby lessened the yearly revenues of the said College to the amount or value of 160*l.* per annum, or thereabouts, and thereby violated the 35th of the said statutes of Queen Elizabeth, and incurred the horrid guilt of wilful perjury. *Et hoc fuit et est verum, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de qualibet alia summa, &c. Et ut supra.* Prohibited.

XLIX. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that on the 28th day of September, 1717, being the market-day in Cambridge, on which the price of corn to be paid to the Colleges for rent for the preceding half year was to be settled, you, the said Dr. Bentley, did order and cause your bailiff, John Kent, to bring from St. Ives a quarter, or some other quantity of wheat, into the market of Cambridge that day, and did likewise fraudulently invite and procure one —— Rule, a farmer, then living at Rampton, in the county of Cambridge, to bring the same day into the Prohibited.

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said market a like parcel of wheat, and promised the said —— Rule, that the said wheat should be bought of him at the rate of 5*s.* the bushel; and you, the said Dr. Bentley did oblige and compel one William Porter, the College butler, to buy, and the said William Porter did accordingly on that day buy of them the said Kent and Rule, for the use of the said College, all the wheat so by them brought into Cambridge market that day, at the aforesaid price of 5*s.* the bushel, although the current and common price of the best wheat in the said market on that day was but 4*s.* 4*d.* and the best and highest price thereof was but 4*s.* 7*d.* and not more: *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, pretio, valore vel summâ, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

L. *Item,* We likewise article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you did on the said 28th day of September, 1717, cause the said John Kent, your bailiff, to bring a load of malt into Cambridge, and carry it to the College brewhouse, without going into the market, and did oblige one —— Barant, the then College brewer, to take the same off his hands, and to take it at the rate or price of 1*l.* 6*s.* per quarter, although the highest price of malt sold in the said market that day, was but 1*l.* 2*s.* per quarter, and not more: *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio pretio, &c. Et ut supra.*

Prohibited.

LI. *Item,* We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you having, by the articles aforesaid, raised the price of wheat and malt so much above the real value as in the next preceding article is mentioned, did soon after Michaelmas, 1717, and before the Lady-day following, cause great quantities of your own tythe wheat and barley malted to be sold at the College bake-house and brew-house, at the extravagant price of forty shillings a quarter for wheat, and six and twenty shillings a quarter for malt, and did oblige all the College tenants to pay their wheat rent due for the preceding half year, according to such prices of forty shillings a quarter; and did in the succeeding years 1718 and 1719, oblige the College officers to take off about one hundred quarters of your own damaged malt, and great quantities of your own tythe wheat, at prices far exceeding the market price, upon the respective market days; *Hocque &c. Et ut supra.*

Confirmed.

LII. *Item,* We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you have frequently since your being admitted Master of the said College, in breach of your said oath, and in violation of several of the statutes of the said College, unnecessarily and profusely wasted and expended several great and excessive sums of money, part of the common stock of the said College; and particularly in some few years after your being made Master of the said College, you did expend or lay out near upon the sum of 2000*l.* of the College stock, in altering, fitting up, beautifying and improving the Lodge belonging to you as Master, which was then in very good condition and repair, and in no need of any such reparations and improvements; and since that time, and particularly since the year 1715 or 1716, you have over and above the said sum of 2000*l.* exorbitantly and unnecessarily laid out and expended many other large sums

of money out of the College stock, in making many other unnecessary and superfluous additional buildings thereto, and in other extravagances; particularly by causing a double-vaulted cellar to be made or sunk in your back yard, for keeping your wine cool; by ordering and causing your garden to be laid out and formed after a new model, and a terrace to be erected therein by the water-side; by building a summer-house, or room of entertainment, in the garden belonging to you as Master, and in that a bath, which you have caused to be supplied with water and other conveniences for bathing; by converting two edifices belonging to the College, into a very large and spacious granary, at the expense of 400*l.* or at least 300*l.* for your own private use, to carry on the trade or business of a farmer, or maltster, which you followed for some time; by seizing upon two pieces of ground belonging to the College, to keep a couple of cows in, for the use of yourself and family; and by hedging, ditching, and trenching the same for that purpose; by causing a new brick house to be built at the back side of the College, for wintering the said cows, and building three new coach-houses for the use of particular persons; all which were paid for out of the College stock, and amounted in the whole to the sum of 2000*l.* or some other such large sum of money, as by the accounts of the bursars of the said College, reference being thereto had, will more fully appear. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de qualibet alia summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

LIII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you have further unnecessarily and profusely wasted and consumed great part of the common-stock of the said College, by building or causing a fine new country-house or seat to be built upon part of the College estate, at Over, in the county of Cambridge, for the use of yourself and family, fit for the reception of a person of rank and quality, and have already expended therein, though not yet finished, or furnished, more than 800*l.* of the College money; *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de qualibet alia summa, &c. Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

LIV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that Dr. John Christopherson, formerly Master of the said College, in the reign of Queen Mary, did by his last will and testament, give and bequeath all his hangings, bedsteads, tables, forms, chairs, wainscot, ceiling, and all the furniture belonging to his kitchen, to the said College, for the use of his successors, Masters of the said College for the time being, upon condition that every successive Master should oblige himself in the sum of two hundred marks to leave the same in as good condition as he found them, as by the said will now remaining among the muniments of the said College, reference being thereunto had, will appear. *Et ut supra.* Withdrawn.

LV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you upon your becoming Master of the said College, found the lodge belonging to you as Master, well and sufficiently supplied with all necessary and useful furniture, fit and sufficient for a Master of the said College, all which came to the hands or possession of you, the said Dr. Bentley: *Et hoc fuit et est verum, &c. Et ut supra.* Prohibited.

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Prohibited. LVI. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that, notwithstanding the premisses, and notwithstandng there is not any allowance made by the statutes to the Master of the College, for the furniture of his lodge, yet you, the said Dr. Bentley, have squandered away great and excessive sums of money out of the College stock, over and above those before-mentioned, for finishing and furnishing the said lodge; and particularly in setting up nine marble chimney-pieces, and furnishing the same with a scarlet cloth bed, and chairs, and stools, a damask bed and quilt, two large looking-glasses, a silk squabb, japan and walnut tables; and in buying a coach for the use of your wife and daughters, and several other goods and furniture, for the use of yourself and family, to the amount or value of 600*l.* 500*l.* or at least 400*l.* sterling; all which charge was by you paid for out of the common stock of the said College. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de qualibet alia summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

Confirmed. LVII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that notwithstanding there is not by any of the statutes of the said College any allowance made to the Master of the said College, for the time being, for bread, beer, fuel, or any other provisions for himself and family at home, yet you the said Dr. Bentley, have for these twenty-three years last past, yearly consumed and wasted great and excessive quantities of the common provisions and stores belonging to the College, and applied the same to the use of yourself and private family at home, to the amount of several hundred pounds per annum, viz. in bread, meal and beer to the amount of 150*l.* per annum, or upwards; and at the last audit the expense on that account amounted to 174*l.* in coals and other fuel to the amount some years of more than 100*l.* per annum, as by the College books of accouut, reference being thereunto had, will appear. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus, et articulamur de qualibet alia summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

Confirmed. LVIII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you have likewise for these many years past yearly spent and consumed several great sums of money out of the common stock of the said College, for linen and pewter, pretended to be used in your family at home, to the amount or value of 70*l.* 60*l.* or at least 50*l.* per annum; and particularly in the last year, to the amount of 90*l.* as by the College books of accounts, reference being thereunto had, will more fully appear. *Et objicimus et articulamur de qualibet alia summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

Confirmed. LIX. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that you did, sometime in or about the year 1719, fraudulently, unjustly, collusively, and unknown to the respective members of the said College, contract and agree with Mr. Serjeant Miller, late one of the Fellows of the said College, to procure and obtain an allowance of 453*l.* to be made to him the said Serjeant out of the College stock, over and above the sum of 100*l.* before to him in hand paid, under pretence of reimbursing him the said Serjeant, the charge it was pretended he had been at, in carrying on a prosecution against you, the said Dr. Bentley, before the Right Reverend Father in

God, John Moore, late Lord Bishop of Ely, since deceased, as Visitor of the said College, for several great and enormous crimes by you committed, in the execution of your place or office of Master of the said College; but in reality and truth, such contract or agreement relating to the payment or allowance of the said sum of 453*l.* was by you made with no other design, view, or invention, than to avoid the pursuit of justice, and to engage and oblige the said Serjeant to withdraw a certain petition, that had been presented to his late Majesty King George I. on behalf of several of the Fellows of the said College, in order to ascertain the visitatorial power, and which the said Serjeant had by the said Fellows been entrusted to prosecute. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore et de qualibet alia summa, &c. Et ut supra.*

LX. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that in pursuance of such agreement you did, on the 19th day of June, 1719, at a meeting of the Senior Fellows of the said College, propose and insist to have the said sum of 453*l.* allowed and paid to the said Serjeant Miller out of the common stock of the said College, upon the pretence in the next precedent article mentioned, and at the same time insisted and peremptorily demanded to have the sum of 500*l.* paid or allowed to yourself out of the same stock, to reimburse you the charges which you pretended you had been at in defending yourself against such prosecution, but that such proposal and demands were all rejected by a majority of the Seniors then present; notwithstanding which, you the said Dr. Richard Bentley did, on or about the 5th of December following, by vile and indirect practices, in the absence of three of the eight Senior Fellows of the College, and against the consent of three of those present, procure an order or conclusion to be made or passed by other Fellows of the College, not of the Seniority, nor deputed by any of the three absent Seniors, to allow and pay out of the College stock to the said Serjeant the said sum of 453*l.* and to yourself the aforesaid sum of 500*l.* upon the several pretences before mentioned; and that the said sums of 453*l.* and 500*l.* were afterwards paid to the said Serjeant Miller, and to you the said Dr. Bentley, by virtue of such pretended order or conclusion, out of the common stock of the said College, to the great waste and diminution thereof, and to the great prejudice of the respective members of the said College. *Hocque, &c. et objicimus et articulamur de quibuslibet aliis tempore et summa, &c. Et ut supra.* Confirmed.

LXI. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that the said Serjeant Miller, in consideration of the said sum of 453*l.* so paid to him out of the College stock or treasury, as before set forth, did, by a writing or instrument under his hand and seal, bearing date the 19th day of December, 1719, covenant and agree, that he would not at any time after prosecute or proceed upon the before-mentioned petition to his said late Majesty, but would withdraw, or cause the same to be withdrawn, and do all other acts in his power towards the preventing or hindering any further prosecution thereupon, as by the said writing or instrument now in the College registry, reference being thereto had, will appear. And the said Serjeant Miller did never afterwards follow or prosecute the said petition, or do or cause any act to be Confirmed.

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done thereupon, and hath ever since refused, and doth still refuse to deliver up all such papers, writings, and instruments as were entrusted in his hands, in order to carry on such prosecution. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de quolibet alio tempore, &c. Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn.

LXII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that notwithstanding you are by your oath, and by the 29th of the said statutes, obliged to preserve all the moveables of the College, and to take care that the Senior Dean and Junior Bursar do every year within one month after their admission into their respective offices, make or cause to be made two perfect inventories of all the goods, moveables, plate, and other things belonging to the said College, one of such inventories to be deposited in the public treasury, and the other with the Vice-master for the time being, and at the same time to take an exact account of such goods, moveables, plate, &c. as shall be at that time missing, by comparing such inventories with those made in the preceding year: but for these ten years last past, and upwards, no such inventories have at any time been made, neither have you at any time called upon or required the Senior Dean and Junior Bursar, or either of them, to perform their duty according to the said statute; nor have you ever censured or punished them for their neglect therein, as by the statutes of the said College you are obliged and ought to have done; by reason whereof a considerable part of the College plate hath been for several years last past and is now missing out of the College treasury, and no examination or inquiry hath been made after it by you, the said Dr. Bentley. *Hocque, &c. Et objicimus et articulamur de qualibet alia quantitate, &c. Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn.

LXIII. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that by the 33d of the said statutes it is *(inter alia)* ordained and provided, that the Bursars and Steward of the said College, for the time being, shall bring their respective accounts to be examined by the Master, or in his absence by the Vice-master, and the eight Senior Fellows of the said College, at the end of every quarter; but that such accounts have not once, during the whole time that you have been Master of the said College, been brought in and examined according to the directions and intent of the said statute. And when one of the Seniors demanded and insisted to have the accounts examined quarterly, pursuant to the said statute, you, the said Dr. Bentley, replied, with great disdain, ' Don't tell me of statutes.' *Hocque, &c. Et ut supra.*

Withdrawn.

LXIV. *Item*, We article and object to you, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, that at the general audit of the accounts of the whole College, which is by the said last mentioned statute appointed to be on the 4th of December yearly, these accounts have for many years past, been passed in gross only, without entering into any particulars, or examining vouchers for any of the sums said to be expended therein; and at several times, and more particularly in the year 1715, when one of the Seniors at such meeting demanded that the orders by which great sums of the College money had been paid and laid out should be produced, and particulars of general sums specified, and the vouchers thereupon examined, you, the said Dr. Bentley, with great insolence and

foul language, hindered and prevented such examination, and by reason of your ill-treatment and behaviour, no objection hath of late been made to the accounts concerning the extravagant sums laid out upon the lodge, garden, and additional buildings, upon the aforesaid house at Over; nor to an article of 400*l.* demanded for velvet, and other materials said to be used in the Chapel; nor no inquiry made after the College plate so as aforesaid embezzled, lost, or missing; nor after the great sums of money laid out and expended in bread, beer, coals, and other fuel, linen, pewter, and other things for the use of you, the said Dr. Bentley and your family, as in the precedent articles is mentioned.

LXV. *Item, Quod præmissa, &c.*

II. *Dr. Bentley's Defensive Plea. June* 23, 1733.

Dr. Bentley's Defensive Plea.

1. Whereas it is alleged in the sixth article of the pretended articles, exhibited and objected to the said Dr. Bentley, to the effect following, to wit, 'That by the second chapter of the statutes of Trinity College, it is amongst other things ordained and provided, that the Master of the said College for the time being, shall be a person no less eminent above other members of the said College in his piety and integrity of life, than he is superior to them in the dignity of his place, notwithstanding which, he, the said Richard Bentley, hath for more than twenty years past, in violation of the said statute, lived a very irreligious life, and notoriously neglected the public worship of God:' It is therein alleged falsely and untruly, and the truth was and is, that the said Dr. Bentley always was and is a devout, pious, and religious man, and was always accounted, reputed, and esteemed so to be, and this was and is true; and so much the said Robert Johnson hath heard and doth know and believe in his conscience to be true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound every thing jointly and severally.

Article VI.

2. And whereas it is also alleged in the said sixth article, of the said articles, that the said Dr. Bentley, for more than twenty years last past, preceding the time of exhibiting the said articles, did notoriously neglect the public worship of God, and particularly by constantly and habitually absenting himself from divine service in the chapel of the said College, at the usual hours of morning and evening prayers: It is

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therein alleged falsely and untruly, and the truth was and is, that the said Dr. Bentley, from the time of his being made Master of the College, and until he was about fifty years of age, which was about the year 1709, the said Dr. Bentley constantly attended morning and evening prayers in the chapel, and that from that time the infirmity of his constitution prevented his attending morning prayers, when at five or six o'clock in the morning, but he always attended when morning prayers were later at the times of celebrating the sacrament: That from 1709 he constantly attended evening prayers in summer, till he was about sixty years of age, which was about the year 1718 or 1719. That about that time the infirmity of his age and a tenderness contracted by his sedentary and studious life prevented his being so constant at evening prayers as he before had been. But the said Doctor, from about the said year 1718 to 1725 or 1726, was frequently at evening prayers, and at the celebration of the sacrament always when his health permitted. That from about the year 1718, when his age and the tenderness contracted as aforesaid, subjected him to almost constant colds and dangerous coughs by changing his habit and puting on a collegiate or academic one, yet he was so unwilling to be prevented attending chapel so constantly as he before had done, that in order to enable himself to stay in that spacious chapel, and to secure him from the cold and damp of the marble, the necessary time of prayers and administering the sacrament, he had a carpet carried by his servant to chapel for that purpose; but as his age and tenderness increased, and all means he could use proving ineffectual to prevent his indisposition, which he almost constantly contracted by being in so spacious a room in his collegiate or academic habit, about the year 1725 or 1726, two or three years before the said articles were exhibited, he was necessitated to decline going thither, or to any other place out of his own house, by advice of his physicians. And this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

3. That accordingly from that time the said Dr. Bentley hath not, by reason of his tenderness and indisposition, gone out of his own house to visit any one Fellow of his own Society, or any one acquaintance in the University, nor once been in the College-hall, even at any public festival, though it adjoins to his own apartments. That, from that time also, he being the King's Professor in Divinity, he has been forced to obtain a deputy at his own annual and considerable expense, to preside in his stead at disputations. That since that time, when his present Majesty did the University the honour of a visit, it being the duty of the King's Professor in Divinity to receive him with a Latin oration in the University Schools, he, the said Doctor, performing the said exercise in person, did thereby get such an illness that he was for several days very dangerously ill, and accounted by his physicians as a dying man, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Articles X. XI.

4. That during all the time the said Dr. Bentley hath been Master of the said College, there have been every year at least the number necessarily required by statute, and generally more, College preachers in his time, than there were in his predecessor's time for the like number of years, as appears by the College books and appointments of College preachers, to which the party proponent refers himself, and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

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5. That the Catechetical Lectures being by statute appointed only in order for the College preachers to be more commodiously chosen out of them, and there having never been a defective number of College preachers, there was not any necessity of appointing Catechetical Lecturers in order to choose College Preachers. But, however, there have been three times as many in the said Dr. Bentley's time, as there were in the same number of years in his immediate predecessor's time, as appears by the usual appointments of lecturers, and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Articles XII. XIII.

6. That it does appear by the College books, to which the party proponent refers himself, that Mr. Malled, who is alleged in the twelfth and thirteenth articles to have been refused to be put up to catechise in the year 1719, was actually put up for that purpose on the 4th of June, 1716, and so continued in 1719; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Articles XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX.

7. That Dr. Bentley was not present at, or any way privy to, the putting the seal to the instrument mentioned in the twenty-ninth article of the said articles objected to the said Dr. Bentley. But the same was put in his absence by the Vice-master, after a meeting duly summoned, and agreed to be put by a majority of the sixteen seniors; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

8. That by the statutes as well as the usage of the College, the seal is not required to be put to any instruments in the presence of the sixteen seniors in College. For that by the said usage and statutes, the sixteen seniors in College are to be duly summoned, and if a majority of the said sixteen seniors agree to the putting of the seal, with the consent of the Master, or in his absence the Vice-master, the same is to be put accordingly. But in case any of the sixteen seniors in College shall not appear at the said meeting, the next senior Fellow in College in course, is to supply the vacancy; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

9. That it doth not appear by any of the College books that the seniors going out of College, have deputed any persons to act for them, or that ever any such deputations were made. But all College acts have been done at meetings composed of the proper seniors, and the next immediate seniors resident in College, without any deputation from the absent seniors; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Article XXX.

10. That the meetings to transact the College affairs are appointed by the Master, or Vice-master, and the seniors are thereto always summoned, according as they appear in seniority resident in the College Books. And the said Dr. Bentley hath not at any time given orders for summoning any persons in particular, but only in general to summon the seniors in the same manner as hath been always customary; and upon the 9th day of August, 1728, the sixteen seniors resident in College were duly summoned for the meeting upon the day following, being the 10th day of August, the day mentioned in the thirtieth article of the said articles. That sixteen Fellows duly assembled, of whom were the fifteen proper seniors then resident in College;

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that Mr. Myers, who was the sixteenth proper senior then resident, and who had been duly summoned, but not attending, the next Fellow in seniority to him was summoned, and did assemble on the said 10th day of August, and the seal was put to the petition mentioned in the said article, by the direction of thirteen, or at least twelve, of the said sixteen so assembled; and that no juniors were purposely sent for, nor were any Fellows at that time resident in College absent from the said meeting who were of longer standing than any of those present, except Mr. Myers, as aforesaid; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

11. That the Promoter himself being one of the sixteen so assembled, was so far conscious that the said assembly was regular, that though he, together with Dr. Colbatch, the Casuistical Professor, and Mr. Thomas Parne, two other Fellows of the said College, assembled on that occasion, did on that day draw up and deliver a protest in writing against the setting the seal to the said petition, yet he or they did not in the said protest even suggest that the said assembly had not been duly summoned, or that there were not sixteen assembled, or that the said sixteen were not the proper seniors resident in College; the said protest being founded wholly on the subject-matter of the instrument tendered to be sealed, and not on any irregularity of the said assembly, either as to the manner of summoning them, the impropriety of persons assembled, or the defect of the sufficient number; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

12. In supply of proof of the preceding article, the party proponent doth exhibit and hereunto annex the said original protest, and doth allege that the same is subscribed by and with the proper hand-writing of the said Dr. Colbatch, Mr. Parne, and the said Robert Johnson, the Promoter in this cause; and so much was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Articles XXXVIII. XXXIX. XL. XLI.

13. That the close, or piece of inclosed ground, in the parish of Kirby Kendal, in the thirty-eighth article mentioned, was copyhold of inheritance, and held by —— Copland, of and from the said College, who were lords of the manor the same was held of, under a quit-rent of four shillings a year, and other duties and services. That the said Copland did, in 1708, mortgage the same to Mr. Robert Shepheard, of Natland, in Westmoreland, and Mr. William Wilson, of Kirkland, in the said county, for the sum of 34*l.*; that soon after the said Copland was convicted of felony, and was executed for the same, whereby the said piece of ground escheated to the said College, as lords of the said manor, subject to the said mortgage. That the charge of conviction of the said Copland amounted to ten pounds, and the said Copland leaving a wife and several small children, the neighbouring gentlemen and justices of the Peace petitioned the College not to take advantage of the said escheat, in compassion to the poverty of the said widow and family; that the said College, finding the annual value of the said piece of ground to be 3*l.* a year, agreed to re-grant out the same to Mr. Josiah Lambert, he paying for the same 64*l.* out of which 44*l.* 15*s.* was to be deducted for the said mortgage and charge of conviction, and of the remaining, 19*l.* 5*s.* 9*l.* 5*s.* was given by the College as an act of charity to the said widow, and books were bought into the College Library with the remaining sum of 10*l.*; and this

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was and is true, and so much does appear by the College books, and an agreement of the Master and Seniors assembled together in 1712, in order to regrant the same; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

14. That the said piece of ground is not alienated for ever, nor by the deeds of conveyance purported to be so; but the same was only regranted out by the College to the said Josiah Lambert for life, only to be held of the said College at their will, under the same rents, dues, duties, and services, which the said —— Copland held the same by, as by the said original deed remaining in the said College will appear, and which, as lords of the said manor, they were enabled to do, in order to preserve and support their manor; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Article LII.

15. That when the said Dr. Bentley was made Master, the Master's lodge was in a very ruinous condition, little or nothing having been done towards repairing of it from the year 1640; and towards the repairs of the said lodge the said Dr. Bentley gave out of his own proper money, in the year 1700, the sum of 100*l.* sterling; and in the same year, the said lodge being a considerable part of the fabric of the College, the Master and the eight Seniors finding the same to be much out of repair, unanimously agreed and ordered that the said lodge should be repaired, and finished, with new ceiling, wainscot, flooring, and other convenient improvements, which by the said statutes of the said College they have the power to do; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

16. That in pursuance of the said order, now remaining in the College books, the same was repaired and fitted up with convenient improvements, which did amount to the sum of 1171*l.* and no more, which was necessary to be laid out thereon, and that the several sums of money which have been at any time laid out on the said lodge, and improvements of it, were ordered and approved of by the Master and Senior Fellows of the said College; and that the rest of the said fabric hath had as much laid out in repairing the same in Dr. Bentley's time as the lodge hath had in proportion; and the said lodge is not in better condition, or better fitted up, than the lodges of several other Masters in the said University, though it is the residence of the Royal Family when they honour the University with their presence, as also of the Lords the Judges in their circuits; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

17. That about the year 1718, or 1719, the said Dr. Bentley's infirmities and indispositions requiring a milk diet, and there being two pieces of ground belonging and near to the said College, in which the Senior Fellows had a right to turn their horses, and which were not of the yearly value of twenty shillings, he, the said Dr. Bentley did apply to the said Seniors to hire the same of them, in order to keep a cow or two, at the yearly rent of two guineas, which the said Seniors let him have in the year 1720, at the said rent, by an order of the College for that purpose; and the same were not then, or at any other time, seized by him, as is falsely alleged in the fifty-second article exhibited against him; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

18. That the College being exempted from paying the duty of excise for beer

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brewed in their own brewhouse for their own use, and there being an old pigeon-house, with a lumber-room adjoining, belonging to the College, the same were fitted up by the approbation of the Seniors, for a place to lay the College stores, or grain in, when they should have occasion; but the said Dr. Bentley did not convert the said two edifices, or any other edifices, into a large spacious granary, at the expence of 400*l.* or any other sum, for his own private use, to carry on the trade of a farmer, or maltster, as is falsely alleged in the said fifty-second article, which trade he never at any time used or followed, or ever used the said edifices or granary for his own use, or for any such like purpose; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

19. That whereas it is alleged in the said fifty-second article exhibited against the said Dr. Bentley, that the said Dr. Bentley hath, since the year 1715 or 1716, exorbitantly and unnecessarily laid out 2000*l.* of the College stock on his lodge, garden, and other buildings, which in the said article are mentioned, it is therein alleged, falsely and untruly; and the truth was and is, that the sum of money laid out thereon did amount to 911*l.* and not more. And that in October, 1717, when his late Majesty, King George the First, designed to honour the University with his presence, some of his Majesty's surveyors being sent before to view the presence-room, called 'Henry the Eighth's Chamber,' and other rooms for his Majesty's entertainment, at the said Dr. Bentley's lodge, the walls of the said chambers were found so decayed and weak, that they were then ordered to be underpropped and shored up for his Majesty's security during his stay there, and were thereupon pulled down and rebuilt, and a considerable part of the said 911*l.* were laid out in the same, and the rest thereof in the other buildings belonging to the College, and the whole sum was paid by order of the Seniors of the said College; and the party proponent doth allege that the other buildings mentioned in the said fifty-second article, and pretended to have been built for the use of the Master, in the back side of the said College, were not built for the use of the Master, as is falsely alleged in the said article, but for the use and conveniency of the Fellows of the said College; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

20. That whereas it is alleged in the said fifty-second article that Dr. Bentley had made himself a bath in his garden, and caused it be supplied with water and other conveniences for bathing, the party proponent doth allege that there was a fountain near the place where the said bath now is, when the said Dr. Bentley first came to be Master of the said College, and that the pipe which had for a century or two before supplied the same with water, was only lengthened by an addition of two feet of lead to supply the cistern of the said bath, and that there is no other summer-house in the said garden save the said bath; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Article LIII.

21. And whereas it is alleged in the fifty-third article, that Dr. Bentley built a fine new country house upon part of the College estate at Over, for the use of himself and family, fit for the reception of a person of rank and quality, which cost eight hundred pounds of the College money, though not then finished or furnished; it is therein alleged falsely aud untruly, and the truth was and is, that the College being

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endowed with the great tithes of the parish of Over, and the glebe land belonging to said rectory and the parsonage-house being fallen to decay, by a former tenant running out his lease, it was agreed by the Master and Senior Fellows of the said College, to rebuild the said parsonage-house, which was done accordingly; that as the vicarage of the said parish is in the gift of the said College, and the vicar has no house to live in, and the profits of the said vicarage are exceedingly small, it was thought proper to rebuild the said house, so that it might not be inconvenient to the tenant or lessee of the rectory to let the vicar for the time being have two rooms or a floor for his use when necessary; that when the said house was rebuilt it was in lease to a tenant, and was so at the time the said articles were exhibited; that it was not built by Dr. Bentley for the use of himself or family, that neither the said Doctor nor any of his family ever lived there, nor was any of his family ever there, or the Doctor himself, save only once when he went with the Seniors to view the said estate; that the said place is so far from being fit for the reception of a person of rank and quality, or for the residence of any person who can live elsewhere, that it is situate in the worst, the most dirty and unhealthful part of Cambridgeshire, on the brink of the great level of the Fen, and worse supplied with conveniences of life than any village in the said county; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Article LVII.

22. That whereas it is alleged in the fifty-seventh article, that there is not any allowance by any of the statutes to the Master of the College for bread, beer, fuel, or other provisions for himself and family at home, yet, notwithstanding, that he hath consumed great quantities of the stores of the College to the amount of several hundred pounds a year; the party proponent doth allege that the said Dr. Bentley hath never since he was Master of the said College received so much of the stock or stores of the College, or any other profits whatsoever from it, as by the statutes of the said College he is intitled to, due allowance being made for the decrease of the value of money, from the time when the statutes were given to the time of exhibiting the said articles; the Master of the said College having an allowance, by the 43d chapter of the said statutes, of 104*l.* a year for stipend and commons or provisions, and 4*l.* a year for livery, besides three servants and three horses to be kept and maintained at the College expense for his use; and by the 22d chapter of the said statutes, no deduction is to be made from his allowance for commons or provisions at such times as he shall be absent from the said College, as by the said 43d and 22d chapters of the said statutes, reference being thereunto had, may more fully appear; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

23. That whereas it is alleged in the said fifty-seventh article, that the said Dr. Bentley hath consumed in bread, beer, and meal, one hundred and fifty pounds a year, it is therein alleged falsely and untruly, and the truth was and is, that he has not consumed in bread, beer, or meal a hundred pounds a year; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

Article LVIII.

24. That whereas it is likewise alleged in the fifty-eighth article, that Dr. Bentley in the last year before the said articles were exhibited, spent of the College stock in linen and pewter ninety pounds, as will appear by the said College books; it is

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Articles LIX. LX. LXI.

therein untruly alleged, and the truth was and is, that the said Dr. Bentley had allowed him only in the said books thirty-five pounds three shillings and eight pence half-penny, as by the said books will appear; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

25. That some of the Fellows of the College having in the year 1711 and afterwards, employed Mr. Serjeant Miller in carrying on their contests in relation to some collegiate rights claimed by them before the Right Reverend Bishop Moore, the then Lord Bishop of Ely; and in carrying on a pretended prosecution against the said Dr. Bentley, before the said Lord Bishop of Ely, and afterwards on the said Bishop Moore's death, a petition or two to his late Majesty in Council, and his said late Majesty or his Privy Council not proceeding therein, and the said Mr. Miller being urgent on some of the Fellows for the expence he had been at on their account, it was in 1719, by some of the said Fellows mentioned to the said Dr. Bentley, that it might probably be the opinion of his said late Majesty and his Honourable Privy Council, that the matters in difference should be ended and accommodated by themselves, and the said Dr. Bentley was desired by the said Fellows to take the opinion of some of the King's learned counsel on a question to the following effect: whether, as the said contest carried on before Bishop Moore had been concerning some collegiate rights, concerning which the Fellows of the said Society had been near equally divided in their opinions, and no decision of the same had been made, the College might not equitably and justifiably pay the expenses of both sides out of the common stock of the said College, after the dividends to the Fellows and Scholars were paid, which question being thereupon stated to Mr. Reeve and Mr. Lutwyche, they were both of opinion the College might do so; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

26. That some of the Fellows of the said College, in or about the month of July or August 1719, informed the said Dr. Bentley, that many of the Fellows of the College being very desirous that an end might be put to the contests which had so long disturbed the College, had drawn up a certificate to the following effect, viz. "I hereby declare that I sincerely wish that an end may be put to the contests depending, which have for so long time disturbed the College, and in order thereto, I desire that the charges of each side may be defrayed out of the public stock of the College;" and that the said certificate, or one to that effect, was at that time signed by two thirds of the Fellows of the College, of whom the said Robert Johnson, the promoter, was one; and this was and is true, and the part proponent doth allege and propound as before.

27. That some time after (viz.), on the fifth day of December, 1719, during the stated annual statutable meeting of the Seniors, one of the senior Fellows of the College, came to Dr. Bentley from the said meeting, and desired of him that, as so many of the Fellows had so fully declared their desire that an end might be put to the said contests, and the charges of both sides defrayed out of the common stock of the College, he would propose the said question to the Seniors, and call a meeting for that purpose, which accordingly the said Dr. Bentley caused to be duly summoned, and the eight senior Fellows then residing in College, in pursuance of such summons assembled accordingly, when it was agreed by a majority of them, that the charges of both sides

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should be defrayed out of the common stock, and Mr. Miller should give a discharge to every member of the said College for all claims occasioned by or depending on the said law-suit, but that no part of the charges of the said law-suit should be in any year paid, unless the College was in such a state of plenty that a whole dividend was first voted. And the said Dr. Bentley did not make use of any indirect practices in order to obtain the consent of the Seniors so assembled; but the same was agreed to voluntarily and freely by five of the eight Seniors together with the said Master, so as aforesaid summoned and assembled; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

28. That whereas it is alleged in the fifty-ninth article, that Dr. Bentley did fraudulently, unjustly, collusively, and unknown to the several members of the said College, make the contract and agreement in the said article referred to, with the said Serjeant Miller; the same is falsely and untruly alleged, and the truth was and is, that the said agreement was not only well-known to the several members of the College, but desired by them, and was agreed to by him at their desire, he, the said Dr. Bentley, having had no intercourse by himself or any agent with the said Mr. Miller for several years before the said agreement was entered into, nor had he any, either at that time or since, the persons who settled the same being agents for the College; and this was and is true, and well known to the promoter in this cause, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

29. That whereas it is alleged in the said fifty-ninth article, that the contract or agreement with Mr. Serjeant Miller, relating to the payment or allowance of four hundred and fifty-three pounds to him the said Serjeant Miller, was made by Dr. Bentley with a view only to avoid the pursuit of justice, by engaging the said Serjeant to withdraw a certain petition that had been presented to his said late Majesty, in order to ascertain the visitatorial power; it is therein alleged falsely and untruly, and the truth was and is, that the only motive the said Dr. Bentley had in coming into the said agreement, was the restoring the peace and quiet of the College, which the greatest part of the College so earnestly desired, and in that sense it was taken and understood by the then Fellows of the College, or the major part of them; and that he, the said Dr. Bentley, was so far from avoiding to have the visitatorial power settled, that it was what he always wished and endeavoured to have done, and had even himself petitioned the Crown to direct the same to be settled before any of the said articles were exhibited; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

30. That whereas it is alleged in the said fifty-ninth article, that Dr. Bentley procured the aforesaid sum of four hundred and fifty-three pounds to be paid to the said Serjeant out of the College stock, over and above the sum of one hundred pounds to him before in hand paid; it is also falsely and untruly alleged, and the truth was and is, that the said sum of one hundred pounds was not paid to the said Serjeant by order or consent of the said Dr. Bentley, but that the same and several other sums which had before been paid out of the said stock to the said Serjeant, were actually paid without and against this the said Dr. Bentley's consent, and were paid the said Serjeant by the then Seniors in 1710 or 1711, and their adherents, to encourage

APPEND. No. III.

Dr. Bentley's defensive plea.

him, the said Serjeant, to go on with the prosecution before Bishop Moore, against him, the said Dr. Bentley; and this was and is true, and the party proponent doth allege and propound as before.

31. Whereas it is further alleged in the sixty-first of the said pretended articles, that the said Serjeant Miller in consideration of four hundred and fifty-three pounds, did by writing or instrument under his hand and seal, bearing date the nineteenth day of December, 1719, covenant and agree that he would not at any time after prosecute or proceed upon the before-mentioned petition to his said late Majesty, but would withdraw, or cause the same to be withdrawn; the party proponent doth allege, that at the meeting of the Master and Seniors, had on the fifth day of December, 1719, it was by a majority then present ordered and agreed, that the said Mr. Miller should release the several Fellows of the said College from all demands he had upon them upon any account whatsoever; but that no order or agreement was then made that the said petition should be withdrawn; and if there be any such covenant in the said writing or instrument, the same was therein inserted at the desire of the promoter or others, the agents for the said Fellows, and not at the desire of the said Dr. Bentley, he, the said Dr. Bentley, having always been desirous, and having several times endeavoured to have the said visitatorial power ascertained by a judicial or other proper determination; and the party proponent doth allege, that the said Dr. Bentley consented to the aforesaid agreement, at the desire of the major part of all the Fellows of the said College, who well liked and approved thereof, and in order to restore the peace of the said College, and that all or most of the said Fellows having been one way or other concerned in the said disputes, were desirous the same might be amicably adjusted, and that the expense thereof might be paid out of the said College stock in the manner before set forth, as by the law and statutes of the said College they were empowered to do.

III. *Sentence pronounced upon Dr. Bentley, by Bishop Greene.*

Dr. Bentley's sentence.

" We, Thomas, by Divine permission Bishop of Ely, and Visitor specially authorized and appointed, by the fortieth chapter of the statutes given by Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory to the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, in the Town and University of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation, to examine the Master of the said College for the time being, of and concerning certain crimes and enormities mentioned and expressed in the second member of the said fortieth chapter, having in a certain cause of office depending before me as Visitor aforesaid, promoted by the Rev. Robert Johnson, clerk, Bachelor of Divinity, one of the Fellows of the said College, against the Rev. Richard Bentley, Doctor of Divinity, Master of the said College, fully and maturely considered the evidence read on both sides, as well upon the several articles exhibited and admitted before us on the part and behalf of the said Robert Johnson, and upon which His Majesty's writ of Consultation hath been awarded, as on the allegations given and

admitted in the said cause on the part and behalf of the said Dr. Richard Bentley; and having likewise considered the several arguments of counsel upon the same with great care and attention, as I shall answer it to Almighty God hereafter, am sincerely of opinion, and I do hereby solemnly and finally declare, pronounce, and adjudge, as Visitor aforesaid, that the said Dr. Richard Bentley, party in the said cause, and Master of the said College, is guilty of dilapidation of the goods of the said College, and also of violation of the said statutes, and that he is duly and legally convicted thereof, before me, as Visitor aforesaid; and that he, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, has thereby incurred the penalty of deprivation of his office of Master of the said College, inflicted in such cases by the fortieth chapter of the said statutes: and I do accordingly, and by the authority aforesaid, pronounce, declare, and adjudge him, the said Dr. Richard Bentley, to be duly and legally convicted thereof before me, as Visitor aforesaid.

Dr. Bentley's sentence.

THOMAS ELY."

"*April 27th*, 1734."

APPENDIX, No. IV.

Dr. Bentley's Will.

Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

To all whom it may concern. Know ye that I, Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, being in good health and perfect memory, and mindful of the accidents human nature is liable to, do make this my last Will and Testament for the disposition of such estates and effects as it hath pleased God to bless me with. Whereas my son-in-law, the Reverend Dennison Cumberland, is indebted to me in the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds, I do hereby dispose of the same as follows; viz. To my daughter, Joanna Cumberland, his wife, five hundred pounds; to her daughter, Joanna, five hundred pounds; to her son, Richard, five hundred pounds; to her daughter, Elizabeth Bentley Cumberland, five hundred pounds; and to her daughter, Mary, five hundred pounds: the said sums of five hundred pounds to each of the said children I will to be paid them when they come of age respectively; and in case of the death of any of them before they come of age, or of the death of their mother, Joanna, I will that the share or legacy of the persons so dying go amongst all the survivors, equally to be divided amongst them whom I have given the aforesaid legacies to. But my mind and will is, nevertheless, that in case the said Joanna, the mother, shall have one or more child or children hereafter by the said Dennison Cumberland, that in such case the share or legacy of either the said Joanna, the mother, or of any of the aforenamed children dying before they come of

Dr. Bentley's Will.

APPEND. No. IV.

Dr. Bentley's Will.

age as aforesaid, shall go to such hereafter born child or children to make up to them five hundred pounds each, or such a proportion thereof as the same on an equal division amounts to, and then an equal distribution shall be made of any of the aforesaid legacies, which may happen to fall, equally amongst all of them. And I will, that my son Cumberland shall have the said two thousand five hundred pounds after my decease in his hands without allowing any interest for the same till the legacies become payable, in consideration of his educating them respectively.

Item, I give to my daughter, Elizabeth Ridge, five hundred pounds, to be paid her out of my remaining personal estate; and to Mrs. Mary Ewer one hundred pounds also thereout. And I give and devise to my son, Richard Bentley, all my bank stock, and the dividends and produce due thereon. I also give and devise to Trinity College the five following pictures, viz. Joseph Scaliger's, Sir Isaac Newton's, my spouse, Joanna Bentley's, deceased, and my own, and Baron Ezekiel Spanheim's, which I will to remain in the gallery in my lodge they are now in. And I further also bequeath to the said College all my Greek manuscripts, which were brought from Mount Athos, and by me purchased. The rest and residue of my library I give to my nephew, Richard Bentley, whom I make sole executor of my last will. And all the rest and residue of my goods and effects not hereby before particularly bequeathed, I give and bequeath, after my funeral expenses, to my son Richard Bentley, and my two daughters, Elizabeth and Joanna, to be equally divided amongst them. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-ninth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and forty-one.

RICHARD BENTLEY.

Sealed, published, and declared by the testator as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who subscribed our names as witnesses thereto, in his presence.

WILLIAM GREAVES,
WILLIAM CARTER,
JOHN PORTER.

Proved at London before the Worshipful Edward Simpson, Doctor of Laws and Surrogate, 10th August, 1742, by the oath of Richard Bentley, the nephew and executor, to whom administration was granted, having been first sworn duly to administer.

NATH. GOSTLING,
CHAS. DYNELEY,
JOHN IGGULDEN,
} Deputy Registers

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—— —, *line* 22, disappointment
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—— 90, *note*, *line* 3, Dr. S.
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—— 156, *note*, *line* 8, simul illi acumen suum,
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